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Thomas Walker Arnold and the Re-Evaluation of Islam, 1864–1930

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Introduction

Islam has commanded European attention ever since Muhammad first preached his message of submission to the will of God. Scholars, theologians, travellers, politicians and theorists have produced a multiplicity of judgements on Islam as religious, political, cultural, social, economic, military and historical phenomenon, and continue to do so in the present. In 1978, Edward Said proposed a new historical paradigm for understanding post-Enlightenment Western conceptions of Islam, whereby orientalist ideology provided 'a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience'. 'Orientalism', once simply the academic study of 'the East', was thus defined as a composite set of Western methods for dominating the Orient.[1] Said's challenge to the Western humanist tradition has provoked fierce historical and historiographical debate over both his theoretical framework and intellectual techniques. His opponents have condemned his binary discourse as ahistorical and monolithic, accused him of imprecise analysis and narrow literary focus, and pointed out theoretical inconsistencies, while supporters have hailed his work as an emancipatory prototype to transcend 'the politics of difference'.[2] As a result, the orientalist paradigm has been carried beyond literary analysis into multiple historical disciplines.

[1] E. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (2nd edition. London, 1995), p. 1.

[2] The principal criticisms of Said's work are summarized in J. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995), p. 11, which also considers individual contributions to the debate (pp. 21–9) and challenges the validity of the orientalist paradigm for understanding elite and popular art. The notion of academic orientalism has been defended in A. Hourani, *Islam in European Thought* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 62–73. The implications of Said's work for future historical study within the context of Indian history have been most cogently debated in R. O'Hanlon and D. A. Washbrook, 'After Orientalism: Culture,

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This study remains within Said's original framework of reference, but resurrects academic orientalist study as a discrete enterprise within the literary tradition, and differentiates between intellectual constructs and political discourse in order to reconsider the interplay between them. It contends that although the two were mutually responsive, each was subject to an internal dynamism extraneous to and independent of the other. By profiling the work of a single important scholar and activist within the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century imperial and orientalist matrices, it argues that European perceptions of Islam qualitatively shifted in this period. New religious, intellectual and political developments led certain groups of commentators to re-evaluate Islam's teachings, culture, history and future. The work of Thomas Walker Arnold furnishes a profitable case-study by which to judge these currents because his diverse activities extended into academic, cultural, educative, administrative and advisory fields.

Arnold was born in Devonport on 19 April 1864, the son of Frederick Arnold, an ironmonger, and Maltida Sweet. After attending Plymouth High School and the City of London School, he read Classics at Magdalene College, Cambridge, but devoted much of his time to linguistic and Islamic studies, becoming proficient in Sanskrit and Arabic and entering an essay competition on 'Muhammadanism' (though unsuccessfully). In 1888 he was recruited by Theodore Beck, principal of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh in India, to join its coterie of Oxbridge graduates as Professor of Philosophy. He married Celia May Hickson in 1892 and four years later their daughter Nancy May was born. In the same year, he published *The Preaching of Islam,* the first and most influential work in what was to be an impressive academic *oeuvre*. He left Aligarh in 1898 to take up a post as Professor of Philosophy at Government College, Lahore, from where he published a translation of *Al-Muʿtazilah*, a theological exposition of Muslim rationalist philosophy. Arnold returned to England in 1904 to take up employment as Assistant Librarian in the India Office Library, and spent the next seventeen years in governmental roles. He was appointed to head a newly-established Bureau for Indian Students in 1909 as its Educational Adviser, retiring from

Criticism and Politics in the Third World' and G. Prakash, 'Can the "Subaltern" Ride? A Reply to O'Hanlon and Washbrook', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1992), pp. 141–84.

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this post in 1921, and from 1920 he informally advised the India and Foreign Offices in relation to political negotiations in India and the Middle East, a role which inspired the publication of *The Caliphate* in 1924. Arnold pursued academic research concurrently with government work, producing a translation of *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis of Assisi* in 1908 and a new edition of *The Preaching of Islam* in 1913. After his retirement from government service, he was appointed Professor of Arabic at the newly-founded School of Oriental Studies, and his academic research increasingly focused on cultural and contemporary Islamic developments. He became a leading expert in the field of art history and published numerous works on representational art, notably *Painting in Islam*. His work received international recognition through election to an honorary Fellowship at his old college, the award of an honorary Ph.D. from Deutsche Universität in Prague, election as a Fellow of the British Academy and the conferral of a knighthood. He died on 9 June 1930, in London.[3]

As this biographical outline suggests, Thomas Arnold's work impinged on and responded to leading political and intellectual issues of his day. He undertook pioneering academic research on Islamic history and culture, and communicated his ideas to both European and Muslim scholars. As a teacher at Aligarh, he influenced the growing number of British-educated Indians who sought greater participation in government and ever more vocally raised their demands in the British political arena. At the India Office, he directed a new government body set up in response to one of the most sensitive issues in British politics and society and directly influenced negotiations over the First World War peace settlement. His academic and pratical work precipitated material repercussions in political, social and intellectual terms in Britain and her empire, yet literature on orientalist and imperialist history has largely neglected him. No studies have been devoted exclusively to his work and writings and even histories of Aligarh, in whose affairs his influence was most conspicuous, give him but cursory mention, perhaps because his relatively low political and public profile make him a particularly elusive historical figure. A 'Sir Thomas Arnold Day' at Birmingham University in 1988 publicized previously unknown

[3] The most detailed biographical outline of Arnold's life is M. A. Stein, 'Thomas Walker Arnold', *Proceedings of the British Academy* XVI (1930), 439–74.

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family records and probed particular aspects of his work, but did not prompt a comprehensive analysis of his career.[4]

My own interest on Thomas Arnold was prompted by reading Aurel Stein's detailed obituary in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, as his catalogue of Arnold's various activities seemed pertinent to a range of contemporary issues. My starting-point for research was Arnold's published works and the collection of his private papers held in the School of Oriental and African Studies (London), which consists primarily of academic drafts and letters he received. There is no single repository of his own correspondence, but I have found valuable evidence in letters written to Percy Allen and Aurel Stein, held in the Bodleian Library (Oxford), and have drawn on family memorabilia and records as a source of critically important personal information. Institutional records pertaining to his educational and governmental roles furnished a considerable amount of information about his ideas and activities more generally, particularly the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* and *Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Magazine*, India and Foreign Office records, and *Bulletin of Oriental and African Studies*. Finally, Edwin Montagu's papers, India Office manuscript collections, and articles, reviews and obituaries in academic journals and *The Times* afforded further evidence of Arnold's reputation among his contemporaries.

This study considers Arnold's career in thematic rather than biographical terms. Chapters I and II evaluate his academic publications on Islam's teachings and propagation and on Islamic artistic developments respectively, and attempt to locate his position within the contemporary European and British spectrum of opinion. Issues of spiritual faith emerging from his publications are explored in greater depth in chapter III, which suggests that his intellectual interests were governed by personal religious ambivalence. The final two chapters discuss the application of his intellectual sympathies to contemporary affairs. Chapter IV examines his role as an educationalist in India, while chapter V explicitly considers his governmental and political roles and post-war academic research within the orientalist paradigm. The concluding discussion draws on each of these themes to indicate the complexities of Western conceptions of Islam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[4] The conference papers were published in a special issue of *Iqbal Review* 32.1 (April 1991). Little has been written about Arnold in Urdu, despite his important role at Aligarh and academic interests (thanks to Dr Simon Qadri for this information).

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I: The Messsage of Islam

Early and mid nineteenth-century political, popular and intellectual perspectives supply formidable evidence of 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'.[5] European powers escalated their economic and political involvement in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and as rationalist and evangelical philosophies began to permeate governmental policy, attitudes towards 'the East' became increasingly unsympathetic.[6] In Britain, imperial ambitions attained intellectual respectability as a 'civilizing mission' to liberate Eastern peoples from the depravities of indigenous government. Historians such as James Mill and Henry Elliot asserted that only terminal cultural decline and political fragmentation in India could account for meteoric British ascendancy, while popular perspectives viewed indigenous policies and cultures as backward, out-of-date and incapable of self-development.[7] A sense of Western superiority justified the imposition of 'modern' ideas and complemented themes of evangelicalism, public responsibility and racial superiority. Western ideas and technologies were considered the highest form of civilization, to which all Eastern cultures should aspire, and evangelical missions sought to instill Christian ideas in

[5] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

[6] See J. S. Grewal, *Muslim Rule in India: The Assessments of British Historians* (Calcutta, 1970); C. H. Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1962); B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds), *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962).

[7] C. H. Philips, 'James Mill, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the History of India', in Philips, *Historians of India*, pp. 217–29.

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place of heathen immorality. Racial theories could be subversive of empire, but were more often used as scientific evidence that inhabitants of the Orient were incapable of self-rule.[8]

Islamic orientalism across Europe contained a particularly combative element, based on an historical legacy of religious prejudice and conflict between Christianity and Islam. Missionary debates with Muslim theologians were particularly antagonistic because both sides laid claim to common historical and religious ground.[9] British suspicions were augmented by anxieties regarding Muslim resistance movements, supposed Indian Muslim resentment over political displacement and the potential for disloyalty inherent in pan-Islamic ideology. As a result, the assaults of British policy and intellectual thought on political, economic, social and religious structures fell especially heavily on Muslims. Interpretations of the Mutiny-Rebellion as a conspiracy to reinstate *de facto* Mughal rule caused a political backlash against Muslims, but perspectives in the post-Mutiny era were also characterized by concerns to conciliate Muslim opinion as an essential means of securing British rule.[10] Events in the political arena continually galvanized these ideological developments. Muslims became progressively more prominent on the public stage, both in India and globally.[11] British strategy to limit Russian expansion in Persia through Muslim alliances, European competition for influence in the terminally weak Ottoman Empire, and Muslim resistance to the British occupation of Egypt, the Sudan and parts of Malaya all enhanced Muslims' potential influence on British strategic, commercial and political interests.[12] British opinion was

[8] C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient: British Historical Writing about Asia since 1890', in P. Burke (ed.), *History and Historians* (Oxford University Press for the British Academy, forthcoming 2001), p. 2.

[9] A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond, 1993), p. 6.

[10] T. R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, New Cambridge History of India III.4 (Cambridge, 1994), p. 140.

[11] See F. Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: The Politics of the United Provinces' Muslims, 1860–1923* (London, 1974); P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 61–127; T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857–70* (Princeton, 1975); I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (The Hague, 1962), pp. 266–318.

[12] J. Darwin, *Britain, Egypt and the Middle East: Imperial Policy in the Aftermath of War 1918–22* (London, 1981), pp. 49–59. W. Roff, 'South-East Asian Islam in the Nineteenth Century' and P. M. Holt, 'The Nilotic Sudan' in P. M. Holt, A. K. S. Lambton, B. Lewis (eds), *The Cambridge History of Islam* II (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 155–81, 327–44. A. C. Milner, *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 195–6.

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divided as to whether conciliation or repression could most effectively disarm Muslims' greater bargaining power.

Political stimulants were complemented by dynamism within intellectual disciplines. In the early 1800s, philological techniques quickly fed into Islamic orientalist research across Europe, which became focused on Islamic texts and the Arabic language.[13] Orientalism was slow to respond to subsequent intellectual developments and became characterized by 'polemical antiquarianism', hostile analyses of the early history of Islam.[14] In the last decades of the century, however, it began to expand in new directions, and this provides the broad context for Arnold's work. Liberal analysts dismissed images of Islam as Christianity's antithesis and adversary and examined Muhammad and Islam as historical phenomena, whose history might be used to formulate universal models of social, political and religious development.[15] In France, the import of sociological ideas and research methods created 'the first crisis of Islamology', and in Germany, scholars increasingly discarded political history in favour of *Kulturgeschichte*.[16] A growing minority of orientalists shifted their focus to mysticism, spirituality and their cultural products. British orientalist scholarship was slow to respond to these trends, and remained dominated by hostility which owed its origins to evangelical fervour or geopolitical concerns. Yet herein lies Thomas Arnold's importance to the orientalist field, as he played a key role both in making new European ideas more widely known in Britain and in contributing to new currents himself.

Arnold first cultivated an interest in orientalist subjects at the City of London School, where he studied elementary Sanskrit, but his future analytical framework only began to develop under the tutelage of Professors William Robertson Smith and Edward Byles Cowell

[13] E. Said, 'Islam, the Philological Vocation, and French Culture: Renan and Massignon', in M. Kerr (ed.), *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and its Problems* (Malibu, California), pp. 53–72.

[14] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 262.

[15] A. Hourani, 'Islam and the Philosophers of History', *Middle Eastern Studies*, III.3 (1967), 206–68.

[16] E. Burke III, 'The Sociology of Islam: The French Tradition' and J. van Ess, 'From Wellhausen to Becker: The Emergence of Kulturgeschichte in Islamic Studies', in Kerr, *Islamic Studies*, pp. 73–88, 27–51; J. W. Fück, 'Islam as an Historical Problem in European Historiography since 1800', in Lewis and Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, pp. 306, 310. See S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings of Empire: Britain, France and Colonial Modernity in the Mediterranean and Asia', in C. A. Bayly and L. Fawaz (eds), *Modernity and Cultural Difference from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean, 1890s–1920s* (Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

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at Cambridge. Smith was primarily a Biblical scholar, who pursued his study of Arabic and Islamic history as a means of enhancing his theological and Biblical understanding. A devout Scottish Presbyterian, he belonged to a strong Oxbridge tradition in which academic orientalism was allied with an evangelical agenda, producing usually disparaging attitudes towards its subjects of study.[17] Said characterized him as 'a crucial link in the intellectual chain connecting the White-Man-as-expert to the modern Orient', the precursor of quasi-academic orientalist experts by experience such as T. E. Lawrence, C. M. Doughty, D. G. Hogarth and Gertrude Bell.[18] Smith's influence on Arnold was methodological rather than ideological, however. Inspired by the German Biblical-orientalist scholars Abraham Kuenen and Julius Wellhausen, Smith attempted to introduce historical-critical methods of analysis into British Old Testament scholarship, an approach which Arnold later applied to the study of Islam.[19] As this and the following chapter will demonstrate, his academic output was characterized throughout by careful analysis of a wide range of sources, even where this technique challenged established conventions.[20] More importantly, he was influenced by Smith's anthropological approach, which focused on comparative examination of the role of religious customs in society.[21] He explicitly acknowledged his debt to Smith in the preface to *The Preaching of Islam*.[22] Arnold also developed the linguistic skills which later enabled him to draw on so wide a range of sources under the influence of both Smith and Cowell's philological expertise, the former in Arabic and the latter in Sanskrit.[23] By the time he left Cambridge, language

[17] A. L. Tibawi, 'English-speaking Orientalists: a critique of their approach to Islam and Arab nationalism', *Islamic Quarterly*, 8.1 (Jan–June 1964), 25–45 and 8.2 (July–Dec. 1964), 73–88; G. M. Bediake, *Primal Religion and the Bible: William Robertson Smith and his Heritage* (Sheffield, 1997), pp. 205–6.

[18] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 234–6.

[19] Bediake, *Primal Religion*, p. 74. On Wellhausen, see also Hourani, 'Philosophers', pp. 206–68.

[20] See especially T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (1st edition. Westminster, 1896) (2nd edition. London, 1913); T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture* (Reprint. New York, 1965); T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924); T. W. Arnold, *Bihzad and his Paintings in the Zafar-Namah Manuscript* (London, 1930); T. W. Arnold, *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art* Schweich Lectures of the British Academy (London, 1932).

[21] Bediake, *Primal Religion*, p. 309; Said, *Orientalism*, p. 235.

[22] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p. xi.

[23] Smith was author of a *Grammar of the Arabic Language*; Cowell's academic reputation rested on his translations of Sanskrit texts.

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studies and Smith's methodological influence had initiated the critical linguistic knowledge and anthropological understanding with which Arnold assessed source materials across his academic *oeuvre*.

Arnold's thinking was most profoundly affected by his experiences at Aligarh's Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, however. The College was founded in 1875 by a group of Muslims led by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, as a means of fulfilling his vision of Indian Muslim regeneration. Sayyid Ahmad believed that only under British neutral arbitration between Muslim and Hindu interests could Indian Muslims prosper, and argued that loyalty and conciliation must replace resistance and isolation. He sought to effect a political and intellectual rapprochement between Britons and Muslims, by which Muslims could retain their traditional religious and cultural values whilst also assimilating British or Western ideas. The focus of this process was Aligarh College, where a teaching staff of leading Muslim scholars and European recruits would provide Muslim students with the knowledge and skills to feel comfortable in both Muslim and British social circles.[24] Arnold made an emphatic commitment to this programme of internal Muslim regeneration and cross-cultural cooperation, as chapter IV will demonstrate, and his academic research was decisively influenced by the Aligarh ethos.

It is impossible to analyse Arnold's early attitudes towards Islam, as his early writing on the subject, in particular his unsuccessful essay on 'Muhammadanism', has not survived. Nevertheless, it is clear from later evidence that while his methodological foundations were laid at Cambridge, the particular framework of his first publication, *The Preaching of Islam*, was the product of his Aligarh experiences. Sir Mark Aurel Stein, a close friend of Arnold's in later life, believed that the conception of the book as a whole belonged firmly to the Aligarh period, for 'it is in fact easy to recognise traces of the spirit animating the educational activities of the College in the very scope of the work'.[25] The dedication on Arnold's first notebook of research for the book reads: 'Mahommedanism as a Missionary Religion, November 10th 1888. To the Seraphic Patriarch St Francis of

[24] D. Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, 1978); pp. 115–18, 207. See G. F. I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan* (Reprint. Karachi, London, 1974), pp. 159–201; on Sayyid Ahmad's theological viewpoint, see C. W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi, 1978).

[25] Stein, 'Arnold' pp. 439–74.

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Assisi, who laid the foundation of a great missionary movement by Reform at home.'[26] Mention of St Francis was not a Christian clarion call, but an avocation of the peaceful missionary ethos of both Christianity and Islam and of the regenerative ideals shared by St Francis and Sayyid Ahmad Khan. In the preface to the book itself, Arnold acknowledged the influence on his ideas of Sayyid Ahmad, Maulana Shibli Numani, Aligarh's leading Muslim scholar, and a former pupil, Maulawi Bahadur Ali.[27]

In both conception and construction, *The Preaching of Islam* represented a new departure in British Islamic scholarship. This is most clearly illustrated by a comparison with the works of William Muir, whose style and research methods were typical of conventional British approaches to Islamic history. Like Arnold, Muir's practical work was based in northern India and his intellectual interests concentrated on Islamic history, but his attitudes were representative of the Mutiny generation of orientalist writers and the evangelical, unsympathetic strain in late nineteenth-century historiography. His studies therefore contrasted with *The Preaching of Islam* in a number of ways, particularly his *Annals of the Early Caliphate* and *Caliphate: Rise, Decline and Fall*.

Throughout the nineteenth century, historians of Islam made greater use of non-European sources as orientalist philology made Arabic texts and treatises more widely available. However, they drew almost exclusively on high literary Islamic culture, relying on the most well-known annalists and commentators, whose knowledge was sometimes of dubious reliability. For example, Muir's principal Arabic sources were the works of Beladzori, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Athir, Tabari and Waqidi, but Waqidi's writings in particular were held in little regard among Muslim scholars, and as Muir himself commented, such 'bald and jejune' annals as covered Islamic history after the first four Caliphs offered little in the way of long-term analysis.[28] Muir's range of arabic source material therefore remained fairly narrow, a criticism which has also been levelled at *The Preaching of Islam*. Theodore Morison, an Aligarh colleague and fellow orientalist,

[26] Research notebook I (1888), London, SOAS, Papers of Thomas Walker Arnold, MS 32, file 37, box 7.

[27] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p. xi.

[28] Sayyid Amir Ali, *A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed* (London and Edinburgh, 1873), p. vii, Maulana Shibli Nomani, *'Allamah Shibli's Sirat al-Nabi*, transl. F. Rahman (Karachi, n.d.), pp. 95–6; W. Muir, *The Caliphate: Its Rise, Decline and Fall* (London, 1891), pp. v–vi.

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claimed it revealed 'the extent of the information which could be gleaned from purely European authorities upon Islamic subjects' and, more recently, David Lelyveld criticized Arnold's use of Arabic materials as merely cursory.[29] In fact, however, Arnold's bibliography demonstrates that he used a far more extensive range of materials than simply the major philosophical and political treatises of Islamic high culture. He contacted British administrators and Indian scholars across India to discover local records and stories and to gain information about manuscript sources.[30] His use of Indian district gazetteers, records of purely local information, was new to the Victorian emphasis on official military and biographical histories, which was fuelled by popular interest in the 'great men' of history and moral lessons drawn from their careers, a pattern decisively established by Macaulay.[31] In the orientalist field this tradition focused primarily on British colonialists, though Muhammad, Caliphal rulers and the Mughal emperors also attracted attention.[32] Arnold additionally drew on less well-known Arabic, Persian and other sources, contemporary works by Muslim historians and missionary publications. His research notes list numerous examples of conversions in India, drawn from obscure sources and contemporary incidents, and he investigated Muslim newspapers and journals to find evidence.[33] His approach was unusual in its use of local resources and first-hand local knowledge as sources of information in an historical narrrative. His 'remarkable capacity for collecting reliable information from the most various sources' was partly due to necessity, as location in India limited his access to resources in Europe.[34] Nevertheless, it seems

[29] T. Morison, *History of the MAO College, Aligarh*, ed. S. A. Kakorwi (Lucknow, 1988), p. 25. Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 243.

[30] William Crooke to Arnold, 5 October 1891, Enayatollah to Arnold, 28 March 1896, Arnold Papers, file 1, box 1. Arnold continued such research after the publication of *The Preaching of Islam*—see H. J. Maynard to Arnold, 8 January 1899, Nur Bakhsh to Arnold, 12 January 1904, Arnold Papers, file 1, box 1; Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 20 November 1896, Arnold Family Papers, in the possession of Dr Lawrence Barfield.

[31] E. T. Stokes, 'The Administrators and Historical Writing in India' in Philips, *Historians of India*, pp. 385–403.

[32] T. G. P. Spear, 'British Historical Writing in the Era of the Nationalist Movements', in Philips, *Historians of India*, pp. 404–15. On Victorian portrayals of Muhammad, see P. C. Almond, *Heretic and Hero: Muhammad and the Victorians* (Wiesbaden, 1989).

[33] 'A Few Instances of the Spread of Islam in India', MSS notes (n.d., but internal references and nature of material suggest that it dates from Arnold's time at Aligarh), Arnold Papers, file 12, box 3; See Arnold Papers, file 23, box 4.

[34] Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74.

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clear that his location in itself stimulated a new approach to historical research. Inspired by his Indian experiences, he turned to a wide range of Muslim historiographical writings and localized examples to provide evidence.

Arnold entirely rejected conventional frameworks for comprehending Islamic history. Muir's discussions were essentially political histories of the Caliphate, charting the shifting fortunes of Islam in terms of ruling dynasties, military successes and high-level political change, whereas Arnold noted successive political changes, but used geography as his framework of analysis. Most importantly, his was 'a record of missionary efforts and not a history of persecutions'.[35] Arnold resolved to describe the peaceful propagation of Islam, whereas Muir aimed to chronicle its political manifestations. This fundamental difference led to significant variations in subject matter and conclusions, on both the specific and thematic level. Muir's analysis of Islam's initial expansion focused around detailed descriptions of military setbacks and conquests; for example, chapters V–VII charted the martial exploits of Khalid, the leading general of the day, and chapter VIII described the expeditions by which Abu Bekr and his armies subdued apostate Arabia, events which Muir saw as crucial.[36] In combining analysis of high-level political intrigues with commentary on military progress, he implicitly suggested that Islam was spread by means of violence, propagated by the sword. He further depicted Islam as intrinsically intolerant, its leaders (with the exception of those in India) guilty of vindictively persecuting those non-Muslims who resisted pressures to convert.[37] In contrast, Arnold stated at the outset that he did not propose to discuss aggressive actions as 'European writers have taken such care to accentuate these'.[38] Instead, he contended that Islam was spread primarily by peaceful propaganda, supporting his argument with a vast range of detailed individual stories, and he cited Qur'anic injunctions and historical examples of toleration to demonstrate that persecution was exceptional.[39] Arnold's work was the history of individual efforts; Muir's that of mass violent conflicts.

[35] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p.x.
[36] W. Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (London, 1883), pp. 20–59 and *Caliphate*, pp. 18–63.
[37] Muir, *Caliphate*, p. 363.
[38] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p. 6.
[39] *Ibid*, pp. 45, 47, 52–60, 114–15, 127, 179, 200–1.

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These opposing views stemmed from differing analyses of Islam itself. Muir believed that Islam only survived Muhammad's death because the Muslim cry for war gave Arabs the opportunity to pursue their 'love of rapine and lust of spoil'. Militancy and love of violence therefore formed the foundations of belief: 'religious fanaticism was kindled by martial ardour, and both riveted by incentives irresistible to the Arab—fight and foray, the spoil of war, and captive charms'.[40] He admitted that religious convictions later provided partial motivation, but nonetheless maintained that Islamic expansion and vitality could not have been sustained without war-lust and greed for battle spoils. Muslim unity of purpose arose from a 'strange combination of earth and heaven, of the flesh and of the spirit, of the incentives both of faith and rapine, of fanatical devotion to the Prophet and deathless passion for the sex'.[41] Arnold explicitly refuted accusations of belligerence, arguing that Islam's enormous early appeal stemmed from its religious and moral message and 'national' character. These factors enthused the followers of Islam with fervour and commitment, providing the drive behind Arab expansion:

> An eternal and life-bringing truth, the message of the One God was proclaimed to the people of Arabia in the seventh century, by a prophet under whose banner their scattered tribes became a nation; and filled with the pulsations of this new national life, and with a religious fervour and enthusiasm that imparted an almost invincible strength to their armies, they poured forth over three continents to conquer and subdue.[42]

Despite the military component of early expansion, he regarded inspiration for preaching and conversion as Islam's central feature, and believed that its appeal lay in the intrinsic nature of Islam itself, not in the external opportunities it offered for spoil, glory and profit.

Arnold's analysis focused on the expanding boundaries of the Islamic world, Muir's on its political centre. Arnold therefore perceived vigour, strength and genuine religious fervour as constant features of Islam, whereas Muir saw only its gradual corruption and decline. For example, Arnold devoted much attention to Islamic Spain, ignored by Muir once central control there was lost, and looked even further afield to such little-discussed areas as China and central Asia.[43] The implications of these analyses informed their

[40] Muir, *Annals*, pp. 61, 75.
[41] *Ibid*., p. 105.
[42] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p. 2.
[43] *Ibid*., pp. 113–24, 186–207, 242–57; Muir, *Caliphate*, pp. 542–3.

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conceptions of contemporary Islam. Muir conflated political and moral development and decline, arguing that once the Turks had become effective rulers of Baghdad and its dominions, 'Islam had now run its course of growth and change. After this, we see no new phase of development, spiritual, social or political.' He maintained that Islam's relevance to world thinking and progress was outlived long ago, with the collapse of a unified Caliphate, so it had no possible political and therefore ethical place in the modern world.[44] Arnold rejoined that the spiritual strength of Islam did not correspond to political power, as in fact the former had intensified as the latter waned. Continuing Muslim missionary activity on a global scale testified to a strength of belief which did not depend on political power, although it might be expressed as and derive strength from political aspirations. He interpreted pan-Islamic support for the Turkish Caliphate as a source of spiritual inspiration, and suggested that missionary activity remained strong in China, despite the small size of its Muslim population, because its practitioners believed 'Islam will be triumphant throughout the length and breadth of the Chinese Empire'.[45] He contended that Islam was capable of assimilating modern knowledge; for example, calls for spiritual unity under the leadership of the Ottoman caliphate were in sympathy with modern trends of thought, not an anachronistic dream.[46]

In Muir's evangelical analysis, Islam was appropriate only for Arabia of the middle ages; it was not a universal message, true for eternity, as Christianity was.[47] He used historical-criticism to subvert Islam's status and importance as a world belief-system, adopting secularist ideas of Islam as historical phenomenon for evangelical purposes. Arnold reversed orientalist criticisms of Muslims, however, arguing that demoralization among Christians and a decadent clergy were contributory factors to the early spread of Islam. For example, he maintained that early conversions in Asia were reactions against corruption, Byzantine ecclesiasticism and the Church's 'moral and spiritual debasement', especially when contrasted with the vigour and zeal of Islam.[48] He claimed of conversions among Christians in Africa that 'the rapid spread of Islam in the early days of the Arab occupation was probably due less to definite efforts to attract than

[44] Muir, *Annals*, pp. 294, 324, 454, 458 and *Caliphate*, p. 601.
[45] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), pp. 346, 247.
[46] *Ibid*., pp. 207, 238, 346. Cf. Muir, *Annals*, p. 458.
[47] Muir, *Annals*, pp. 61, 189.
[48] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), pp. 61–4.

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to the inability of such a Christianity to retain', as Islam's 'human morality' appeared far more relevant than prevailing Christian asceticism.[49] Accusations of tyranny and rapacity were levelled at European rulers rather than their Muslim Ottoman contemporaries, whom he depicted as more trustworthy protectors of the Greek Church than their Byzantine predecessors.[50] Arnold's reversal of traditional attitudes extended to propagators of the two religions, as he castigated Christian missionary prejudice against colour and race but praised genuine Muslim egalitarianism.[51] Dismissing the sword-wielding *jihadi* as an exaggerated myth, he emphasized the role of the Muslim trader in preaching Islam:

> They did not come as conquerors . . . or use the sword as an instrument of conversion; nor did they arrogate to themselves the privileges of a superior and dominant race so as to degrade and oppress the original inhabitants, but coming simply in the guise of traders they employed all their superior intelligence and civilization in the service of their religion.[52]

Indictment of Christian missionary arrogance and aggression in the following chapter was juxtaposed against sympathy for Islam, the traditional aggressor.

Arnold's methodological techniques and subject-matter in *The Preaching of Islam* comprised a fundamental revision of conventional approaches to Islamic history. In extending his range of research materials, he brought personal knowledge, first-hand experience and more varied Islamic sources to bear on his conclusions. He rejected the centrist focus of political analyses, looking instead to the fringes of Islam and to socio-economic factors influencing its expansion, and he reversed orientalist depictions of Islam, Christianity and their propagators. Aggressive Muslim armies demanding a choice between Islam and the sword were replaced in his narrative by traders, holy men and supposedly powerless groups such as women and prisoners. He acknowledged that aggressive expansion and persecution had occurred, but asserted that they were exceptional and of minimal importance to the spread of Muslim belief, whereas he criticized decadence in the medieval Eastern Church and accused its present-day missionaries of prejudice and arrogance, so reformulating the constructs of orientalist discourse.[53] He credited Islam with a univer-

[49] *Ibid*., p. 89.
[50] *Ibid*., pp. 125–35.
[51] *Ibid*., pp. 283, 288–9.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 295.
[53] *Ibid*., pp. 288–9.

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sal message of humanity, contemporary spiritual, cultural and missionary vitality despite its undeniable political decline, and the potential to assimilate and contribute to modern thinking. The resulting product was a favourable account infused with sympathy for individual concerns and aspirations, in which the low-profile believer rather than the military and political leader became the dynamic force in historical change. As Theodore Morison and H.A.R. Gibb put it, the work was 'fundamentally a book about Moslems, rather than about Islam'.[54] Arnold's approach was prefigured in the marginal discipline of local Indian history, which drew on the compendium of information collected by British officials to analyse historical change in a particular field of experience. His achievement was to combine its raw data and anthropological themes with the historical texts and geographical scope of mainstream scholarship, in a broad narrative whose conclusions were new to British orientalist writing.

Arnold had few predecessors in the European field, as contemporary reviewers recognized.[55] Michele Amari, an Italian orientalist writing in the 1850s and 1860s, made use of inscriptions, coins and non-literary documents as evidence, but his work was alone in this respect, and of Arnold's contemporaries, only Ignaz Goldziher and Leone Caetani shared his belief that Islam's expansion depended principally on its intrinsic appeal and that it could accommodate modern ideals.[56] In the context of British scholarship, only E. G. Browne's identification with Persian history afforded comparably sympathetic attitudes (see chapter III for a more detailed discussion of Browne's ideas).[57] Of other leading scholars, William Muir, as already described, championed conventional understandings of Islamic history, and combined the distrust of the Mutiny generation with aggressive evangelicalism. The unsympathetic, ironical tone which permeated the work of David Margoliouth, a clerical Biblical-orientalist scholar, was disliked by both Muslims and some oriental-

[54] T. Morison and H. A. R. Gibb, 'Sir Thomas Arnold', *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, XVII.iv (Oct. 1930), pp. 398–400.

[55] E.g. *Asiatic Quarterly Review and Oriental and Colonial Record* III.5 (Jan. 1897), pp. 207–8; R. Bosworth Smith, cited in Cambridge, CSAS—Centre of South Asian Studies, *MAOCM—Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Magazine*, in *AIG—Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 2 January 1897; Extracts from reviews, Arnold Papers, files 22 and 23, box 5. See also M. A. Stein to W. M. Colles, 30 March 1913, London, BL, OIOC, European Manuscripts, MSS Eur B246.

[56] Fück, 'Islam as an Historical Problem' in Lewis and Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, pp. 303–14. See Hourani, 'Philosophers', pp. 206–68.

[57] See C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient'.

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ists, and he increasingly concentrated on the editing and translation of Arabic texts rather than on historical analysis.[58] Like Arnold, Duncan Black Macdonald rejected the traditional focus on orthodoxy and politics in Islam, turning instead to mysticism and piety as subjects of research, but his work self-consciously sought to elucidate the differences between oriental and Western minds and his view of Islam as heretical Christianity diminished his respect for Muslim ideas.[59] Re-evaluative trends in European and British Islamic scholarship alike were in an embryonic stage in the mid-1890s, and Arnold's combination of a sympathetic outlook, exploration of new ideas and development of new sources stood in stark contrast to the more orthodox perspectives of the majority of his contemporaries.

Arnold's ideas drew on those of several Muslim thinkers, particularly Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Sayyid Amir Ali and Maulana Shibli Numani. Amir Ali's *The Spirit of Islam* described Islam's message of toleration and charity, and his *History of the Saracens* attempted to 'tell us something of their inner life and their social and economic development'.[60] Both he and Sayyid Ahmad attempted to re-interpret the Qur'an and its teachings to assert and consolidate Islam's contemporary vitality, just as Arnold attempted to redefine its spiritual ethos.[61] Shibli, Aligarh's leading Muslim scholar, also affirmed the essentially tolerant nature of Islamic government and directly modified Arnold's understanding of Muslim history as his partner in research (see chapter IV for a full consideration of their relationship). Arnold's unusually receptive disposition towards Muslims' own interpretations of Islam gave *The Preaching of Islam* closer affinities with revisionist currents among Muslim intellectuals than with contemporary European orientalist writings.

Arnold published a new edition of *The Preaching of Islam* in 1913, by which time both political circumstances and his personal situation had changed significantly. Internal crisis at Aligarh College from 1895 onwards led to falling attendance figures, withdrawal of financial grants and an atmosphere of hostility and tension, and as the Aligarh ethos itself became a contentious issue, he accepted a more

[58] G. Murray, 'David Samuel Margoliouth' in *Dictionary of National Biography* (1949); see Tibawi, 'English-speaking Orientalists', 8.1, pp. 25–45 and 8.2, 73–88.
[59] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 106, 209, 276.
[60] Sayyid Amir Ali, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammed: The Spirit of Islam* (London, 1891) and *Short History of the Saracens* (London, New York, 1899), p.v.
[61] P. Hardy, 'Modern Muslim Historical Writing on Medieval Muslim India', in Philips, *Historians of India*, pp. 294–309.

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secure civil service post at Government College, Lahore.[62] On his return to England, he was drawn further into the processes and machinery of government and increasingly worked within a climate of opinion which was simultaneously sympathetic to and highly suspicious of Muslims. Muslim political activism imposed new demands on British authority and pan-Islamism became a cause of increasing political concern as conflict with the Ottoman Empire intensified. His revision of *The Preaching of Islam* was therefore undertaken at a time when Muslim aspirations seemed in sharp conflict with British imperial ambitions and political strategic security.

In spite of new political configurations, however, Arnold maintained his pro-Muslim sympathies, and revisions of his arguments appear to have been primarily induced by developments in European scholarship. His return to England placed far greater academic resources at his disposal than had been available in India, including Arabic collections held in European libraries, so that he now had access to a body of European research which had expanded steadily during his years in India and which sustained a level of intense activity into the twentieth century. About 20% of the books to which he referred in 1913 were published in the intervening seventeen years, indicating the growth in academic literature on the subject. The greater ratio of European and literary sources in the second edition reflected the wider range of material at his disposal, not a rejection of his earlier use of secondary material. Additional research enabled Arnold to expand and strengthen his examples and evidence, particularly in his discussion of religious expansion in Persia, Central Asia and the Malay Archipelago.[63] He also included more discussion and analysis of sources, as for example when discussing the Arab conquest of Damascus and the early introduction of Islam into East Asia, and brought his discussions of contemporary situations up-to-date, noting in particular tendencies among Muslims to institutionalize missionary work.[64]

The second edition proposed a more nuanced understanding of Islam's propagation. Arnold maintained his original argument that the spread of Islam relied primarily on missionary rather than military efforts, but now conceded that pressure and force played a

[62] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 313–14.
[63] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (2nd edition), pp. 206–17, 363–409.
[64] *Ibid*., pp. 65, 285, 294–5, 309–10.

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greater role than he had recognized in 1896, an interpretation which incorporated the conclusions of Ignaz Goldziher, a pre-eminent scholar of Islamic religious thought, on non-religious motivations for conversion.[65] He acknowledged his debt to Goldziher in the introductory chapter, and his revisions are evident at various points. With regard to the spread of Islam in Africa, he explicitly acknowledged that 'force seems to have had more influence than persuasion in . . . conversion', and reversed his portrayal of the Mandingo leader Samudu, from educating missionary to 'perpetrator of wholesale massacres and devastation'. He nevertheless sustained his contention that missionaries were the real propagators of Islam by highlighting the role of preachers who followed in Samudu's wake, inspiring non-Muslims by their religious enthusiasm and peaceful propaganda.[66] Arnold's subtler analysis was perhaps a response to accusations of bias from some reviewers, for although Aurel Stein commented that one of Arnold's qualities was his attempt 'to keep his true historical sense from giving way to the spirit of the apologist', it was only in the second edition that he really achieved this.[67] Yet although he renounced his earlier polemicism, the second edition of *The Preaching of Islam* remained an exceptionally sympathetic attempt to rehabilitate Islam in European opinion.

Arnold's views on the message and propagation of Islam remained constant after the re-publication of *The Preaching of Islam* until the end of his life. His entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and his analysis of Abbasid rule for the *Cambridge Medieval History* reaffirmed the essentially tolerant nature of Muslim rule throughout history and the need to differentiate between political and religious persecution.[68] Arnold was concerned to communicate his views beyond academic circles and reach 'the widest English public', however.[69] In 1928 he published a sixpenny booklet, *The Islamic Faith*,

[65] *Ibid*., pp. 5, 42. On Goldziher's ideas, see I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, transl. C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (London, 1967); Fück, 'Islam as an Historiographical Problem' in Lewis and Holt, *Historians of the Middle East*, 303–14.

[66] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p. 27 and (2nd edition), pp. 312, 332.

[67] Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74.

[68] T. W. Arnold, 'Persecution' and 'Toleration' in J. Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (13 vols, Edinburgh, 1908–26), IX, 765–9 and XII, 365–9; T. W. Arnold, 'Muslim Civilisation during the Abbasid Period' in J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previté-Orton, Z. N. Brooke (eds), *Cambridge Medieval History* IV (Cambridge, 1923), pp. 274–99.

[69] Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400.

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which, as Christian Troll has suggested, summarized his idea of Islam 'specifically as religious faith and institution'.[70] Troll rightly highlighted as significant Arnold's attempt to correct Western misunderstanding of the Muslim faith as 'Muhammadanism', devotion to Muhammad, rather than as 'Islam', resignation to the will of God, whilst continuing to emphasize Muhammad's role as the model of a devout life.[71] This misconception was frequently the target of Muslim attacks, as Western popular writers in particular tended to depend primarily on the nature and character of Muhammad as the basis of their understanding of Islam.[72] *The Islamic Faith* was a highly sympathetic, though not undiscriminating, analysis of the teachings of Islam. Arnold's comment that the Qur'an's condoning of polygamy and divorce discouraged 'a high ideal of family life' at first appeared to indicate a more conservative viewpoint than previously expressed, but he then restated his contention from *The Preaching of Islam* that women played an important role as examples and guides in religious life.[73] He highlighted the Muslim doctrine of predestination and ordered pattern of worship, subjects of vitriolic Christian attacks, as Islam's most positive aspects, contending that recognition of God's 'creative activity' and influence on every human act 'lent to the life of the believer a sense of dignity and self-respect', while the Qur'an provided a guidebook of 'right conduct' and 'right belief'.[74] This sympathetic inclination manifested his 'feel for the spirit of Muslim worship and . . . conviction that this aspect of Muslim life carries lessons for all other believers'.[75] As in *The Preaching of Islam*, he accentuated Islam's capacity to unite its followers without regard to differences of race and nationality, and its nature 'from the very outset as a missionary religion'.[76]

Despite significant shifts by the 1920s in orientalist analyses of the nature and teachings of Islam, *The Islamic Faith* was an unusually

[70] C. W. Troll, 'Sir Thomas Walker Arnold as a Student of Islam', *Iqbal Review*, 32.1 (April 1991), pp. 39–52.
[71] Troll, 'Student of Islam', pp. 39–52; T. W. Arnold, *The Islamic Faith* (London, 1928), pp. 6, 8–9.
[72] Almond, *Heretic and Hero*, p. 78. This emphasis began to shift in the 20th century, but as Arnold notes, popular perceptions were slow to catch up: Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, p. 8.
[73] Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, pp. 14–15.
[74] *Ibid*., pp. 24, 29, 12–13.
[75] Troll, 'Student of Islam', pp. 39–52.
[76] Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, pp. 37, 47, 50. Cf. T. W. Arnold, 'Europe and Islam', in F. S. Marvin (ed.), *Western Races and the World* (London, 1922), pp. 146–60.

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sympathetic portrayal of Muslim religious beliefs. Its theoretical construction was exceptional, since Arnold did not reformulate Islam as historical phenomenon or as an example of the interplay between divine and human forces, both common approaches among those at the forefront of orientalist scholarship, nor in combined racial-religious terms, but re-presented Islam purely as religion.[77] Furthermore, in affirming the validity of all the varying and sometimes contradictory currents within Islam, he broke a general pattern of analysis among orientalist scholars. Said has argued that orientalists constructed monolithic visions of Islam which focused on one particular expression of faith as authentic, so enabling Western commentators down to H. A. R. Gibb and Louis Massignon to conceptualize a definitive 'type' of Islam with which to relate.[78] Contrary to such reductionism, Arnold concluded in *The Islamic Faith* that as religion was defined by individual understanding and practice of faith, 'no single formula—beyond the brief simple words of the creed—can sum up [Islam's] many diversities'.[79]

From within this inclusive definition, Sufi mysticism and spirituality held a particular fascination for Arnold, initially as a result of his experiences in India. Location in Aligarh afforded unique opportunities to discover Muslim perspectives on missionaries and saints, as the College's high public profile attracted visits from travelling scholars and luminaries. Arnold questioned the Ismailian leader, the Agha Sahib of Bombay, about missionary work by his sect, enjoyed a lengthy discussion with Hajji Muhammad Ali Khan about 'the Muhammadan saints and the religious orders and their influence in India' and consulted Sayyid Ahmad Khan on Muslim theories of spiritual inspiration.[80] In response to such influences, his research notes on conversions to Islam in India particularly noted 'the propagation of Islam without compulsion by Sufis', while *The Preaching of Islam* stressed decisive work by Muslim saints and mystics in preaching the Islamic message and attributed its essentially tolerant character to their efforts, especially in India.[81] Early curiosity in Islamic mysti-

[77] See Hourani, 'Philosophers', 206–68; C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient'; S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings'.

[78] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 272, 277–9.

[79] Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, p. 77.

[80] Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 20 Nov. 1896, 4 Dec. 1896, 10 Dec. 1896, Arnold Family Papers.

[81] 'A Few Instances of the Spread of Islam in India' and 'Islam in India as a Missionary Religion'. MSS notes and articles (n.d., but internal references and nature of material suggest that they date from Arnold's time at Aligarh), Arnold

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cism became an abiding passion, manifested throughout Arnold's academic *oeuvre* in praise for its ethical and spiritual emphasis as 'a natural growth out of the Qur'an'.[82] As chapter III will argue, this intellectual concern was inspired by his own spiritual identification with religious mystics and saints.

This chapter has examined Arnold's interpretation of the Islamic message and its propagation in some depth in order to highlight the beginnings of a dynamic new internal discourse in orientalist scholarship. His self-appointed mission to combat European prejudice exemplified newly-emergent trends in academic circles which focused on re-evaluating Islam in all its manifestations. In the 1890s, narrow approaches continued to be common and old antagonism survived to varying degrees among those scholars who explored new fields, but intellectual questioning of conventional frameworks nonetheless represented an embryonic challenge to long-standing assumptions. Arnold's research must be placed at the leading edge of these emerging re-evaluative processes, as his extreme sympathy for Islam and intellectual receptivity to Muslims' own interpretations were unusual even within purely revisionist scholarship, and *The Preaching of Islam* constituted an original enterprise in conception, construction and conclusions alike. Arnold's position within re-evaluative trends as they developed in the next decades will be considered in the following chapters. This analysis has demonstrated that although he became less polemical as he became further integrated into the European research community, his conception of the Islamic faith continued to challenge orientalist orthodoxy throughout his life.

II: Art and Religion

Orientalism made little reference to art historical scholarship, but Western artistic developments have nevertheless been subjected to the orientalist paradigm. Linda Nochlin has argued that artistic representations of 'the Orient' were ultimately governed by imperial ideology, and Said himself brought cultural developments decisively

Papers, file 12, box 3 and file 13, box 4; Nazhar ul Hak to Arnold, 20 Dec. 1893, Arnold Papers, file 51, box 11; Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), pp. ix, 208–43, (2nd edition), pp. 254–93.

[82] Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, p. 57; Troll, 'Student of Islam', pp. 39–52.

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within the orientalist compass in *Culture and Imperialism*.[83] Thomas Metcalf's discussion of British attitudes to Indian art and architecture as components of wider ideological constructs owes much to Saidian interpretations of Indian history by Gayatri Spivak and Homi Bhabha in particular.[84] On the other hand, John MacKenzie has explicitly criticized orientalist frameworks as ahistorical and unsubtle, since they miss the complexities and ambivalence of elite and popular adaptations of oriental art forms.[85] Discussions of Western scholarship on Islamic art, as opposed to Western art itself, have largely ignored the orientalist paradigm. Yet this historiography significantly challenges the notion that imperial considerations exerted a continual and governing force, as it indicates that orientalist art scholarship in the early twentieth century was underscored by new aesthetic and analytical assumptions.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the dominant European view of oriental art and architecture was as either aesthetically flawed or purely derivative, and in both cases far inferior to the achievements of European artistic expression.[86] Prevailing British analyses of India's artistic heritage epitomized this approach, since they drew on racial historical theory and principles of aesthetics to assert that India's art and architecture were the most conspicuous manifestation of her decline. Racial historical analyses variously suggested ancient Hindu civilization, the period of Buddhist predominance (*c*. 200 BC–*c*. AD 200) or early Mughal rule as India's era of greatness, but these conflicting theories were united by their common criterion of Western influence as evidence of oriental artistic achievement. The Aryans of ancient India were as yet uncorrupted by racial intermixing; the incorporation of Western artistic forms in the Gandharan school of Buddhist art confirmed its pre-eminence; and as late as the 1900s, Vincent Smith argued that the Taj Mahal, Mughal India's greatest monument, was designed by an Italian.[87] Western aesthetic assumptions further contributed to this denigration of ori-

[83] L. Nochlin, 'The Imaginary Orient', *Art in America*, LXXI:2 (1983), 118–31; E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993).

[84] Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*.

[85] J. M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester and New York, 1995).

[86] Chinese and Japanese art forms had in the past proved an exception to this trend because of their influence on eighteenth-century rococo.

[87] Metcalf, *Ideologies*, pp. 80–92. Metcalf overstates the uniformity of British disapprobation, but in the nineteenth-century context his argument does reflect prevailing trends.

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ental art, in that its relative lack of naturalism, heavy use of ornamentation and dissimilarity to European architectural forms all prejudiced commentators against such 'flawed' designs.[88] Similar ideas of Western superiority underlay general European disapprobation of nearly all oriental art and architecture, with the result that the artistic achievements of Islam remained a largely undeveloped field of European scholarship. Epigraphical research, which dated from the eighteenth century, acquired greater popularity from the publication of Stanley Lane Poole's pioneering catalogue of Islamic coins in the British Museum, published between 1875 and 1890, and Islamic architecture attracted increasing interest from the 1870s onwards, funded by large-scale government exploration missions, but it was not until the turn of the century that Muslim art became a dynamic field of research.[89] This chapter will discuss the factors contributing to new intellectual interest in Islamic artistic activity and Arnold's personal contribution to the expansion of the field.

The development of oriental themes by various European artistic movements provided the basis for a reappraisal of oriental art itself. The early nineteenth-century Romantics turned to the East to fulfill their emotional ideals and spiritual quests, producing visually arresting images of Arabian scenes in particular, and Islamic influences provided inspiration for the Art Nouveau and Arts and Crafts movement at the end of the century, acquiring commercial appeal in Libertys of London, Samuel Bing of Paris and Tiffany's of New York.[90] Artistic and commercial receptivity, together with museum acquisitions of Islamic art works and artefacts, made Islamic art and design available at several different levels. In Britain, for example, the London museums housed various oriental collections, Liberty's Oriental Bazaar popularized Islamic-inspired objects and designs, and the 1885 Persian and Arabian art exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, established leader of artistic taste, effectively sanctioned the vogue for all things oriental.[91]

[88] J. Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500–1920* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 205–6; Metcalf, *Ideologies*, pp. 82–9.

[89] R. Ettinghausen, 'Islamic Art and Architecture', in T. C. Young (ed.), *Near Eastern Culture and Society: A Symposium on the Meeting of East and West* (Princeton, 1951), pp. 17–47; 'Islamic Art: Historiography', in J. Turner (ed.), *Grove Dictionary of Art* (34 vols New York, 1996), vol. 15, pp. 546–51.

[90] Ettinghausen, 'Islamic Art and Architecture', pp. 17–47; Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, pp. 201–4; see MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, pp. 43–70, 105–37.

[91] Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, p. 204.

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The roots of academic reassessment were two-fold, in both general Islamic scholarship and art historical studies. *Kulturgeschichte* generated interest in Islamic art and architecture as cultural products, greater sympathy for Islam enhanced the possibilities of artistic reappraisal, and as historical scholarship looked beyond textual sources for evidence, artistic analysis and archaeology became seen as valuable tools for documenting the past (see chapter I). Ernst Herzfeld, an historian of the Middle East, was the first orientalist scholar to systematically combine historical research methods with stylistic analysis.[92] Artistic appreciation of Islamic motifs and designs led several art history scholars to re-evaluate Islamic art and architecture on its own terms, by rejecting Western artistic conceptions as judgmental criteria and emphasizing historical factors affecting artistic developments. The former approach originated with Ernest Binfield Havell, whose attempt to discard 'the full equipment of European academic prejudices' in order to fully appreciate the achievements of Indian art contrasted sharply with prevailing contempt. Havell turned orthodox ideas on their head by asserting that Indian art had become stale only when 'the unimaginative Anglo-Saxon succeeded the imaginative Mogul in the sovereignty of India'.[93] The latter development owed its professional acceptability to the work of Max van Berchem and Joseph von Karabacek, both pioneers in emphasizing art and archaeology's wider historical context.[94] With such strong German academic interest in Islamic culture and art, Berlin became the centre of this new scholarly appraisal.[95]

British intellectual interest in Islamic art owed a particular debt to E. G. Browne's work in directing academic and political attention towards Persia and its history. His influential accounts presented a distinctive vision of Persian race and religion and resurrected art as evidence of spiritual creativity, and between 1908 and 1910 he campaigned in favour of a foreign policy to protect Persia's national integrity.[96] Persia's prominence in the wider contemporary arena amplified art historical awareness, but political concerns probably

[92] 'Historiography', *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 15, pp. 546–51; Ettinghausen, 'Islamic Art and Architecture', pp. 17–47.

[93] Cited in Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, p. 204. See C. A. Bayly. 'The Orient'.

[94] 'Historiography', *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 15, pp. 546–51.

[95] *Ibid*.

[96] C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient'; D. McLean, 'English Radicals, Russia and the Fate of Persia, 1907–1913', *English Historical Review*, XCIII (1978), 338–52.

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influenced academic developments more directly in the 1920s, when Britain was anxious to maintain friendly relations with Reza Shah Pahlavi's constitutional government. For example, the Royal Academy's 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art both responded to and stimulated intellectual re-appraisals, but it was also an exercise in political propaganda to promote Anglo-Persian links.

Academic reassessment created the notion of a distinctively Islamic artistic tradition which united Muslim artistic schools and practitioners across historical and geographical boundaries. A number of factors were probably at work in this replacement of earlier regional and ethnic frameworks of analysis.[97] Islamic scholars retained their pan-Islamic perspective when branching out into the art history field, and conversely, art history specialists seeking to place Muslim arts in a wider context were willing to consider religious factors. The development of pan-Islamism may also have encouraged European researchers to focus on Islam as the chief influence on its followers' history. The concept of a peculiarly Islamic tradition is now a subject for criticism, partly because it encouraged research on the 'golden age' of Islamic culture at the expense of the developments after c.1500, partly because it focused on Muslim iconoclasm.[98] Considered within the Saidian paradigm, the subordination of geographical and historical differences to the unifying feature 'Islamic' merely reflected Western desires to essentialize 'the Orient'.[99] Yet the notion of 'Islamic' art and architecture was at the time liberating, as it released artistic achievements from restrictive regional analyses, in which they were frequently considered evidence of decline. Furthermore, it paralleled non-European intellectual developments which emphasized religious and supra-national identities. New Indian *swadeshi* art was ideologically underpinned by a predominantly Hindu nationalist ideal and a sense of pan-Asian unity, while pan-Islamic ideas asserted a broader political and religious vision.[100]

[97] 'Historiography', *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 15, pp. 546–51; see Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, p. 204.

[98] O. Grabar, 'Islamic Art and Architecture' in L. Binder (ed.), *The Study of the Middle East: Research and Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (New York, 1976), pp. 229–64; 'Historiography', *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 15, pp. 546–51.

[99] This is implied in Metcalf, *Ideologies*, p. 154. See 'Islamic Art: Definition', in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 15, pp. 99–102.

[100] P. Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850–1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 234–66.

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It is clear that the relationship between imperial, artistic and art historical developments was more complex than the orientalist paradigm at its simplest allows. Apparently strident imperialism could incorporate ambivalent attitudes, as in the case of Lord Curzon, Viceroy from 1900 to 1905. His colonial policies have been held up as an example of the 'fully developed form of racial superiority and arrogance' which fuelled Victorian imperialism, and certainly his archaeological restoration programme was partially intended as a political programme to consolidate Indian loyalty.[101] Yet he was also genuinely concerned to preserve India's architecture as a record of her history, just as he sponsored restoration work on a number of English country houses as part of British heritage.[102] As MacKenzie has pointed out, artistic representations which most visibly conveyed an imperial ideology did not necessarily coincide with periods of imperial enthusiasm, and many 'orientalist' artists actually subverted notions of oriental difference and backwardness.[103] Positive academic re-assessments of Islamic art in the early twentieth century contrasted with a concurrent revival of imperialist fervour, but supported colonial challenges to British dominance which were based on distinctive 'national' artistic traditions.[104] The histories of orientalist art and art scholarship suggest therefore that neither marched in step with imperialism, and that artistic re-appraisal in particular significantly undermined long-standing Western assumptions about oriental culture.

Arnold's return to England coincided with the beginnings of artistic re-assessment, and his employment in the India Office Library ensured his awareness of new intellectual trends. He was immediately responsive to budding developments, for as Edward Denison Ross aptly commented, they appealed to his 'highly developed artistic sense', 'sure foundation of Islamic culture and . . . love of art'.[105] Arnold's early interest in art focused on Renaissance and pre-Raphaelite paintings, but his Islamic studies, particularly his search for varied sources, stimulated an interest in Muslim artistic and

[101] Bose and Jalal, *Modern South Asia*, p. 105; see Metcalf, *Ideologies*, pp. 151–5.
[102] H. Tinker, *Viceroy: Curzon to Mountbatten* (Oxford, New York and Delhi, 1997), p. 38; S. Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 258–9.
[103] MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, pp. xv–xvii, 51–2.
[104] See Mitter, *Art and Nationalism*, pp. 219–374; J. Auerbach, 'Art and Empire' in *Historiography*, Oxford History of the British Empire V (Oxford, 1999), pp. 571–83.
[105] E. D. Ross, *Both Ends of the Candle* (London, 1943), pp. 169–70.

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architectural records.[106] He began preliminary investigations even while in India, and exposure to dynamic currents in European scholarship led him to conclusively combine his early artistic interests with his academic expertise in Islamic history, languages and culture.[107] His amateur interests ranged across architecture, art and inscriptions, but his academic research focused specifically on Islamic painting.[108] This discussion will therefore consider his contributions to the field in terms of scholarship on illustrative arts, exclusive of research on architectural history.

Arnold established a position at the forefront of art historical research and developed close contacts with leading scholars in its geographical centre of Berlin and elsewhere across Europe. He corresponded regularly about travel and research with Ernst Herzfeld, whose seminal contributions to the field have already been noted, and maintained similar contact with Hermann Goetz, whose assessments of eighteenth-century Indian art as a dynamic, original tradition superseded Havell's initial crusade to raise its status in European judgements.[109] His academic contacts with the Swedish scholar-collector Fredrik Martin and the British Museum's oriental specialist Laurence Binyon generated several collaborative research projects.[110] Arnold was at the heart of art historical developments in

[106] N. Barfield, biographical notes (n.d.), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Sir Mark Aurel Stein, MSS Stein, mic 22; Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74.

[107] S. L. Poole to Arnold, 29 December 1894, Inayat-Ullah to Arnold, 28 March 1896, Nur Bakhsh to Arnold, 12 January 1904, London, SOAS, Papers of Thomas Walker Arnold, MS 32, file 1, box 1; Notes and diagrams on the buildings of Firoz Shah, Arnold Papers, file 20, box 5; Notes on monument remains around Delhi (n.d., but presumably between 1888 and 1904), Arnold Papers, file 41, box 9; Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 28 Oct. 1896, Arnold Family Papers, in the possession of Dr Lawrence Barfield.

[108] Notes and diagrams on the buildings of Firoz Shah, Arnold Papers, file 20, box 5; Notes on monument remains around Delhi (n.d., but presumably between 1888 and 1904), Arnold papers, file 41, box 9; notebook on Arabic and Persian inscriptions in the Victoria and Albert Museum, 1911–12? Arnold papers file 29, box 6; Prints and photos of architecture (n.d.), Arnold Papers, files 46–8, box 10.

[109] E. Herzfeld to Arnold, 26 April 1923, 14 Sept. 1923, 24 Dec. 1923, 20 Feb. 1924, 20 March 1924, and H. Goetz to Arnold, 14 Aug. 1923, 11 Oct. 1925, 3 June 1927, 21 Jan. 1929, Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; see Arnold to Stein, 26 Oct. 1922, Stein Papers, mic 64.

[110] '(Robert) Laurence Binjon' and 'Fredrik (Robert) Martin' in Turner (ed.), *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 4, p. 74 and vol. 20, p. 487. The collaborative works were T. W. Arnold and L. Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (London, 1921); T. W. Arnold and F. R. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a Manuscript of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair* (Vienna, 1926).

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Britain through his high academic reputation, employment in the India Office Library, and publications in Britain's only specialist oriental art journal, the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*. His influential position and contacts enabled him to participate fully in researching and re-evaluating Islamic art history.

As pioneers in an uncharted territory, historians and art specialists researching the Islamic field had to develop new methodologies for investigation. Lack of access to sources formed a significant constraint, since museum collections tended to be small and imitative commercial dissemination of little scholarly value.[111] Finding, cataloguing and publicizing the diverse artistic works scattered throughout the Muslim world, Europe and America was therefore an essential pre-requisite for developing an analytical historiography, and systematic acquisition of art works by public bodies and private collectors in the early 1900s was motivated by both academic demands and new aesthetic appreciation. As Assistant Librarian at the India Office, Arnold was instrumental in building up the Library's collection of Islamic paintings, drawings and manuscripts, and publicized his work in a brief descriptive catalogue published in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*.[112] Acquisitive policies helped to concentrate an Islamic heritage in European hands, but also provided a major stimulus to research.

Large-scale specialist exhibitions and illustrated inventories provided an important showcase for museum and private collections alike.[113] The Burlington exhibition of Persian and Arab art in 1885, the first to display Islamic art for its aesthetic value, heralded a series of similar events across Europe, and the high level of scholarship and impressive displays at the 1903 Exposition des Arts Musulmans in Paris and 1910 Munich exhibition brought the format to full maturity.[114] Exhibitions raised both academic and popular interest in Islamic art, stimulated further research and widened access to art works. Arnold's work in this field was on the 1931 Exhibition of Persian Art held by the London Royal Academy of Arts, which dedicated the official guide to his

[111] The only substantial museum collection in London was the Indian section at the South Kensington Museum: Sweetman, *Oriental Obsession*, p. 206.

[112] *Ibid*., p. 206; T. W. Arnold, 'Arabic and Persian Manuscripts' in *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, 15 (1913), 87–90.

[113] MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 86.

[114] 'Islamic Art: Exhibitions', in Turner (ed.), *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 16, pp. 559–60.

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memory.[115] Exhibition and collection catalogues provided an even more important means of disseminating information throughout the academic community, and Arnold initiated the process of cataloguing one of the most important private collections, that of A. Chester Beatty. Beatty was one of a growing number of Americans looking to invest their considerable purchasing power in art and design. After establishing his reputation as a mining consultant in America, he moved to London in 1913 to found his own company, Selection Trust Ltd, which proved highly successful. During his extensive travels in the Middle East from *c.*1910 onwards, he acquired a unique collection of Indian and Persian miniatures and manuscripts, to which he later added a wide variety of rare books and artefacts from Europe, India and the Middle East.[116] Arnold prepared accompanying notes for an exhibition of Beatty's oriental manuscripts in 1927, and subsequently pursued more specialized research on Beatty's collection of Mughal illustrations.[117] His publications have since been superseded, but his research was important in laying the groundwork for further investigation and in publicizing the valuable materials in Beatty's collection. It exemplifies the co-operative relationship between private purchasing power and specialist academic knowledge on which orientalist art history depended.

Oleg Grabar, in his influential historiographical discussion of Islamic art and architecture, highlighted monographic analysis of individual works as one of nine important approaches or issues in Islamic art history scholarship.[118] The first such exercise, on an illustration by the Persian master Bihzad, was published by Fredrik Martin in 1912, but the genre only gained real significance from 1925 onwards.[119] Arnold himself published a short article and five monographs on various important manuscripts from as early as 1921.[120] Although on occasions the highly specialized academic

[115] *Catalogue of the International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy of Arts, London* (London, 1931), p.x; Stein, 'Arnold, pp. 439–74; Ross, *Both Ends of the Candle*, p. 170.

[116] R. L. Prain, 'Sir (Alfred) Chester Beatty' in *Dictionary of National Biography* (1981).

[117] T. W. Arnold, *A Short Note on Oriental Manuscripts, especially those in the collection of A. Chester Beatty* (London, 1927); T. W. Arnold, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty*, ed. J. V. S. Wilkinson, (London, 1936).

[118] Grabar, 'Islamic Art and Architecture', pp. 229–64.

[119] Ettinghausen, 'Islamic Art and Architecture', pp. 17–47.

[120] T. W. Arnold, 'The Riza Abbasi Manuscript in the Victoria and Albert Museum', *The Burlington Magazine*, 38 (Jan.–June 1921), pp. 59–67; T. W. Arnold, *The King and the Dervish* (Vienna, 1926); Arnold and Martin, *Miniatures from the Period*

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requirements and readership of 1920s publications suggested the 'elitist clubbism' of what Grabar defined as a nineteenth-century 'antiquarian-scholarly' approach, they played an important role in expanding the possibilities of broader research and analysis. As Arnold continually stressed, historical analysis of Islamic artistic developments depended on preliminary research simply to order its raw data.[121] Monographic discussions significantly contributed to defining the characteristics of different painters or schools, publicizing biographical information about individual artists, exposing forgeries and dating various works. Collaborative projects between Islamic and art historical specialists, such as Arnold's work with Fredrik Martin and Laurence Binyon, proved especially profitable, since they bridged the field's 'split personality'.[122]

The message of Islam and Islamic art history might appear rather incongruous areas of interest, but in fact Arnold's apparently uncoordinated academic research was unified by his intellectual techniques and philosophy. He approached artistic analysis with the same concern for varied evidence which made *The Preaching of Islam* so unusual, and attached great importance to contextualizing artistic achievements through accurate historical information, in order to develop a 'complete history' of Islamic art.[123] His detailed discussion of a manuscript illustrated by the Persian painter Riza Abbasi clearly demonstrated his priorities, since his stylistic analysis was preceded by a biographical discussion in which he used linguistic, cultural and theological knowledge to dispute other scholars' interpretations of Riza Abbasi's personality.[124] At the specialized level, he drew on linguistic expertise and historical knowledge to publicize little-known contextual written sources.[125]

Arnold consciously set out to rebut prejudiced European notions of oriental degeneration by re-interpreting Islamic history and cul-

of Timur; T. W. Arnold and F. R. Martin, *The Nizami Manuscript illuminated by Bihzad, Mirak and Qasim Ali* (London, 1926); T. W. Arnold, *Bihzad and his Paintings in the Zafar-Namah Manuscript* (London, 1930); T. W. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *Chronicle of Akbar the Great: a Description of a Manuscript of the Akbar-Nama illustrated by the Court Painters* (Oxford, 1937).

[121] Arnold, 'Riza Abbasi', pp. 59–67; T. W. Arnold, *Painting in Islam: A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, intro. B. W. Robinson (Reprint. New York, 1965), pp. 41–51, 138–49; Arnold, *Bihzad and his Paintings*, pp. 10–20.

[122] J. Sauvaget, cited in Ettinghausen, 'Islamic Art and Architecture', pp. 17–47.

[123] Morison and Gibb, 'Sir Thomas Arnold', 398–400; Arnold, 'Riza Abbasi', pp. 59–67.

[124] Arnold, 'Riza Abbasi', pp. 59–67.

[125] T. W. Arnold, 'A Portrait of Abu'l Fazl' and 'Mirza Muhammad Hayder Dughlat on the Harat School of Painters', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* IV (1926–28), 721, V (1928–30), 671–4; Arnold, *Painting in Islam,* pp. iv, 138–49.

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ture in a new light. Just as the tyrannical Muslim aggressor was replaced in *The Preaching of Islam* by the spiritual Muslim missionary, so too did flawed oriental imitations of Western artistic models become worthy of aesthetic and historical merit. Contrary to European prejudice, he believed that oriental art evinced clear elements of naturalism and 'a delightful feeling of sympathy with all forms of animal life'.[126] Orientalist generalizations tended to submerge differentiation between individuals (although Victorian biography gave 'great men' a prominent role, as noted in chapter I), but Arnold's writings were dominated by a sympathetic human element and anthropological approach. His work on the teachings and propagation of Islam highlighted individual religious convictions as the motive force in historical development, while his art historical discussions focused primarily on the painter rather than the painting. His humanist philosophy governed his treatment of Islam, its teachings and its cultural products alike.

Arnold viewed artistic achievements as an expression of human aspirations rather than in purely aesthetic terms. This was nowhere more evident than in *Painting in Islam,* a work of '*culturhistorisch* rather than *kunsthistorisch*, which attempted 'to indicate the place of painting in the culture of the Islamic world'.[127] Its conceptual framework affirmed the role of the individual in artistic developments by awarding Muslim painters new prestige, as the work reviewed fluctuations in their social standing and profiled individuals in a chapter exclusively devoted to previously untranslated biographical sources. The Persian masters Bihzad and Riza Abbasi achieved a status comparable to that of European artists in Arnold's later composite analyses of their life and work, and Bihzad was explicitly likened to the Italian Renaissance painter Fra Angelico.[128] Arnold here applied Western art historical precepts to the Islamic field, yet in doing so he actually subverted orientalist neglect of the individual.

Arnold continually pursued a theme of artistic vitality in the face of theological disapproval.[129] *Painting in Islam* examined artistic

[126] T. W. Arnold, 'Some Unpublished Persian Paintings of the Safavid Period', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, 17 (1915–16), pp. 67–72; T. W. Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 28 October 1896, Arnold Family Papers.

[127] Arnold to Stein, 25 July 1927, Stein Papers, mic 64; Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p.v.

[128] Arnold, 'Riza Abbasi', pp. 59–67; Arnold, 'Bihzad and his Paintings'; Arnold, 'Some Persian Paintings', pp. 67–72.

[129] Troll, 'Student of Islam', pp. 39–52.

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activity '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', and the work was a wide-ranging survey of Muslim attitudes from Islam's earliest Arab converts to its contemporary Ottoman practitioners.[130] In *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Painting*, Arnold traced Muslim uses of artistic motifs which pre-dated the Arab conquest in the seventh century. He argued that regional and religious artistic traditions survived an interlude of six centuries only to re-appear when Muslim painting became more widely accepted in the 1400s, a remarkable example of continuity given substantial cultural differences between the two periods. Such tenacious survival seemed to him to demonstrate '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'.[131] Again in his Schweich lectures of 1928, he admired 'the refusal of the artistic tradition to give way before the attacks of ecclesiastical authorities'.[132] He did not analyse Islamic art in terms of Western aesthetic ideals, but he retained the humanist philosophy from which they were derived.[133] Artistic activity remained for him the most fulfilling expression of human passions and aspirations.

Arnold's assessment of Muslim attitudes to artistic representations, as argued in *Painting in Islam*, set a new standard of scholarship in the field.[134] His starting-point was the now-discredited notion of Muslim iconoclasm, for which he adduced historical and theological evidence.[135] This long-standing Western premise frequently carried connotations of theological despotism and intolerance, but he argued that in fact Muslim rulers cared no more for religious rulings than did Christians, and depicted a dynamic, court-centred artistic tradition which had flourished in spite of prohibitions on figurative art.[136]

[130] Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p.v.

[131] T. W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Painting* (Oxford, 1924), p. 23.

[132] T. W. Arnold, *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art*, Schweich Lectures of the British Academy (London, 1932), p. 47.

[133] Troll, 'Student of Islam', pp. 39–52.

[134] B. W. Robinson, 'Introduction' in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. ii–iii.

[135] Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 3–12.

[136] *Ibid*., pp. 16–17, 19, 25, 30–31, 38, 72–8. Cf. Arnold and Binyon, *Court Painters*; T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic Book: A Contribution to its Art and History from the VII–XVIII Century* (Paris, 1929), pp. 84–96.

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Portraiture in particular seemed to have enjoyed popularity from the earliest decades of Muslim expansion, as indicated by the famous Qusayr Amra frescoes, frequent use of effigies on coins and court fashions from the 1400s onwards.[137] Arnold thoroughly undermined Western assumptions by presenting evidence of Muslim religious painting, supposedly an impossible contradiction. He contended that although orthodox hostility had prevented the formation of a distinctive historical tradition, devotional artistic activity was manifestly evident in illustrations and paintings depicting the prophets Abraham, Solomon and even Muhammad himself, the recurrence of religious motifs, and popular representations of Muhammad's ascension to heaven.[138] *Painting in Islam* was hailed by his contemporaries as a substantial challenge to conventional interpretations and a successful effort to unite historical and artistic research.[139]

The constraints of iconoclasm on Islamic painting led Arnold to consider cross-cultural influences on spiritual artistic themes, although religious and national sensitivities made this subject an academic minefield, into which few revisionists of his generation ventured.[140] In his opinion:

> It is one of the ironies of religious history that the Christian Church should have handed on the tradition of its own distinctive art to the rival faith of Islam—and that in the face of the hostile attitude of the Muslim theologians who condemned all such forms of representational art.[141]

The incorporation of Manichaean influences afforded a further paradox, as this tradition of painting was conceived in primarily religious terms.[142] Arnold suggested in his Schweich lectures that Muslim painters, constrained by theological prohibitions, had of necessity searched outside Islamic culture for guidance. The Christian tradition provided particularly rich resources for Persian painters, since it addressed similar subjects and its practitioners could be found in every city of the Muslim empire, and although later antagonism

[137] Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 123–32. The revision of traditional Western assumptions by Arnold and others of his generation was initially stimulated by the discovery of extensive figural murals at Qusayr Amra by Alois Musil in 1898: 'Historiography', *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 15, pp. 546–51.

[138] Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 91–122.

[139] Robinson, 'Introduction' in Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, p. ii; I. Stchoukine, 'Un historien de l'art musalman: Sir Thomas W. Arnold', *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, VI (1930), pp. 188–90.

[140] Stchoukine, 'Un historien', 188–90.

[141] Arnold, *Old and New Testaments*, p. 1.

[142] Arnold, *Survivals*, pp. 15–19.

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between Muslims and Christians led artists to avoid overtly Christian representations, they never established distinctively Islamic types.[143] He also noted the popularity of Christian art works in India during Mughal rule, though purely as an artistic fashion.[144] Elsewhere, he underlined the importance of Chinese, Buddhist, Hindu and intra-Islamic influences.[145] Arnold successfully emphasized the adoption of non-Islamic motifs without denigrating Muslim artistic traditions to mere imitation, and by tracing specifically Christian influences, he necessarily demonstrated the value of Islamic religious themes, thereby challenging Western assumptions.[146] Nor did he consider cross-cultural influences one-sided. His study of oriental elements in Byzantine-influenced Jacobite and Nestorian church interiors portrayed Arabia after Muslim conquest as a site of dynamic cross-cultural exchange, and although he deemed Muslim influences on European painting merely superficial, he regarded this as exceptional within the artistic field as a whole.[147] His judgements on cross-cultural influences therefore allowed weight to both Christo-European and Muslim achievements.

Expressions and representations of spiritual faith defined the spectrum of Arnold's academic concerns. His historical studies focused on religious practice and belief, as chapter I showed, and he was similarly attracted by artistic works which contained a strong spiritual element. He found an abiding source of inspiration in Renaissance art and church architecture, which he described on his European travels in the 1910s and 1920s as 'quite a new revelation' in spite of his academic familiarity, and confided to Stein that Biblical influences on Islamic traditions formed 'a subject to which I have given thought for many years'.[148] Within the Islamic field, Arnold's focus narrowed specifically on artistic representations of Sufi ele-

[143] *Ibid*., pp. 2, 5, 12–16, 37–9; cf. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 54–60.

[144] *Ibid*., pp. 40–6. Cf. Arnold, *Library of Beatty*, pp. xxvii–xxxiv.

[145] Arnold, 'Unpublished Persian Paintings', pp. 67–72; Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 52–69, 94; Arnold and Grohmann, *Islamic Book*, pp. 61–81; Arnold, *Library of Beatty*, p. xviii.

[146] See especially Arnold, *Library of Beatty*, pp. xxxix–xl.

[147] 'The Pictorial Art of the Jacobite and Nestorian Churches', MSS article (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 10, box 3; T. W. Arnold, 'Islamic Art and Influence on Painting in Europe', in T. W. Arnold and A. Guillaume (eds), *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 151–4.

[148] Arnold to Allen, 6 April 1902, 26 Oct. 1919, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Percy Stafford Allen, MS Allen 195, 37707; Arnold to Stein, 15 April 1923, 8 March 1928, Stein Papers, mic 126 and 64; see Stchoukine, 'Un Historien', 188–90.

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ments, because he identified mysticism with non-credal tolerance. He admired the Mughal emperor Akbar, 'a mystic by nature', for his universalist attitudes and for challenging Muslim orthodoxy by asserting spiritual benefits in artistic activity, and undertook detailed research on Bihzad and Riza Abbasi, who frequently depicted dervishes and mystics in their work.[149] Bihzad's work evoked for Arnold the same air of mystical piety and contemplative mood as the devotional frescoes of the Dominican monk and painter Fra Angelico, a comparison which forcefully emphasizes his dual receptivity to both Christian and Muslim spirituality.[150] Artistic mystical themes echoed Arnold's praise for individual religious faith in his works on the teachings and history of Islam. As chapter III will demonstrate, his intellectual curiosity about both Christian and Muslim articulations of spiritual faith stemmed from deeper personal concerns to express his own ambivalent attitudes towards religious belief.

Arnold's framework for Islamic art history significantly undermined long-standing Western interpretations by raising the status of both art and artist and adducing new evidence of religious traditions in Islamic art. His work contributed to a wider process of re-appraisal by Western artists and art historians whose history challenges the continuity of the Saidian orientalist paradigm. Arnold's art historical research was part of a self-imposed mission to re-define European perceptions of Islam, and he evaluated Islamic art with the same analytical techniques and intellectual philosophy which made his broader historical studies so unconventional. Critical evaluation of varied sources underpinned his commentaries, while religious beliefs and spiritual mysticism proved their enduring themes across his academic *oeuvre*. The centrality of the individual in Arnold's anthropological approach infused his work with a sense of personal receptivity, and it was this sympathetic human element which placed his work at the forefront of revisionist scholarship.

III: An Ethical Perspective

Political and religious conflict between Islam and Christianity created an historical legacy which underlay the early development of

[149] Arnold, 'Riza Abbasi', 59–67; Arnold and Martin, *Nizami Manuscript*; Arnold, *Bihzad and his Paintings*; Arnold, *A Short Note*, p. 5; Arnold, *Chronicle of Akbar the Great*, p. 8; Arnold and Binyon, *Court Painters*, pp. 19–20; Arnold, *Library of Beatty*, pp. xxi–xxvii. See Stchoukine, 'Un Historien', pp. 188–90; 'Bihzad' and 'Riza', in *Grove Dictionary of Art*, vol. 4, 49–50, and vol. 26, pp. 433–4.

[150] Arnold, 'Unpublished Persian Paintings', pp. 67–72.

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academic scholarship on the history and teachings of Islam, and which was enhanced in Britain in the 1800s by religious revival and evangelicalism. In the first half of the century, the Church of England, Dissenting sects and the Roman Catholic Church all experienced a period of growth, and religious beliefs became central to political and social ideology.[151] Evangelical ideas, which emphasized individual conversion and duty to spread the Christian truth, appealed to large sections of the Church of England and Nonconformist groups alike, and gave British religion an important international aspect.[152] The development of a strong missionary presence throughout the Empire undermined non-interventionist religious policies, and close links developed between church and state overseas as well as at home.[153] Missionary confrontations with Muslims were particularly contentious because of shared religious traditions, as noted in chapter I.[154] Confidence and faith were equally matched by dissent and doubt, however, induced by the impact of scientific theories, German Biblical criticism and humanist ideas of morality. From the 1880s, missionary societies experienced a crisis of confidence, membership of all sects failed to keep pace with population growth, and religious ideals less frequently provided a basis for political and social action.[155]

The prominence of religion in Victorian thinking, enhanced among academics by clerical university structures, ensured acute awareness among orientalist scholars of the religious context of their work. Christian self-confidence and self-righteousness inflected much orientalist scholarship with an evangelical agenda, whereby Islamic history provided a moral lesson to exemplify the virtues and truth of Christianity, but similarly the questioning of Christian faith formed

[151] F. C. D. Clark and L. Colley, cited in J. Wolffe, 'Victorian Religion in Context' in J. Wolffe (ed.), *Culture and Empire* Religion in Victorian Britain V (Manchester and New York, 1997), pp. 1–22.

[152] *Ibid*., pp. 1–22.

[153] A. T. Embree, 'Christianity and the state in Victorian India: confrontation and collaboration' in *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society: Essays in Honour of R. K. Webb*, ed. R. W. Davis and R. J. Helmstadter (London and New York, 1992), pp. 151–65.

[154] Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India*, p. 6.

[155] E. Jay, *Faith and Doubt in Victorian Britain* (London, 1986), pp. 99–102; J. Cox, 'On Redefining "Crisis": The Victorian Crisis of Faith in the Punjab, 1880–1930' in R. J. Helmstadter and B. Lightman (eds). *Victorian Faith in Crisis: Essays in Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Religious Belief* (London, 1992), pp. 315–42; Wolffe, 'Victorian Religion', pp. 1–22; R. J. Helmstadter, 'The Nonconformist Conscience' in G. Parsons (ed.), *Interpretations* Religion in Victorian Britain IV (Manchester and New York, 1988), pp. 61–95.

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an essential background for the re-evaluation of both academic and popular attitudes towards other belief-systems (see chapter I). Although lack of evidence about Arnold's early life and his own reticence on personal matters make a detailed analysis impossible, this chapter will discuss his personal religious outlook and its importance to his work as an orientalist.

Born into a strict Nonconformist family, Arnold's early experience of religion exposed him to one of the most extreme expressions of Victorian religious dogma. Nonconformity embraced a number of distinctive Dissenting sects, but all shared an emphasis on personal behaviour and conscience, individualism, and religious equality before the law.[156] According to family tradition, the Arnolds were probably members of the Plymouth Brethren, a particularly insular sect founded in 1830 by John Nelson Darby.[157] Its theological position was close to both Calvinism and Pietism, emphasizing individual study of the Bible, social austerity and a strong sense of moral responsibility. Its members were highly critical of ritualistic worship, frivolity and social amusements, instead promoting simplicity in worship and lifestyle and seclusion from worldly pursuits. The Brethren formed an intellectually and socially self-contained community.[158]

Arnold apparently discarded this dogmatic, reclusive Nonconformist ethos early on in his life. Although no evidence exists to indicate precisely when and why he did so, he was probably influenced by contact with an atmosphere of liberalism and critical study at both school and university, and his immersion in Muslim culture at Aligarh profoundly influenced his attitude towards Islam and its teachings, as noted in chapter I. He had certainly dissociated himself entirely from the Christian doctrines of his early childhood by *c.* 1890, if not earlier. Arnold's rejection of Christian dogmatism reflected wider trends within British religious thinking in the 1870s and 1880s. As Victorian ethics acquired an increasingly humanitarian slant, many began to question Christian emphases on eternal punishment and hence to reject religion as the basis of moral conduct, although as Stefan Collini has argued, such re-definitions rarely

[156] Helmstadter, 'Nonconformist Conscience', pp. 61–95; T. Larsen, *Friends of Religious Equality: Nonconformist Politics in Mid-Victorian England* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 1.

[157] Interview with Dr Lawrence Barfield, 1 June 2000. Dr Barfield is one of Thomas Arnold's grandsons.

[158] W. B. Neatby, *A History of the Plymouth Brethren* (London, 1901), pp. 230, 265–78.

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contested the actual content of moral obligations, merely their theoretical basis.[159] Ideas of individual responsibility and altruistic ideals remained strong, whilst Christianity, the medium through which they were previously expressed, attracted increasing criticism.

Arnold's ideas can be aligned with a non-doctrinal, ethical strand in religious thinking, as he was highly critical of narrow-minded sectarianism but retained a strong sense of moral responsibility.[160] His ideas are most clearly indicated by the character of his daughter Nancy's early childhood in India, described by his wife May in 'Baby's Record'.[161] From the age of three, she was taught 'little ethical songs' and read 'improving stories', but with no religious inflection, and she was deliberately sheltered from overtly religious influences to ensure her mind remained 'free and unprejudiced'.[162] As May Arnold related:

> I know how happy she would be going to Sunday school with the other children, but for her peace in after life, I and Tom feel it must be denied her now. Things we no longer believe must surely be wrong to teach to her . . . As long as she is left to us we must train her in thoughts that we love and think right.[163]

Arnold's ethical leanings are further supported by references in his correspondence which suggest that he may have been a member of the South Place Ethical Society.[164] Its activities began in 1793 in opposition to prevailing Calvinist theology, but after a period of allegiance to Unitarianism, it rejected all denominational ties in the mid-1830s in favour of universalist, rationalist humanism. Its philo-

[159] E. Jay, *Faith and Doubt*, p. 99; S. Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain, 1850–1930* (Oxford, 1991), p. 64.

[160] Shibli Numani, farewell speech to Arnold, cited in S. Nadvi, *Hayat-i-Shibli* (reprint. Azamgarh, 1993), pp. 139–44; S. A. Hashmi, *Ad-Aene* (2nd edn. Karachi, 1974), p. 173 (thanks to Dr Simon Qadri for this information); Morison and Gibb, 'Sir Thomas Arnold', pp. 398–400; H. A. R. Gibb, 'Thomas Walker Arnold' in *Dictionary of National Biography* (1937); Morison, *History of the MAO College, Aligarh*, p. 25.

[161] 'Baby's Record' is a diary account by C. M. Arnold of Nancy's life from her birth in 1896 until 1902, held in Arnold Family Papers, in the possession of Dr Lawrence Barfield.

[162] C. M. Arnold, 'Baby's Record', Arnold Family Papers, pp. 6, 8–12; C. M. Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 27 November 1901, 5 March 1902, 27 Oct. 1902, Arnold Family Papers.

[163] C. M. Arnold, 'Baby's Record', p. 12, Arnold Family Papers.

[164] T. W. Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 6 Dec. 1907, 21 December 1907, Arnold Family Papers; C. M. Arnold, 'Baby's Record', pp. 8–9, Arnold Family Papers. Arnold was probably introduced to the Society by his wife: Interview with Dr Lawrence Barfield, 1 June 2000.

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sophical leanings shared many similarities with Comtean Positivism, which also called for non-doctrinal moral struggle, but its particular brand of ethics was construed as a deliberate alternative to the Church of Humanity and offered greater idealism, more colourful ritual and wider scope for ideological differentiation.[165] The Society's members were receptive to comparative religious study, as demonstrated by its close links with the Brahmo Samaj in the 1860s and its enormously successful lecture series on 'Religious Systems of the World', given by such sympathetic orientalist scholars as W. H. Rhys Davids and E. G. Browne. In 1874, Moncure Conway, the Society's preacher, published *The Sacred Anthology,* a collection of ethical passages from a range of religious scriptures, including the Bible, the Qur'an, Hindu and Buddhist texts and the writings of Confucius and Lao-tze. The work was intended as a moral guidebook and testimony to the unity of all ethical religions.[166] Arnold drew heavily on its teachings as lessons for his daughter, together with extracts from *The Message to Man*, a publication of the West London Ethical Society, and appears also to have subscribed to the *International Journal of Ethics*.[167] It seems clear that his moral framework combined antipathy to religious prejudice and dogma with strong precepts of duty and ethical behaviour.

Yet Arnold's abiding interest in religious expression suggests that ethics alone could not provide emotional fulfilment. He disliked dogmatic assertion and narrow-minded prejudice rather than religion *per se*, and personally drew on elements from Christianity, Islam and to a lesser extent Sikhism.[168] For example, he attended both Christian and Muslim services, although he participated in neither, and celebrated the birthday of the Sikh Guru Nanak.[169] Influenced by his immersion in Muslim culture and aspirations at Aligarh, Arnold was

[165] T. R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: the Impact of Comtean Positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 19–31, 156–7, 248.

[166] S. K. Ratcliffe, *The Story of South Place* (London, 1955), pp. 1–2, 14–15, 25–30, 42, 49, 53–4.

[167] C. M. Arnold, 'Baby's Record', pp. 8–9, Arnold Family Papers; C. M. Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 16 July 1902, Arnold Family Papers.

[168] E. D. Ross in *The Times*, 17 June 1930.

[169] C. M. Arnold, 'Baby's Record', pp. 6, 10, 12, Arnold Family Papers; Arnold to Allen, 4 Oct. 1903, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Percy Stafford Allen, MS Allen 195, 37707; Arnold to C. M. Arnold, Palm Sunday 1907, Arnold Family Papers. Arnold also possessed copies of Muslim prayers, but what uses he made of them are impossible to ascertain: see London, SOAS, Papers of Thomas Walker Arnold, MS 32, file 58, box 11.

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almost induced to convert to Islam in the early 1890s.[170] He perceived Islam as an ethical system of belief, whose emphasis on 'right conduct' and 'right belief' encouraged 'righteousness; brotherhood; virtues of moral earnestness, which have made Muhammadan societies conspicuous for sobriety and outward decency; love of truth and zeal for knowledge'.[171] His positive appraisal suggests that he respected religious structures as a medium for moral teachings in spite of his early rejection of formal Christianity. Although he never committed himself whole-heartedly to any particular faith, he developed his ethical beliefs through research into various religious elements, particularly mysticism, rationalism, and missionary preaching.

Mysticism in all faiths appealed to Arnold as the consummate expression of spirituality, as demonstrated by his life-long admiration for St Francis of Assisi and Muslim Sufism. He saw St Francis as a model of charity, pity and love, and as noted in chapter I, dedicated his attempt to re-evaluate Islam's ethos and propagation to this 'Seraphic Patriarch' as an examplar of self-reform.[172] His first academic project after publishing *The Preaching of Islam* was the translation of *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis of Assisi*, a collection of stories about the preaching, miracles and conversions achieved by the saint and his early followers.[173] The introduction to the text acknowledged its historical inaccuracy, but praised its depiction of the 'profound and delicate beauty' of St Francis' life, for 'in this popular and mystical legend, St Francis [is] encircled with a halo of love and charity, and shining with a pure glory which no cloud of criticism is able to dim'.[174] It was these qualities of charitable benevolence and unselfish generosity which appealed so strongly to Arnold. He was a member of the British Society of Franciscan Studies from its formation in 1907, and actively celebrated the feast of St Francis by attending services in his honour,

[170] A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Sir Thomas Arnold: The Family Perspective', *Iqbal Review* 32.1 (April 1991), 59–68.

[171] Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, p. 13; 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10; 'What are an ordinary Musalman's standards of right; of wrong?', MSS notes by unknown author (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 14, box 4; 'Islam as a Civilisation', MSS lecture notes, Arnold papers, file 16, box 4.

[172] Research notebook I (1888), Arnold Papers, file 37, box 7.

[173] Arnold began translating the work in 1896, immediately after the publication of *The Preaching of Islam*, although it was not published until 1908.

[174] *The Little Flowers of St Francis of Assisi*, trans. T. W. Arnold, note by G. Biagi (London, 1908), pp. xi–xvi.

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although he did not formally participate.[175] Arnold's attraction to elements of Sufi mysticism led him to highlight the role of saints and mystics in his research on Muslim missionary work in India, and to focus on Islamic religious painting and Sufi elements within that tradition in his art history publications.[176]

He endorsed so-called modernist attempts to redefine Islam's teachings by figures such as Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Sayyid Amir Ali because he perceived 'modernist' Islam to be heavily influenced by mysticism.[177] Most importantly, Arnold believed mystics of all religions to share a universalist sense of faith and tolerant philosophy:

> There is a sphere of religious thought in which devout persons succeed in overleaping the boundaries that diversity of creed erects between human beings. Mystics in all parts of the world feel with one another a community of thought, and it is in mysticism that the devout life of Muslims has found its fullest expression. Their mystical literature is full of expressions of sympathy with the followers of other creeds, and again and again inculcates a large-hearted toleration.[178]

[175] A. G. Little, secretary of the British Society of Franciscan Studies to C. M. Arnold, 14 Dec. 1930, Arnold Family Papers; Arnold to Allen, 4 Oct. 1903, Allen Papers. In 1902, A. G. Little established a British branch of Paul Sabatier's Society of Franciscan Studies, founded in France the previous year, but in 1907 it was reconstituted on an independent basis as the British Society of Franciscan Studies in order to highlight the need to increase publications. It is unclear whether Arnold became a member in 1902 or 1907, although the timing of his return to England and of the publication of *The Little Flowers* suggests 1907 as the more likely date. The Society was dissolved in 1936–37. F. M. Powicke, 'A. G. Little', *Dictionary of National Biography* (1959).

[176] 'A Few Instances of the Spread of Islam in India' and 'Islam in India as a Missionary Religion', MSS notes and articles (n.d., but internal references and nature of material suggest that they date from Arnold's time at Aligarh). Arnold Papers, file 12, box 3 and file 13, box 4; Nazhar ul Hak to Arnold, 20 December 1893, Arnold Papers, file 51, box 11; Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 4 Dec. 1907, 10 Dec. 1907, Arnold Family Papers; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (1st edition. Westminster, 1896), esp. pp. 208–43, (2nd edition. London, 1913), esp. pp. 254–93; T. W. Arnold, 'The Riza Abbasi Manuscript', pp. 59–67; Arnold, 'Some Unpublished Persian Paintings of the Safavid Period', pp. 67–72; Arnold and Martin, *The Nizami Manuscript*; Arnold, *Bihzad and his Paintings*; Arnold, *A Short Note on Oriental Manuscripts*, p. 5; Arnold and Wilkinson, *Chronicle of Akbar the Great*, p. 8; Arnold and Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, pp. 19–20; Arnold, *Library of Beatty*, pp. xxi–xxviii.

[177] Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, p. 74. On Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Sayyid Amir Ali's actual views on mysticism, see Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan;* Sayyid Amir Ali, *Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*, pp. 309–17.

[178] Arnold, 'Europe and Islam' in Marvin (ed.), *Western Races and the World*, pp. 146–60.

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He perceived mystics as an inclusive group which transcended nominal credal and doctrinal allegiances; for example, he found equal personal inspiration in spiritual works by the Persian painter Bihzad and Dominican monk Fra Angelico (see chapter II). His attraction to religious mysticism, both Christian and Muslim, as a charitable philosophy of love and self-sacrifice and expression of non-credal toleration gave a universalist spiritual dimension to his ethical beliefs, and his nickname 'the Saint' suggests that he consciously tried to emulate these same qualities.[179]

Arnold's own rationalist ethics stimulated an interest in similar ideas in Muslim theology. He praised the rationalist ethos of Islam's basic creed in general terms, but also pursued research specifically focused on its clearest expression, in Muʿtazilite philosophy. In 1902, he published *Al-Muʿtazilah*, an extract from a fifteenth-century exposition of the sect's legal and theological beliefs. His translation of the text was never published, but his notes indicate that it described the arguments of prominent Muʿtazilite thinkers, focusing particularly on theological disputations.[180] He believed that its rationalist slant was important in the history of both Muslim philosophy and historical thought in general.[181]

Arnold's attitude towards missionary preaching provides further evidence of his admiration of non-dogmatic religious faith. He supported its message of love and charity and its sincere desire to extend the spiritual and moral benefits of religious belief, but became highly critical in those cases where it also inculcated prejudice, intolerance and inequality. St Francis' charitable benevolence exemplified its most attractive aspects, while his contemporary imperial counterparts revealed its capacity for prejudice. *The Preaching of Islam* most clearly reflected Arnold's attitude through contrasting peaceful preaching by Muslim saints with the aggressive, self-righteous tactics of Christian missionaries (see chapter I). Arnold condemned the dogmatic intolerance and hypocrisy of much nineteenth-century evangelicalism, but nevertheless remained open to its positive work.[182] He drew heavily on missionary research and knowledge in his academic research and was

[179] Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74; see T. Morison in *The Times*, 11 June 1930; *The Near East*, 19 June 1930, Arnold Family Papers.
[180] 'The Muʿtazilah and their classes', MSS translation (n.d.), Arnold papers, file 45, box 10.
[181] Arnold to Allen, 8 Jan. 1902, Allen Papers.
[182] Untitled MSS notes (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 37, box 7.

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keen to meet scholarly practitioners, such as a C.M.S. missionary from Peshawar who was also a enthusiastic Arabic scholar.[183] He saw missionary work as dependent on a capacity for self-reform and a sense of individual duty and responsibility, a view which reflected his ethical beliefs.

The appeal of non-Christian religious beliefs was felt by a significant minority of Britons in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ethical societies and the Theosophists promoted universalist philosophies which recognized fundamental common elements in all religions, and for some Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist teachings were sufficiently persuasive to inspire conversion. Arnold's attraction to mysticism but personal rejection of formal religious beliefs was shared by other orientalist scholars of his generation, in particular the Persian scholar E. G. Browne. Browne argued that the essential characteristic of Persian national character was religious creativity, expressed through Zoroastrianism, Mithraism, Sufi mysticism and the Bahai movement. He identified with the desire of 'the Brahmin sage, the Persian poet or the Christian pietist to be at one with God', though he acknowledged no formal religious allegiances himself. Like Arnold, he perceived oriental religions as superior in many ways to Christianity.[184] From the 1890s onwards, such ambivalence produced a peculiarly British interpretation of race and religion, which came to characterize British orientalist scholarship.[185] On the continent, by comparison, a large proportion of research was generated by Biblical studies and far more scholars retained their religious faith (see chapter I), although it should be noted that personal religious convictions did not necessarily preclude universalist ideas or identification with non-Christian mysticism; for example, Louis Massignon, one of the most influential Islamic scholars of the twentieth century and a devout Catholic, owed the resolution of his religious doubts to the medium of Arabic and his contact with Islam in the Middle East, and looked to the Muslim saint and mystic al-Hallaj for spiritual inspiration.[186] The non-theological

[183] Copies of Arnold to Weilbrecht and to J. J. Scott, J. Johnson to Arnold (n.d., but probably pre-1896), Arnold Papers, file 37, box 7; Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (2nd edition), pp. xi–xii; Arnold to Allen, 8 Jan. 1902, Allen Papers. The Christian Missionary Service (C.M.S.) carried out a large proportion of missionary work in the Punjab.

[184] C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient'.

[185] *Ibid*.

[186] M. L. Gude, *Louis Massignon: The Crucible of Compassion* (Notre Dame, Indiana and London, 1996), pp. 22–51, 60; Hourani, 'Islam and the Philosophers of History', pp. 206–68; see also H. Mason, *Memoir of a Friend: Louis Massignon* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1988).

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religious experiences which inspired Arnold's Islamic studies identified him with this British strand in orientalist scholarship, although he did not share its emphasis on racial characteristics.

Arnold's views on religion were highly unconventional, however, at the level of colonial administration, with which he became nominally associated through his teaching in India. Protestantism became a critical component of nineteenth-century British identity, particularly in colonial relationships, where religious differences underlay British power and superiority.[187] Although by the end of the century, missionary failures, religious fragmentation and growing secularism had begun to undermine the convergence of British identity, Protestant faith and governmental rule, church and state in India remained linked until the late 1920s. Few British administrators failed to conform at least nominally with the teachings of the 'moral police'.[188] Against this background, Arnold shared more ideological ground with India's subversive British elements than with her rulers. The Theosophists became a dynamic presence in Indian political life through the active involvement in the Indian National Congress, and Arnold was indirectly linked to them by his wife's connections with their leaders Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh, although he did not share their zeal for political activity.[189] Within the conservative context, Arnold's Nonconformist background, lack of formal religious beliefs and close association with Muslims marked him out as unusual.

'I believe he had a religion all his own, but I don't think anyone ever discovered what it was.'[190] E. D. Ross's posthumous judgement on Arnold pinpoints the difficulties in ascertaining his religious beliefs, in that he adhered to no formal creed or system and rarely disclosed his feelings on personal matters. Yet an appraisal of Arnold's personal attitude to religion is crucial to understanding the originality of his academic work, because he spoke for new trends in British religious thinking. Ethical leanings prevailed disproportionately in intellectual circles, rejection of formal Christian beliefs reflected growing agnosticism and attraction to oriental religions was widely shared. Arnold's particular combination of all three defined his orientalist stance. In his humanist philosophy, true civilization was 'that of the soul', the expression of 'truth, goodness, justice,

[187] Wolffe, 'Victorian Religion', pp. 1–22.
[188] *Ibid*, 1–22; Embree, 'Christianity and the State', pp. 151–65.
[189] A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', pp. 59–68.
[190] Ross, *Both Ends of the Candle*, p. 170.

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charity' free from material or credal considerations, and he searched to express those qualities in a non-doctrinal religious paradigm through his academic research.[191] His strong sense of moral responsibility led him to focus on individual expressions of religious faith, whether through preaching, devotion or artistic activity, while his desire to enhance ethical precepts with a spiritual component drew him to both Christian and Muslim mysticism. These ideals permeated his academic and practical work, in that he actively promoted his intellectual analysis of Islam as an ethical, spiritually-fufilling belief-system, as the following chapters will demonstrate. Arnold's ethical-spiritual philosophy, focused on individual faith, gave depth to the sympathetic human element which made his work so distinctive.

IV: Regenerating Islam

Western education should 'form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect'.[192] Macaulay's idea of downward filtration failed, but his policy of anglicization directed government provision of higher education in India for the rest of the century. In 1854, Charles Wood's 'Educational Despatch' set in motion a massive expansion of government-sponsored schooling across India, guided by the principles of vernacular teaching at lower levels, British-style education at higher levels, and complete exclusion of religious references.[193] Strains on this policy soon appeared, however. Ensuing debate focused in particular on the unwillingness of Muslims to participate in government education and consequent social and economic changes, to which Sayyid Ahmad Khan's educational crusade was one response.[194] Debate over education was usually couched in apolitical

[191] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10.

[192] Thomas Macaulay, 'Minute on Education' (1835), cited in S. Bose and A. Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History; Culture, Political Economy* (London, 1998), p. 84.

[193] Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims*, pp. 34–6; S. Nurullah and J. P. Naik, *A History of Education in India (During the British Period)* (London, 1951), pp. 272–435; Metcalf, *Ideologies*, p. 42.

[194] On British–Muslim relations in this period, see especially Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, pp. 61–115; T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857–1870* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 92–133; Robinson, *Separatism*, pp. 33–130.

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terms, but its political ramifications were far-reaching, and by the end of the century, British-style instruction had produced a professional elite in Indian society, concerned to maintain India's integrity but able to express their ideas in the idioms and arena of British politics.[195] The interplay of Indian policital pressure and government responses generated dissatisfaction with education provision in both government and Indian circles, and Curzon's administrative shake-up after 1900 commenced a thorough re-appraisal.[196] Arnold's work at Aligarh and Lahore coincided with these two major educational debates, providing opportunities to influence a hotly-contested arena.

Government-sponsored education formed a major challenge for Muslim thinkers, provoking a variety of responses which were concentrated primarily in north-western India, where Muslims dominated higher social circles. Determination to protect Islamic learning and religious ideals motivated purist *ulama* to provide neo-traditional education free from Western encroachments at the Deobandi and Firangi Mahal *madrasahs*, yet as Francis Robinson has argued, failure to acquire a British education threatened Muslims' monopoly of government service, with significant implications for their economic and social status.[197] It was in response to these concerns that Sayyid Ahmad set out to allay his co-religionists' suspicion of British education and to provide that education within a Muslim environment, justifying special measures on the basis of Muslim 'backwardness'.[198] Although this analysis received apparent support from William Hunter's government-sponsored critique, Sayyid Ahmad criticized its identification of educational non-participation with 'disloyalty and

[195] See S. Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947* (2nd edition. London, 1989), pp. 65–100; A Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: competition and collaboration in the later nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 1968), esp. pp. 114–30; J. McLane, *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 89–210; P. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (London, 1986), esp. pp. 1–53; Bose and Jalal, *Modern South Asia*, pp. 107–25.

[196] On Curzon's Vice-royalty, see S. Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905*, pp. 222–98; Sarkar, *Modern India*, pp. 101–11; D. Gilmour, *Curzon* (London, 1994), pp. 149–346. On educational developments throughout this period, see Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education*, pp. 272–497; A. Basu, *The Growth of Education and Political Development in India, 1898–1920* (Delhi, 1974), pp. 6–31.

[197] See B. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband 1860–1900* (Princeton, 1982); F. Robinson, 'The Ulama of Firangi Mahal and their Adab' in B. Metcalf (ed.), *Moral Conduct and Authority: the place of adab in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 152–83; Robinson, *Separatism*, pp. 33–83.

[198] *Ibid*., pp. 105–13; Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 71–2, 84–103.

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disaffection' and maintained that private Muslim initiative was essential.[199] His particular blueprint for development was substantially shaped by experiences in England in 1869–70 which intensified his religious self-consciousness and emphatically demonstrated the magnitude of British power and self-assurance. He concluded that Islam required re-interpretation and regeneration if its followers were to become the equals of their British rulers, but also that even in its present state of decline, his religion deserved far greater respect and sympathy from British commentators. Sayyid Ahmad saw the British education system as the foundation of British achievements and strength, and endeavoured to re-create its essential characteristics in an Indian setting. The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was the crowning achievement of his programme, as its dual provision of British education and religious instruction and its ethos of loyalty to the Raj would both enable Muslims to acquire the qualifications for participation in the Raj and promote conciliation of mutual British and Muslim prejudices. By providing an educational model specifically for the wider Muslim community, it would stimulate both cultural and racial regeneration.[200]

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Aligarh's hothouse environment produced many prominent figures in Indian public life, diverse spokesmen for India and Islam. Historical literature on the Aligarh movement has usually focused on its contribution to the rise of Muslim 'separatism', as Sayyid Ahmad's opposition to the Indian National Congress and emphasis on a strong Muslim sense of community and the activities of many of Aligarh's first students in the Muslim League and Khilafat Movement have cast them

[199] W. W. Hunter, *Our Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in Conscience to rebel against the Queen?* (London, 1871); Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Review on Dr Hunter's Indian Musalmans: are they bound in Conscience to rebel against the Queen?* (Benares, 1872), esp. pp. 50–3). On the response of the U.P. government to Hunter's recommendations, see Robinson, *Separatism*, pp. 103–6. The 'myth of Muslim decline into backwardness' which fuelled much of educational change has provoked considerable historical debate over its validity and political implications: see F. Robinson, 'Nation formation: the Brass thesis and Muslim separatism' and P. Brass, 'A reply to Francis Robinson', in R. Jeffrey *et al.* (eds), *India: Rebellion to Republic: Selected Writings, 1857–1900* (New Delhi, 1990), pp. 128–55. Historical assumptions about communalism have been criticized in A. Jalal, 'Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia', in S. Bose and A. Jalal (eds), *Nationalism, Democracy and Development: state and politics in India* (New Delhi, 1976), pp. 76–103.

[200] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 102–203. See also Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, pp. 64–201.

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as creators of communal and pan-Islamic Muslim nationalism.[201] Aligarh's leaders, especially Sayyid Ahmad, have also been considered in terms of theological developments in Islam, as exponents of a 'modernist' re-appraisal of the Qur'an's teachings, while the College and movement it generated have been historically self-conscious, prompting a range of commemorative literature.[202] Yet the Aligarh ethos was more fiercely contested internally and the ideas of its leading figures more diverse than such historical labels imply. Most literature on internal rivalries forms a rather reductionist debate, partly motivated by attempts to defend or decry Sayyid Ahmad's historical reputation for separatism, on the extent to which the College's European teaching staff tried to wrest control of the Aligarh movement from its Muslim directors.[203] For a more nuanced analysis of the Aligarh movement primarily within its contemporary context rather than its later historical significance, one must turn to David Lelyveld's innovative study, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India*, which emphasizes the extent to which staff and students alike continually reformulated the Aligarh ethos in diverse and sometimes contradictory ways. Arnold contributed to this process of re-definition through the ideas he propounded and colleagues and students whom he influenced.

Arnold wholeheartedly endorsed Sayyid Ahmad's concept of cultural reinvigoration, but he believed that the College's curriculum and atmosphere were failing to fulfil its founder's vision. The idea of Aligarh sprang from both a religious and economic motivation, to regenerate faith in Islam and to provide in a Muslim environment

[201] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. xi, 313, 344–8; M. Hasan, in Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. xxviii–xxix. For example, see M. S. Jain, *The Aligarh Movement: its origin and development, 1856–1906* (Agra, 1965); Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent.*

[202] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. xi. On Sayyid Ahmad's theological viewpoint, see Graham, *Syed Ahmed Khan*, pp. 24–132; Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan.* The most useful commemorative work is S. K. Bhatnagar, *History of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh* (New Delhi, 1969).

[203] See A. Faruqi, 'European Involvement in the Aligarh Movement: the Role and Influence of the European Faculty in the Social and Political Aspects of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, 1875–1920', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University (1978); A. E. Meyers. 'Theodore Beck and Sayyid Ahmad Khan: The Myth of Provocateur and Puppet in Muslim Separatism, 1875–1909', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, The American University (1973). Most commemorative histories and discussions of Aligarh's role in Muslim 'separatism' also contribute to this debate.

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the British education required for government service, but like most of the College's staff, Arnold believed that both its students and curriculum placed too great an emphasis on the latter ambition.[204] This he blamed in part on the narrow, uninspiring curricular requirements of the Indian Universities, which were insufficient 'to develop intellectual capacity and outlook', and he argued that 'some further agency is needed to foster an intellectual life and raise the minds of our students to some nobler aim than the passing of an examination, which unfortunately most of them look upon as the goal of their education.'[205] It appeared to Arnold that English education was regarded 'solely as a means of money-getting', whereas in his view education was worthwhile only if pursued for its own sake, and he proposed a series of occasional lectures by vising scholars, through which 'the minds of our students would thus occasionally be taken out of the narrow groove of their University curriculum'.[206] His suggestion was acted upon and a lecture series established, but he remained dissatisfied with what he regarded as a lack of culture and narrow emphasis both among students and in the curriculum.[207]

Arnold ideally hoped that Aligarh might become a community of scholars and centre of research in addition to a teaching institution, a vision which imported modernizing trends among British university dons into an Indian setting, but the College itself attempted to emulate an alternative British model in which a continuous public-school and Oxbridge education provided training for social leadership.[208] Its ethos emphasized moral guidance and character-formation, but it contained competing ideals. The earlier tradition of 'Christian manliness', established in the 1820s, tried to inculcate 'first, religious

[204] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 226–7. On the convergence of religion and education, see *ibid*., pp. 115–18. Bhatnagar, *History*, p. 16, gives a more hagiographic view, that Sayyid Ahmad's aims were national uplift and the emphasis on government jobs came from the European principals. Cf. Z. Umer, 'Maulana Shibli Numani: a Study of Islamic Modernism and Romanticism in India, 1882–1914', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford (1969), p. 12, which characterizes the College as purely economically-motivated.

[205] T. W. Arnold, article on the College annual report, Cambridge, CSAS, *AIG*, 14 July 1891.

[206] T. W. Arnold, report on Akhwan us-Safa meeting, Cambridge, CSAS, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 6 June 1893; Arnold, article on the College annual report, *AIG*, 14 July 1891.

[207] T. W. Arnold, address to the Akhwan us-Safa, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 3 Oct. 1893. His more ambitious idea of a research community found virtually no additional support: Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 127, 245, 320.

[208] Arnold, article on the College annual report, *AIG*, 14 July 1891; Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 116; Collini, *Public Moralists*, pp. 199–208.

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and moral principles; secondly, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability', but it was subsequently challenged by a new creed of 'muscular Christianity' which glorified athleticism, masculinity and moral and physical courage, and which prevailed during the second half of the century.[209] These contrasting ideals of character were correspondingly contested in Aligarh by its European staff.

Having relinquished the research ideal as an impossible dream, at least in the short-term, Arnold became Aligarh's champion of a Muslim version of the 'manliness' ideal. While Beck, Morison, Raleigh and Cox encouraged students to cultivate sporting distinction, social influence and debating skills, Arnold sought to instill 'a high national ideal' in students, to which his colleagues gave support but little content.[210] He warned against 'an extravagant and unreasoning idolatry of [British] civilization', deeming simple emulation to be demoralizing and empty, and called for:

> the abandonment of the prevailing despondent attitude towards Islam and an insistence on the grandeur of Islam both in the past and the present, so that the young Muhammadans of India may with brave hearts work for the future, inspired with a strong belief in the capabilities and possibilities of Islam.[211]

Arnold presented Islam's historical capabilities in *The Preaching of Islam*; his educational work encouraged Muslims to match them in the present. In his exhortations to students to broaden their knowledge, he drew on the Qur'an and Muslim authors in addition to English literary classics to demonstrate 'what culture really meant' and he actively encouraged students in the practice of their faith, monitoring attendance at the mosque and reprimanding those students who were lax in attending.[212] His interpretation of the Aligarh mission was in many ways more deferential to Islamic culture than its founder's. At its establishment, the College boasted an English and Oriental Department, but poor examination results and lack of

[209] Dr T. Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby, cited in D. Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal* (London, 1961), pp. 28–93, 195–240; Collini, *Public Moralists*, pp. 114–16, 186–7. For an analysis of ways in which the two ideals could merge, see P. Gay, 'The Manliness of Christ' in Davis and Helmstadter (eds), *Religion and Irreligion in Victorian Society*, pp. 102–16.

[210] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 254–61, 297. Arnold, report on Akhwan us-Safa meeting, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 6 June 1893.

[211] Arnold, report on Akhwan us-Safa meeting, *MAOCM* in AIG, 6 June 1893.

[212] Arnold, address to the Akhwan us-Safa, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 3 Oct. 1893; Bhatnagar, *History*, p. 100.

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student interest contributed to Sayyid Ahmad's disillusionment with vernacular education and oriental learning, and the Oriental Department closed in 1885.[213] Arnold, however, felt that insufficient emphasis was given to the history, languages and literature of Islam, and called for greater efforts to bridge the growing gulf between English-educated Muslims and representatives of traditional Islamic learning, arguing that present failures were to the detriment of both parties.[214]

Arnold promoted these ideas through the clubs and societies set up under his patronage. Involvement in these non-academic groupings was an integral component of training at Aligarh, since as Morison commented, students' 'conversation and the part they play in the Clubs' were essential criteria for distinction.[215] In 1890, Arnold founded the Akhwan us-Safa (Brotherhood of Purity), a society whose aims were 'to improve the mental and moral side of our nature', reflecting Arnold's personal ethical precepts (see chapter II).[216] Its meetings were intended to supplement curricular teaching with a broader cultural framework and ethical content through readings and debates in Urdu about the history, literature and religious ideals of Islam. Named after a literary circle of Baghdad, it sought to cultivate its members' literary tastes, moral tenets and sense of fellowship.[217] The Akhwan provided a forum for vernacular debate on Islamic subjects with self-consciously moral overtones, and its founding principles embodied Arnold's main criticisms of Aligarh education. In particular, its members sought to resolve the conflict between Islamic and British cultural styles and principles, a subject rarely if ever discussed in the mainstream debating club, the Siddons Union.[218] Arnold used the Akhwan to put forward his ideas of Islam as a missionary religion, submitting for debate the re-appraisal of Islamic history which his Aligarh experiences had inspired.[219] Beck described his role as the 'life and soul of this literary club', and it is clear that his leadership and ideals helped sustain its vitality.[220]

[213] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 205–6; Umer, 'Shibi', pp. 158–9.
[214] Arnold, article on the College annual report, *AIG*, 14 July 1891.
[215] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 286–99; T. Morison, cited in *ibid*., p. 297.
[216] Arnold, address to the Akhwan us-Safa, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 3 Oct. 1893.
[217] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 246; Arnold, address to the Akhwan us-Safa, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 3 Oct. 1893; Bhatnagar, *History*, p. 107.
[218] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 246–7, 249. See Arnold, report on Akhwan us-Safa Meeting, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 6 June 1893.
[219] Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 257.
[220] Cited in *ibid*., p. 257.

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The Akhwan's promotion of Urdu as an intellectual medium was an innovation at Aligarh, as Urdu literature and language had previously been bypassed, even during the brief flourishing of the College's Oriental Department.[221] Arnold particularly encouraged students in pursuing descriptive moral and natural themes in the style of the Urdu poet Hali, offering an annual R20 prize in the discipline.[222] He further demonstrated his commitment to Islamic languages by chairing meetings of the Lajnat ul-Adab, an Arabic club founded by Shibli Numani which provided opportunities for students to develop public speaking skills in Arabic and subscribed to a number of Arabic newspapers.[223] It was by means of such clubs that he actively tried to counterbalance Aligarh's heavy bias towards English language and subjects associated with British education.

Arnold further encouraged a sense of public spirit among students in his role as the sole member of staff fully involved in the Anjuman al-Farz (Duty Society). The society consisted of a highly select group of 'servants' of the College, whose aims were two-fold: firstly, to refute public scepticism regarding Aligarh's claim to be an Islamic college; and secondly, to develop their personal sense of moral integrity. By aspiring to the highest moral standards, they would demonstrate the commitment of Aligarh and its students to Islam, and by begging money for the College and its poor students, despite their personal social standing, they would diminish widespread distrust of Aligarh's educational ethos, publicize its financial hardships and benefit themselves in moral terms.[224] The Duty was founded in 1890 on student initiative, particularly that of Aftab Ahmad Khan, but Arnold's patronage was at least partly responsible for its development into one of the most powerful groupings within the College.[225] Aftab Ahmad's proposals appealed immediately to Arnold's own 'earnest seeking after a loftier moral tone, . . . spirit of peculiar unselfishness' and quest to develop a sense of civic duty among students, and he saw the Duty as a means by which students could develop a sense of common endeavour and national cause and benefit

[221] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 245–6.
[222] Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 100; Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 246.
[223] Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 261.
[224] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 288–9; Faruqi, 'European Involvement', pp. 257–8; Bhatnagar, *History*, p. 105.
[225] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 287; Faruqi. 'European Involvement', p. 258.

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morally from self-denial.[226] Speaking at the annual general meeting of the Duty in 1893, he praised students' 'spirit of self-sacrifice and brotherhood' and their recognition that they 'belong to a suffering nation and it is their duty to make some self-sacrificing efforts on behalf of their own people'.[227] His hopes for the Duty appear to have been fulfilled: the 'servants' collected considerable funds for scholarships and Beck commented admiringly on the 'patriotic sentiments' and 'public spirit' aroused by their activities.[228]

Arnold was concerned that the College should maintain links with its former students, and in 1891 he founded the *Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Magazine* jointly with Shibli as a news bulletin to keep old students informed of College affairs. First published with the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, it gained sufficient popularity to become a separate publication in 1894, and although it declined after Arnold and Shibli's departures in 1898, its early successes and commendable aims led to its revival in 1903.[229] Its style and content strongly reflected its editors' concerns, since both Urdu and English were used as a medium for intellectual discussion, and although it purported to cover all aspects of College life, Akhwan us-Safa essays and papers received special prominence, including extracts from *The Preaching of Islam*.[230] It thus fulfilled a political and polemical programme by promoting a particular Islamic vision in the wider community.

Many of Arnold's ideas and causes were shared by Aligarh's leading Muslim scholar, Shibli Numani.[231] For example, Shibli was an equally dominant figure in promoting Arabic and Urdu literature and language as subjects of study, who believed that a solely English education produced students of little worth and criticized Aligarh's failure to instill traditional Muslim values and religious ideals in its students.[232] He believed that the College was failing dismally to achieve a synthesis of Islamic and European knowledge and that Sayyid Ahmad was betraying his original vision by increasingly laud-

[226] Morison, *History of the MAO College, Aligarh*, p. 25.
[227] Arnold, speech to the Duty Society, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 7 November 1893.
[228] Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 258.
[229] *Ibid*., p. 259; Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 247.
[230] See Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 247.
[231] For a full discussion of the development of Shibli's ideas and his political and intellectual importance, see Umer, 'Shibli'.
[232] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 245–8.

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ing all things British at the expense of his own culture and history. Like Arnold, he criticized the focus of the curriculum and many students on the material goal of government service, without a higher educational, religious, national or moral ideal.[233] Arnold and Shibli together were representatives of 'an opposing current of thought' at Aligarh, as Lelyveld has rightly argued, and defended the 'manliness' ideal of character against that of 'masculinity'. Their 'intellectual counter-culture' was marginal to Beck and Morison's dominant emphasis on sports and debate at the expense of intellectual pursuits, and their praise for and insistence on Islamic history, literature and languages as worthy and essential subjects of study ran counter to prevailing admiration of Western styles and culture and recognition that British education was the passport to a successful career. Their work within the College 'served to confer some measure of legitimacy on Aligarh's claim to be a Muslim college as well as a college for Muslims'.[234] Initially, both Arnold and Shibli endeavoured to reformulate the Aligarh curriculum as a more effective synthesis of Islamic and Western elements, but Shibli became increasingly disillusioned with these attempts, particularly after meeting the pan-Islamic political publicists Muhammad Abduh and Jamal al-din al-Afghani in 1892–93.[235] He effectively rejected Aligarh as a regenerative force in the following year by asserting that leadership of the Muslim community should be assumed by its religious guides, the *ulama*, rather than the social elite targeted at Aligarh.[236] Rather ironically, it was then Arnold's championship of Islamization alone which materially justified Aligarh's self-definition as an Islamic institution.

Despite their marginalization at Aligarh, Arnold and Shibli were in fact the truest representatives of the College's original aims,

[233] Umer, 'Shibli', pp. 157, 161, 168, 181.

[234] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, chs V and VI, esp. pp. 239–48, 290, 292.

[235] M. Hasan, *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India* (New Delhi, 1991), pp. 115–17; Umer, 'Shibli', pp. 55–65. On Abduh and al-Afghani, see A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939* (2nd edition. Cambridge, 1983), pp. 103–60.

[236] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 244; Umer, 'Shibli', pp. 163, 168, 265–86. As Umer rightly points out, Shibli tried to develop the Nadvat al-Ulama, a national Sunni association founded in 1894, as a middle way between the heavy Western emphasis at Aligarh and overly-traditional curriculum at Deoband by introducing elements of Western education and knowledge of English into a primarily Islamic curriculum. He nonetheless maintained his links with Aligarh throughout his life.

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as their relationship exemplified the union of West and East which Aligarh had been intended to achieve.[237] Zaitun Umer has argued that this discourse of European and Islamic philosophical ideas, 'the most positive aspect of the scholarship of Aligarh', was effected primarily at Arnold's initiative.[238] Each acted as the other's mentor and guide to their own field of expertise: Arnold taught French to Shibli, helped him to obtain and study European sources and introduced him to principles of European scholarship and philosophy, while Shibli extended Arnold's understanding of Arabic literature, language and history.[239] In 1892, the two travelled together to Egypt on research leave.[240] Both men used historical analysis in defence of Islam and its heritage, developing similar themes in the course of their research. Shibli contended that *pardah* and *jizyah* were pre-Islamic customs, historically justifiable but not central to Islam, and emphasized the essentially tolerant nature of Islamic rule, while Arnold pursued similar themes in *The Preaching of Islam*.[241] Shibli also shared Arnold's interest in rationalist Mu'tazilite theology (see chapter III).[242] Shibli in his *Safar Nama* and *Sh*'ral-Ajam and Arnold in *The Preaching of Islam* both acknowledged each other's influence, and this intellectual exchange was a critical factor in making their scholarship so original in orientalist and Muslim circles respectively.[243] Sayyid Ahmad recognized that their relationship fulfilled his hopes for British–Muslim co-operation and friendship, and gave practical support to both men by acquiring research materials and publicizing their work.[244] Arnold's deferential and receptive attitude to Muslim learning, encapsulated in visual form in Figures 1a and 1b, was crucial to his role within the Aligarh movement in creating the fullest realization of its ambitions.

[237] See especially S. Nadvi, *Hayat-i-Shibli* (reprint. Azamgarh, 1993), pp. 139–44 (thanks to Dr Simon Qadri for this information).
[238] Umer, 'Shibli', p. 133.
[239] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 243; Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 266; Umer, 'Shibli', p. 134.
[240] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 247.
[241] *Ibid*., p. 242; Umer, 'Shibli', p. 134.
[242] T. W. Arnold (ed.), *Al-Mu'tazilah*: Part I, Arabic Text (Leipzig, 1902); 'The Mu'tazilah and their classes', MSS translation (n.d.), London, SOAS, Papers of Thomas Walker Arnold, MS 32, file 45, box 10. On Shibli's writings, see Umer, 'Shibli', p. 320.
[243] Umer, 'Shibli', p. 134; H. Malik (ed.), *Iqbal: Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan* (New York, London, 1971), p. 12; Umer, 'Shibli', pp. 134, 309, 335–7, 350–1.
[244] Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 243.

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Lelyveld has argued that Arnold's contribution to the Aligarh movement was ultimately transient and that he himself was the principal beneficiary of his time at the College, for 'no doubt he benefited much from Aligarh, but Aligarh gave him no intellectual disciples.'[245] It is true that no Aligarh figure explicitly acknowledged his ideological mentorship in the sense implied by the term 'disciple', but his relationship with Shibli was mutually influential, as Lelyveld admits, and he impressed his ideas on a small but important group of students.[246] The alternative current of thought he represented grew in significance as it was reiterated and extended by present and former students, and those within his sphere of influence later directed Muslim political and intellectual developments. Although Arnold encouraged Aftab Ahmad Khan's moral and public crusade, his guidance was primarily felt by Aligarh's budding academics, who were attracted to the intellectual demands and Islamic emphasis of his literary sub-culture. Khushi Muhammad 'Nazr', a leading Urdu poet, developed the descriptive style favoured by Arnold under his encouragement in the Akhwan us-Safa, and other literary figures who benefited from the Akhwan's stimulating effect on creativity and education were the journalist and poet Zafar Ali Khan, though his style was more indebted to Shibli's influence, and Sajjad Haider, an Urdu novelist and translator.[247] The classic exponent of the Akhwan's principles was Ghulam us-Saqlain, whose combined moral earnestness and intellectual prowess most closely resembled Arnold's own. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Ghulam us-Saqlain and Zafar Ali Khan were later active in alumni circles, though not in unison, in fighting for control of the College against both its European staff and older generation of Muslim leaders, and all three were founding members of the Muslim League.[248] Zafar Ali Khan put his literary skills to political use in his editorship of a Lahore-based paper, *Zamindar*, which under his leadship became a mouthpiece of Muslim political assertiveness.[249] It was Arnold and Shibli's tutelage which had initially given these men their pan-Islamic perspective, as their shared emphasis on

[245] *Ibid*., p. 248.
[246] Morison, *History*, p. 25; Umer, 'Shibli', p. 132.
[247] See Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 246, 250–1. Khushi Muhammad was described by C. M. Arnold as 'a favourite pupil of Tom's': C. M. Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 29 Sept. 1902, Arnold Family Papers, in the possession of Dr Lawrence Barfield.
[248] *Ibid*., pp. 330–8; Robinson, *Separatism*, p. 370.
[249] G. Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New York, 1982), p. 24.

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Islamic learning and languages and sense of identity as part of a Muslim community reflected Arnold and Shibli's counter-culture rather than their British education.[250] Their literary skill in Urdu and their pride and belief in Islam and its heritage had been nurtured under Arnold's patronage, and their later careers gave political expression to his intellectual influence (see chapter V).

Because of his sympathy for Islam, its history and future development, Arnold found Aligarh a highly stimulating environment, and he endeavoured to be accepted by the College's Muslim community rather than be considered exclusively as one of its European faculty, as Figure 2 suggests. He adopted Muslim dress and participated socially in Muslim religious activities, breaking Ramadan fasts with a few select students and staff every year, and in 1893 he participated in the *bi*'smi'llah ceremony of Sayyid Ahmad's four-year-old grandson as a British 'uncle'.[251] In a wider context, Arnold was concerned to publicize his academic research on Islam's missionary nature among Europeans and Muslims alike, and published instalments of *The Preaching of Islam* in a translation by a former Aligarh student, Inayat Ullah, before its publication in English.[252] Its ideas were well received by Muslims in Aligarh and beyond; for example, Arnold read a selection of excerpts at the Muhammadan Educational Conference of December 1892 and Sayyid Ahmad gave him a warm recommendation at the Orientalists' Congress of 1894.[253] It was Arnold's championship of Islam and eagerness to become involved in its culture which won him such respect in the College. Although its other European staff, especially Theodore Beck, established close friendships with many students, his unique deference to Muslim customs in a social milieu dominated by Western styles awarded him a special status as representative of both British and Muslim culture, and his success in bridging the two is aptly demonstrated by his nickname among students of 'Maulana Arnold'.[254] From this position, he was able to promote effectively his personal vision of Muslim regenera-

[250] See Robinson, *Separatism*, p. 179; Hasan, *Nationalism*, p. 140; Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400.

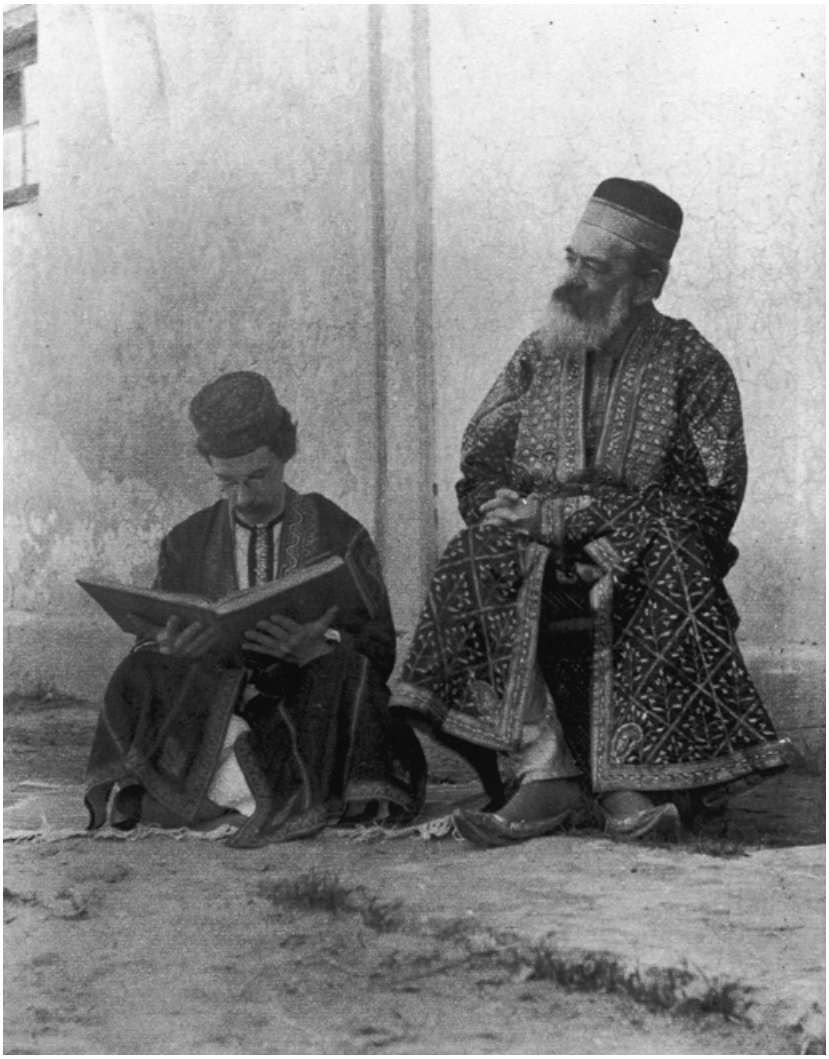
[251] Bhatnagar, *History*, p. 100; Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74; Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 302.

[252] Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 267.

[253] *Ibid*., pp. 167, 267; Umer, 'Shibli', p. 132. See Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400.

[254] See T. Morison in *The Times*, 12 June 1930. Sayyid Ahmad Khan praised this nickname: *AIG*, 4 July 1893 (thanks to Dr Simon Qadri for this information).

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tion, stimulating alternative currents of thought within Aligarh and inspiring its students to apply his ideas in a wider context.

By the late 1890s internal dissension, a relatively low level of pay and lack of security for the future made M.A.O. College a less congenial environment, but Government College, Lahore, to which Arnold moved in 1896, offered a completely different atmosphere, ethos and social milieu. Aligarh, for all its government sponsorship, was created by a group of Muslims to serve Muslim needs in the way they considered most appropriate and represented a Muslim school

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Figures 1a and 1b. Re-evaluating Islam. These two photographs were taken during Arnold's years at Aligarh. In photographs (a), he is shown in the posture of a student and follower, sitting cross-legged at the feet of his Muslim colleague. In photograph (b), the Muslim scholar rests his hand on Arnold's shoulder, placing him in the role of patron to Arnold the disciple, a stance which reverses conventional representations of Christian or British patronage of colonial subjects. Arnold's adoption of Muslim dress and submissive poses emphatically highlight his deference to the culture and knowledge of his Muslim colleagues and his receptivity to their influence. The two photographs define in visual form his role within the Aligarh movement.

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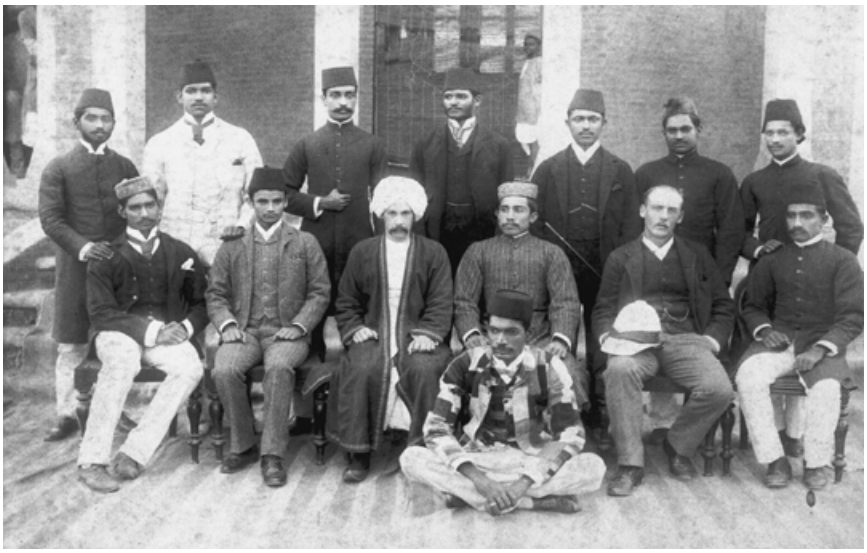


Figure 2. Identifying with 'the Other'. This photograph shows Arnold (bottom row, third from left) with a group of students and another English professor, and was taken during his years at Aligarh. His adoption of traditional Indian Muslim dress is striking in comparison with both the European dress of his teaching colleague (bottom row, second from right) and the Turkish dress worn by the students, and visually represents his championship of Islam culture.

of thought. Government College, on the other hand, was part of a wide network of educational institutions established to provide the kind of teaching which India's British rulers considered appropriate for Indians as a whole. These institutions were not uniform in structure or curriculum across India, instead reflecting different circumstances according to historical foundation and geography. In the Punjab, roughly equal demographic proportions of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims and a strong Christian missionary presence stimulated competitive pressures among all three groups, and partly in response to the religious-cultural self-definitions such defences generated, partly under pressure from Gottlieb Leitner, an orientalist scholar and the province's leading educationalist, from 1870 Government College in Lahore maintained a European and Oriental College.[255] Unlike most

[255] On religious and communal conflict in the Punjab, see A. Sethi, 'The Creation of Religious Identities in the Punjab, c. 1850–1920', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge (1998); K. Jones, *Arya Dharm: Hindu Consciousness in Nineteenth Century Punjab* (New Delhi, 1976); J. T. F. Jordens, *Dayananda Sarasvati: his life and ideas* (Delhi, 1978); Metcalf, *Islamic Revival;* J. S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab* New Cambridge History of India II.3 (Cambridge, 1990).

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Colleges, it taught European subjects at the higher levels in both English and modern Indian languages, in addition to facilitating the study of classical Indian languages.[256] This educational trend was further reinforced with the foundation in 1882 of Punjab University (to which Government College was affiliated) on different lines to its older counterparts in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, as the university held similar examinations in Western subjects through the medium of English, but also facilitated higher education in vernaculars and encouraged the study of more traditional subjects. Its faculty of Oriental Learning awarded degrees in arts subjects taught in Urdu, examinations were held in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, traditional titles could be awarded to students of Islamic or Hindu law and medicine, and the University maintained an Oriental and Law College.[257] The environment at Lahore was therefore one in which emphasis was given to Muslim and Hindu culture and history as well as British-style education, but within a governmentally-controlled framework.

Arnold supported the College's facilites for studying Indian languages and subjects, but found that the reward of lucrative government positions made its European-style classes far more prestigious and popular.[258] Despite Leitner's earlier efforts to popularize vernacular education and non-European subjects, even training religious functionaries at the Oriental College, provision of and demand for British education predominated.[259] As a government institution, the College supported a European staff who were considerably superior in both pay and status to their Indian colleagues, and maintained frequent contact with British provincial government. Arnold was consequently drawn into British official social circles, incorporating members of both the education and civil service, and became one of a convivial band based at Mayo Lodge in Lahore which included the archaeologist Aurel Stein, historian Percy Allen and future provincial governor Malcolm Hailey.[260] Yet despite his enjoyment of this primarily British social milieu, it is clear that he found Lahore's environment unfulfilling, as he missed the stimulating company of leading

[256] Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education*, p. 282.
[257] *Ibid*., p. 277.
[258] The Oriental College in some years had adequately maintained its numbers only by means of pecuniary inducements: H. L. O. Garrett and A. Hamid, *History of Government College Lahore* (Lahore, 1964), p. 37.
[259] Sethi, 'Creation of Religious Identities', p. 268.
[260] A. Walker, *Aurel Stein: Pioneer of the Silk Road* (London, 1995), pp. 56–9.

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Muslim scholars and immersion in Muslim society and culture offered by the close environment of Aligarh.[261] He declined to return there in 1900 and 1904 only because of internal dissension at the College and its inability to provide future security for his family.[262] As his wife put it, 'his heart has never been in Lahore, he left it in Aligarh'.[263]

Arnold's lack of enthusiasm for Government College and the constraints of working within an established, government-controlled institution were probably the major factors behind his relative lack of influence on the College itself. It is difficult to establish in detail his role in the College's development because of a dearth of literature specifically on the provision of education in the Punjab. The most important contemporary analysis, Leitner's *History of Indigenous Education in the Punjab*, ends its discussion in 1882, and although H. L. O. Garrett and Abdul Hamid's *History of Government College Lahore* covers the period of Arnold's tenure, the work is a year-by-year compendium of facts and reminiscences and offers little by way of analysis and discussion. To the best of my knowledge, there are no recent monographs on education in the Punjab; the subject is covered only in secondary literature, scarce in itself, on education across India.[264] This discussion will try nonetheless to relate Arnold's educational concerns, chiefly indicated in his correspondence with Allen, to the broader context of educational developments. He tried to promote his ideas on two educational issues of the day within Government College, though it is unclear how effective were his efforts. Future government policy on Indian university education was a question which generated fierce debate among government and Indian circles; the organization and status of the Indian Education Service was largely an internal matter.

By the end of the nineteenth century, commentators on faults in the education system were basically divided into two camps. The first

[261] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Percy Stafford Allen, MS Allen 195, 37707, esp. Arnold to Allen, 14 Aug. 1901, 11 Sept. 1901, 31 Oct. 1901.

[262] Various correspondence on proposed appointment, Arnold Papers, file 6, box 2; Sept. and Nov. correspondence, Part B Proceedings (Education), London, BL, OIOC, Punjab Home Proceedings: Education, Police, Forests (1899) P/5603. Umer, 'Shibli', p. 142.

[263] C. M. Arnold to H. Allen, 31 Oct. 1901, Allen Papers. Arnold retained his interest in and contacts with Aligarh's affairs until the end of his life, subscribing to its publications and meeting students and teaching staff who visited England: Nadvi, *Hayat-i-Shibli*, pp. 139–44 (thanks to Dr Simon Qadri for this information).

[264] See Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education*; Basu, *Growth of Education*.

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group, consisting principally of British-educated Indians, contended that widespread diffusion of Western education was essential to energize Indian national, political and economic life, and argued for rapid extension of higher education provision, even if standards of teaching and attainment were lower than ideal, and the introduction of compulsory elementary education. Close government control was considered detrimental to expansion, so private initiatives should have free rein. The second group, expressing prevailing official opinion, advocated capping numbers of students and institutions at their existing levels in order to focus on reversing the decline in standards, and its adherents believed that tightening government control and discouraging private enterprise would facilitate greater discipline.[265] Underlying their arguments was the realization that Western education had not effected a more 'civilized' India, as intended; rather, it had spurred higher political aspirations and bolstered Indian pressure groups.[266]

Yet a more nuanced analysis than this rather simplistic division is required in order to understand Arnold's stance on the debate. Considered simply in terms of the measures he advocated, Arnold must be now placed within the conservative official camp, as he believed that higher education institutions were achieving little more than developing students' memory capacity and that standards of attainment were unacceptably low. His suggested remedies for these defects in the Punjab's education structures were that Government College should restrict numbers to two hundred and Punjab University broaden its examination criteria.[267] Yet in advocating a period of consolidation, he was motivated not by political concerns, but purely by his belief that education was only worthwhile if it cultivated love of knowledge for its own sake. He condemned the governmental and popular focus on examination pass statistics as the benchmark for judging quality of teaching because the resulting pressure led students to devote their time to cramming and forced teachers to devote insufficient time to the extra-curricular activities and research which would make colleges true educational centres rather than exam-machines, again importing modernizing British educa-

[265] Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education*, pp. xix, 289–90, 439–40; Basu, *Growth of Education*, pp. 8–9.
[266] Basu, *Growth of Education*, p. 9.
[267] Arnold to Allen, 12 June 1901, 31 July 1901, Allen Papers.

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tional ideals into an Indian setting.[268] He saw Government Colleges as ideally placed to create such establishments (although his support for M.A.O. College suggests that he did not necessarily condemn private initiatives): 'Colleges are expected to be models of higher education and should therefore be exempted from the present necessity of entering into competition with other colleges and from having to descend to the ordinary level of cram-shops'.[269] His apparently conservative position must be seen in the light of his purely educational motivations, particularly as he was no advocate of government control and recommended that 'control of University matters should be in the hands of competent educationalists'.[270]

Arnold's support for changes to conditions of employment in the Indian Education Service stemmed partly from personal considerations, but also inter-acted with his broader educational concerns. The restructuring of the Education Service in 1896 created the Indian and Provincial Education Services, consisting respectively of European and Indian recruits in higher education, and the Subordinate Service, those teaching at the lower levels. Ostensibly aimed at attracting more competent European officers, the changes effectively enabled Britons to monopolize higher posts, but the Service made heavy demands on its employees and was particularly unattractive in comparison with the Indian Civil Service.[271] Appointments were initially made for five years, with leave and pension benefits only applying on reappointment at the end of this probationary period.[272] Arnold's attempts to change this state of affairs were partially fuelled by personal motivations, but he was equally concerned by what he perceived to be its wider ramifications. Although the ICS would always be more popular than the IES due to the inevitably higher status and income it conferred, the IES nevertheless managed to attract 'men of distinction with European reputations', so the real problem was that poor conditions of service and pressure to produce exam results rather than well-educated students created disillusionment with the education system among:

[268] Arnold to Allen, 12 June 1901, 31 July 1901, 26 Feb. 1902, 21 May 1902, 16 July 1902, 28 Oct. 1902, Allen Papers; Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 5 March 1902, Arnold Family Papers.

[269] Arnold to Allen, 12 June 1901, Allen Papers.

[270] Arnold to Allen, 31 July 1901, Allen Papers.

[271] Nurullah and Naik, *History of Education*, pp. 236–7.

[272] 'Conditions of Service for Indian Educational Appointments', London, BL, OIOC, *India List and India Office List*, OIR 354.54, vols up to 1903, pp. 185–6.

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the men who have (after a time) thrown up the E.S. in the painful discovery that they are not professors but only schoolmasters, that they cannot lecture, but have to teach down to the level of the lazy dullard or their percentage of passes will fall and bring down the wrath of the Government.[273]

His own frustration at the lack of time he could devote to research influenced his ideas, but he was also motivated by a genuine concern to develop government teaching institutions into fully-developed centres of education and research.

Arnold was not the only advocate of this ideal, and similar arguments had in fact been put forward some thirty years earlier by Government College's principal of the time, Gottlieb Leitner. Hungarian-born Leitner devoted his career primarily to education and Islam, directing the affairs of Government College from 1864 to 1886 and playing a key role in the foundation of Punjab University.[274] His academic works were intended to foster sympathy for and understanding of Islam among Europeans, and after his retirement he founded an Oriental Institute centred on Woking mosque.[275] Throughout his teaching career, he argued against government control and emphases on memory-learning and examinations, and in favour of raising standards, improving conditions of service and enabling teachers to pursue out-of-school contacts with students.[276] Arnold's goals also struck a chord with contemporary educationalists at Lahore, and unified efforts were made to achieve their implementation.[277] Before his departure Allen drew up a scheme to revise University holidays and rules of affiliation and continued to pressure the India Office back in England, while William Bell, Inspector of Schools, proposed additional government funding for 'substitutes to do the hack work' so enabling subject heads to implement a programme of University lectures.[278] Arnold himself supported the suggestion of joint lectures with rival institutions such as the Forman Missionary College and participated in a unanimous 'campaign against cram'.[279]

It is unclear how effective were the campaigns mounted by Arnold and his colleagues. Allen's proposals were rejected or postponed, pre-

[273] Arnold to Allen, 12 June 1901, Allen Papers, See Umer, 'Shibli', p. 142.
[274] For a description of events during his principalship, see Garrett and Hamid, *History of Government College,* pp. 1–66.
[275] For example, see G. W. Leitner, *Muhammadanism* (Woking, 1889).
[276] G. W. Leitner, *The Theory and Practice of Education with special reference to Education in India* (Lahore, 1871), especially pp. 1–12, 19–24.
[277] Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 5 March 1902, Arnold Family Papers.
[278] Arnold to Allen, 15 May 1901, 12 June 1901, 20 Feb. 1902, Allen Papers.
[279] Arnold to Allen, 21 May 1902, 20 Feb. 1902, Allen Papers.

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sumably by the University Senate, and new lecture schemes were introduced only tentatively in English Literature just before Arnold's departure.[280] On the other hand, Punjab University undertook continuing revision of its regulations for examinations with the aim of raising standards, and the Universities Commission canvassed educationalists' opinions on future policy.[281] Activities to improve conditions of service probably contributed to wider pressures which resulted in 1903 in the reduction of future officers' probationary period to two years and the granting of leave to current probationers, but the much wider issue of future government education policy was eventually decided in favour of official opinion by the Universities Act in 1904 as part of Curzon's administrative shake-up.[282] The Act endorsed a policy of consolidation but probably aroused mixed feelings among educationalists who shared Arnold's views, as it laid down rigorous government controls and was motivated by very different concerns.

Arnold attempted to maintain non-academic contacts with students as at Aligarh, but Government College offered limited possibilities for developing such friendships.[283] His legacy of influence on individuals was therefore negligible with the one important exception of Muhammad Iqbal, who as 'poet and philosopher of Pakistan' has been revered by Muslim nationalists as a key exponent of Muslim separatism. His vocal defence of the superiority of Islamic thought and culture, attempts to purify Islam to its 'hard, crystal core of prophetic revelation', pan-Islamic ideas and support for Muslim

[280] Arnold to Allen, 15 May 1901, 21 May 1903, Allen Papers; March–May correspondence, Part A Proceedings (Education) in Punjab Home Proceedings: Education, Police, Forests (1903) P/6311 pp. 37–9.

[281] Proceedings of the General Educational Conference held at Lahore (April 1898), Part A Proceedings (Education) in Punjab Home Proceedings: Education, Police (1898) P5378; Revised Regulations for the Entrance Examination, Part A Proceedings (Education) in Punjab Home Proceedings: Education, Police, Forests (1899) P/5603, p. 26; Revised Regulations for the Entrance Examination and Revised Regulations for the Degree of the Bachelor of Arts, Part A Proceedings (Education) in Punjab Home Proceedings: Education, Police, Forests (1900) P/5836, pp. 11–12, 29.

[282] Governor-General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, 18 Dec. 1902 and Secretary of State to the Governor-General, 13 Feb. 1903, Part A Proceedings (Education) in Punjab Home Proceedings: Education, Police, Forests P/6543, pp. 40–1; 'Conditions of Service for Indian Educational Appointments', *India List and India Office List* (1904), pp. 185–6. Curzon himself was motivated by administrative concerns, not his officials' political anxieties: S. Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 259–60.

[283] Arnold to Allen, 31 July 1901, Allen Papers; Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74.

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political activism on the basis of religious identity certainly lent themselves to the ideology of separatism, though the Pakistan idea as it materialized was the antithesis of Iqbal's utopian vision of the future.[284] Arnold's guidance during the years of Iqbal's education was critical to his ideological development and created a lasting friendship between the two men.

Most importantly, Arnold introduced Iqbal to the literature of Western scholarship, during his study of the M.A. course in philosophy in 1898–99 and subsequent employment in Oriental and Government Colleges, and in the course of his teaching, he imparted to Iqbal something of 'his own taste and methods' in scholarly study.[285] Persuaded by Arnold, Iqbal further pursued his philosophical studies at Cambridge and Munich Universities, where his encounter with British Idealism materially shaped his framework of thinking.[286] Arnold's initial teaching, continuing support and occasional string-pulling made possible Iqbal's immersion in the academic world of Western philosophy, as Iqbal's appointments at Oriental and Government Colleges without the usual qualifications were probably instigated by Arnold, his studies in Germany were undertaken on Arnold's advice, and his Ph.D. qualification from the University of Munich depended heavily on Arnold's recommendation.[287] Arnold also encouraged Iqbal in the development of his poetic talents. At Government College, he praised Iqbal's Urdu poetry in defence of Islam's cultural heritage, and when Iqbal seriously considered abandoning the medium of poetry, Arnold was instrumental in convincing him otherwise.[288] During his years in Lahore, Arnold formed a bridge of friendship between Shibli and Iqbal, a contact which told on Iqbal's poetic and prose styles of writing.[289] Arnold's influence over

[284] I. Singh, *The Ardent Pilgrim: An Introduction to the Life and Work of Muhammad Iqbal* (Delhi, 1997), pp. 29–31, 42, 49–50, 57, 61–2, 68–70, 89–96. This is a perceptive discussion of the developments and contradictions in Iqbal's ideas. See also J. Majeed, 'Putting God in His Place: Bradley, McTaggart, and Muhammad Iqbal', *Journal of Islamic Studies,* 4.2 (1993), 208–236.

[285] Abdul Qadir (1924), cited in S. A. Durrani, 'Sir Thomas Arnold and Iqbal', *Iqbal Review*, 32.1 (April 1991), 13–30; S. A. Vahid, *Iqbal: His Art and Thought* (London, 1959), p. 7; Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, p. 17; H. Malik, *Poet–Philosopher*, p. 12.

[286] Durrani, 'Arnold and Iqbal', 13–30; Majeed, 'Putting God in His Place', 208–236; Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, pp. 23–4.

[287] Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, pp. 17, 27; H. Malik, *Poet–Philosopher*, p. 13; Durrani, 'Arnold and Iqbal', 13–30.

[288] Abdul Qadir, cited in Durrani, 'Arnold and Iqbal', 13–30; Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, pp. 15, 22.

[289] H. Malik, *Poet–Philosopher*, pp. 12–13.

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and assistance to Iqbal were therefore both ideological and practical, and were instrumental in laying the foundations of Iqbal's later career as poet and philosopher.

Over the course of their lasting friendship, Iqbal recognized his debt to Arnold in a number of ways.[290] On Arnold's departure from Lahore, Iqbal composed a poem in his honour, *Nala-i Firaq (Cry of Separation)*, acknowledging Arnold's role in expanding his knowledge and ambitions:

> 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.[291]

He dedicated his Ph.D. dissertation to Arnold, and referred to him as 'my Guru'.[292] On Arnold's death, he made clear his respect for Arnold's 'unabated zeal' in defending Islam and his gratitude for Arnold's patronage, for 'it was his contact that formed my soul and put it on the road to knowledge', while for his own part, Arnold publicly praised Iqbal's scholarship, originality and defence of Islam in *The Islamic Faith*.[293] Iqbal's historical importance has made Arnold's influence over his intellectual framework and career the most significant and lasting aspect of his years at Government College.

Arnold's final contribution to affairs in Lahore was his active involvement in promoting Islamic languages, literature and culture, on a larger scale than at Aligarh. Together with Shibli and Iqbal, he maintained an active interest in the proceedings of Lahore's Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam (Society for the Aid of Islam), which promoted Muslim educational, social and cultural interests and expressed general support for the Aligarh movement.[294] He enthusi-

[290] Unfortunately, insufficient sources have survived to analyse their later relationship in detail. There is no correspondence between the two in the Arnold Papers and little in published collections of Iqbal's letters. Personal family memorabilia relating to Iqbal consist only of a letter to Arnold's daughter in 1911 and a few postcards: A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Sir Thomas Arnold: The Family Perspective', *Iqbal Review*, 32.1 (April 1991), 57–68.

[291] Cited in Durrani, 'Arnold and Iqbal', 13–30. See H. Malik, 'Poet–Philosopher', p. 13.

[292] Iqbal to N. Barfield, cited in Durrani, 'Arnold and Iqbal', 13–30.

[293] Iqbal to C. M. Arnold, 16 July 1930, cited in B. A. Dar (ed.), *Letters and Writings of Iqbal* (Karachi, 1967), p. 115.

[294] Address from the Anjuman on Arnold's departure (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, pp. 10–15.

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astically encouraged a close friend of Iqbal's, Abdul Qadir, in founding an Urdu literary magazine, *Makhzan*, and in 1903 he became President of the Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Urdu, a society dedicated to promoting Urdu, of which Shibli was secretary.[295] Arnold and possibly Iqbal shared Shibli's support for the Anjuman-i-Punjab, a vernacular literary society which promoted closer social relations between Britons and Indians.[296] Insufficient source material makes a more detailed picture impossible, but this evidence suggests that Arnold, finding Government College an uncongenial field for activity, channelled his efforts into city-based Islamic organizations in unison with the two closest associates of his Aligarh and Lahore years, Shibli and Iqbal. In doing so, he extended his sphere of influence from an educational institution to Muslim communities of the Punjab, and offset the British bias in his social circle through close involvement in patriotic Muslim societies.

Arnold's sympathy for Islam, his receptivity to Muslim conventions and the educational and cultural ideals he promoted at both Aligarh and Lahore won him considerable respect among Muslims. Those over whom his greatest influence was exerted were not unqualified advocates of British-style education, but leading defenders of Islam's teachings and culture over and against Western ideals. His colleagues and students at both institutions praised his friendship, teaching and guidance through testimonials, addresses and gifts, and it is clear that many mourned his departure from India.[297] His practical activities in support of Islamic culture were appreciated, and at the all-India level, he was accorded much praise and publicity for his re-appraisal of Islam's message in *The Preaching of Islam*.[298] Arnold's

[295] A. R. and L. H. Barfield 'Family Perspective', pp. 57–68; Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 237.

[296] Umer, 'Shibli', pp. 77–8; A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', 57–68; Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, p. 10; C. M. Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 5 March 1902, Arnold Family Papers.

[297] Address from the Anjuman-i-Islamia (n.d., but presumably 1904), and Address from the students of M.A.O. College (n.d., but presumably 1904), Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; Arnold to Allen, 20 May 1903, 9 June 1903, 27 July 1903, 13 Jan. 1904, 3 Feb. 1904, Allen Papers; Iqbal, *Nala-i Firaq*, cited in Durrani, 'Arnold and Iqbal', pp. 13–30; Address from the students of Government College, and Valedictory Address by Shugan Chand, reprinted in *Iqbal Review*, 32.1 (April 1991), pp. 32–4; Farewell speech of Shibli Numani (Feb. 1898), cited in H. Malik, *Poet–Philosopher*, p. 12.

[298] Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400; Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 267; Umer, 'Shibli', p. 132; T. W. Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 5 March 1902, Arnold Family Papers; Muhammad Yunus to unknown (n.d., but post-1896) (in Urdu),

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unusually sympathetic, pro-Muslim attitudes and eagerness for Muslim society and culture made him something of a maverick in British circles, although such unorthodoxy was not uncommon in the IES, partly from the necessity of close contact with Indian circles, partly because the Service attracted academic enthusiasts rather than career-minded individuals.[299] His ideals appeared particularly striking in comparison to the imperialist re-assertion characteristic of the turn of the century, but although few among British circles shared his sympathies, he was nevertheless accorded respect for his educational and academic work and influence among Muslims.[300] Approval and esteem in both British and Muslim circles gave Arnold his unique position of influence. He participated in re-formulating the ethos of Aligarh, through both the ideas he promoted and men whom he influenced, and the alternative current of thought he sponsored eventually fed into the development of Muslim political activism, as chapter V will discuss. His campaigning in Government College contributed to contemporary educational debate, but more important were his involvement in Muslim publicist societies and legacy to Iqbal. Through both his practical activities and personal relationships, Arnold significantly influenced educational and cultural movements of the day and Islam's spokesmen of the future.

V: The Orientalist as Imperial Agent

Edward Said argued that what made orientalism so powerful was the confluence of academic, practical and political activities to form 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient', which delivered to Europe 'the credit for having made the Orient what it was now' through two principal methods in the early twentieth century. One was through the activities of 'experts' acting as both 'agents of empire, friends of the Orient', products of the convergence of 'doctrinal' antiquarian orientalism

Arnold Papers, file 51, box 11 (thanks to Dr Simon Qadri for translating this material).

[299] Leitner in particular was one such maverick. E. M. Forster's portrayal of the schoolmaster Fielding in *A Passage to India* suggests that the IES's reputation for unorthodoxy was fairly well-known. See Singh, *Ardent Pilgrim*, p. 16.

[300] Testimonial of T. Morison, cited in N. Barfield, biographical notes (n.d., but presumably 1930) and Testimonial of M. A. Stein, 23 December 1905, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Sir Mark Aurel Stein, MSS Stein, mic 22 and 2; Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400.

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with study of 'a present, modern, manifest Orient'. This convergence occurred when orientalists became involved in policy formulation. The other was by means of 'the disseminative capacities of modern learning, its diffusive apparatus in the learned professions, the universities, the professional societies, the explorational and geographical organizations, the publishing industry.'[301] Little has been written about Arnold's role in such processes, despite his active participation in government. The only work dealing with his political actions in detail is Shompa Lahiri's *Indians in Britain*, which discusses the work of the Bureau for Indian Students and Indian Students' Department, yet even here his activities are considered largely insofar as they impinged on students' experiences. This chapter will discuss the political ramifications of his work and his personal political views as a means of considering the inter-action of orientalist and political developments.

Arnold was an unwilling participant in politics and government, and his real passion was for scholarly research and its dissemination within an academic community, an ideal which he constantly tried to realize.[302] In India, he gained keen intellectual stimulation from the company of Muslim scholars and a few dedicated students, but was increasingly frustrated by the prescriptive nature of teaching even at the highest levels, as discussed in chapter IV. As his disillusionment grew, he sought involvement in Indian-sponsored academic projects, particularly translation and editorial work for Indian publishers, and seriously considered an eventually abortive offer by the Amir of Afghanistan to head an English–Persian translation bureau.[303] In spite of the frustrations of research and teaching in India, however, he was reluctant to relinquish his immersion in Muslim society and close contacts with Islamic scholars, braving the 'grievous wrench' of departure principally because of family considerations.[304] Back in England, Arnold hoped for appointment to the

[301] E. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 3, 221–4.

[302] A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', pp. 57–68.

[303] Arnold to Allen, 3 Sept. 1901, 8 Jan. 1901, 2 Dec. 1903, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Percy Stafford Allen, MS Allen 195, 37707; Correspondence between representatives of the Punjab Government, Government of India and Amir of Afghanistan, 1900, London, SOAS, Papers of Thomas Walker Arnold, MS 32, file 6, box 2; C. M. Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 4 Oct. 1900, Arnold Family Papers, in the possession of Dr Lawrence Barfield.

[304] Arnold to Allen, 9 Dec. 1903, 3 Feb. 1904, Allen Papers; C. M. Arnold to Mrs Hickson, 8 April 1902, Arnold Family Papers; A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', pp. 57–68.

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Readership of Persian at Oxford, and was deeply disappointed by his failure.[305] Employment in the India Office was a poor second, for though he would 'not feel so cut off from India, as one might elsewhere', it left him little time for research, and it was only on joining SOS as Professor of Arabic that Arnold finally found his academic milieu.[306] He was far more gratified by academic recognition, particularly his election to an Honorary Fellowship at his old college, than by the broader public distinction of a knighthood.[307] Yet even if his participation was unwilling, he was a political player nonetheless, as his work in the Bureau for Indian Students and as adviser on the Khilafat Movement made him an active imperial policy-maker and his pursuit of an academic career drew him into the politico-academic nexus.

Arnold has been accused of acting as an imperial agent of his own volition during his work in India.[308] In particular, Zaitun Umer has argued that Aligarh's British faculty were 'compromised by a tight network of relationships with officials', to whom they supplied intelligence reports and in whose interests they directed the College's affairs, while maintaining appearances to the contrary.[309] Yet Umer does not infer any similar compromise as a result of close Muslim official links, presupposing oppositional blocs of 'British' and 'Muslim' interests, and furthermore, her discussion of Arnold's personal official links is based on his advisory role over twenty years later.[310] As Beck put it, Aligarh actually attracted Europeans who preferred 'living in India to living in Anglo-India', and Arnold rejected British society for that of Muslims even more than most.[311]

[305] Arnold to Allen, 25 Nov. 1901, 8 Jan. 1902, 21 March 1902, 26 Aug. 1903, Allen Papers; Arnold to Stein, 30 Sept. 1904, 5 Oct. 1905, 1 Dec. 1905 and Arnold to Allen, 25 Feb. 1906, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of Sir Mark Aurel Stein, MSS Stein, mic 397, 64, 3.

[306] Arnold to Allen, 8 Oct. 1902, 9 Dec. 1903 and C. M. Arnold to H. Allen, 20 Sept. 1906, Allen Papers; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam* (2nd edition. London, 1913), p. xi; Arnold to Stein, 19 Aug. 1921, 26 Oct. 1922, Stein Papers.

[307] Cambridge, Magdalene College Library, Benson Diary, vol. 164 f5r, Feb. 1917 (Thanks to Dr Ronald Hyam for this information); Arnold to Stein, 20 June 1912, Stein Papers.

[308] With the exception of Umer's analysis, most historical literature on the role of the European staff does not assess Arnold's individual role, but does associate him with the activities of more politically prominent members.

[309] Z. Umer, 'Maulana Shibli Numani: a Study of Islamic Modernism and Romanticism, 1882–1914', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Oxford (1969), pp. 127–8, 141, 147, 166.

[310] Umer, 'Shibli', pp. 140–1.

[311] Cited in Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, p. 195.

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A heavy emphasis on loyalty to the Raj and the benefits of British rule was certainly a feature of Aligarh's ethos, but it stemmed initially from Sayyid Ahmad's framework for Muslim regeneration and was expounded primarily by Beck, Raleigh, Cox and Morison in the Siddons Union debating club, with which Arnold was rarely involved.[312] Employment at Government College drew Arnold into government service and British social circles, yet even here he largely eschewed Anglo-Indian officialdom for city-based Muslim organizations. As discussed in chapter IV, his educational stance was in some ways anti-official, in that he believed close government control to be detrimental to educational improvement. It was therefore not until he commenced work at the Bureau for Indian Students under the auspices of the India Office that he became an effective agent of empire.

The Bureau for Indian Students was established by the India Office in 1909 to assume and expand its functions relating to Indians travelling to Britain for educational purposes, ostensibly in recognition that 'Indian students on their first arrival in England experience difficulties by reason of their lack of information as to educational facilities and social conditions'. The Bureau's Educational Adviser would therefore provide information about universities and courses, maintain a list of lodgings and boarding-houses prepared to house Indian students and provide references for students if necessary. To combat prejudice, he would investigate cases where university regulations placed Indians at a disadvantage and work closely with leading universities to promote Indian applications. An Advisory Committee would oversee the Bureau's work, stand *in loco parentis* for students and provide social sponsorship, while local committees in India would act as a first port-of-call and intermediary by disseminating information collected by the Educational Adviser and forwarding students' papers.[313] Students' use of the Bureau was to be 'of a purely voluntary character', except in the case of those with government and technical scholarships, for whose progress and funding the Adviser would be responsible. The new scheme would make administration more efficient, and furthermore, 'the scholar will . . . look for guidance and assistance to a person, where he has hitherto looked

[312] *Ibid*., pp. 220–5.

[313] Resolutions nos 556–69 of the Government of India Home Department, Education (1 July 1909), London, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collection [BL, OIOC], Political and Judicial Records, L/PJ/6/845.

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to a machine.'[314] The scheme's apparently laudable aims were welcomed by various British and Indian commentators. For example, its Advisory Committee attracted such prominent public figures as Theodore Morison and Sayyid Amir Ali, both active promoters of Indian interests, and the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference 'heartily welcomed' the new arrangements as 'highly beneficial to India and her people'.[315] Contacts with increasing numbers of students and applications by Indian parents for the Educational Adviser to administer funds and act as a guardian led to a rapid expansion in the work of the Bureau. As early as 1910, Arnold was directly responsible for sixty government scholars and twenty-seven private students voluntarily entrusted to his supervision by parents, and a year later the total number had risen to over two hundred.[316] In 1912, the Bureau was upgraded in status to the Indian Students' Department and its staff gradually enlarged in following years.

In spite of these positive signs, however, the Bureau's work was dogged from the start by conflicting internal pressures and suspicion among students of its purposes. Shompa Lahiri has argued that its chief founding principle and continuing policy was to undertake 'surveillance, control and restriction, executed under the cloak of paternalism and protection', and although her argument concedes insufficient weight to genuine administrative and amicable concerns, it is clear that a number of officials were politically motivated.[317] Chief among them was William Lee Warner, on whose 1907 investigation and recommendations the Bureau was based, and who believed the Educational Adviser's:

[314] Lord Morley to the Governor-General of India in Council, 14 May 1909, L/P&J/6/845; Revised Rules for Indian Government Scholars and Indian Government Technical Scholars in England, July 1909, and Minute on proposed transfer of the supervision of Government scholars from the Political ADC to the Educational Adviser to Indian Students, approved 14 and 22 June 1909, L/P&J/6/939.

[315] Honorary Joint Secretary of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, 12 Feb. 1910, London, BL, OIOC, Letters from India, L/P&J/3/173.

[316] Arnold to H. Risley, Auditor to the India Office, 14 March 1910, L/P&J/6/991; Arnold, Confidential Report, 14 Feb. 1910, Minute by Arnold, 14 Oct. 1910 and Lord Ampthill, Chairman of the Advisory Committee to Lord Morley, 26 Sept. 1910, L/P&J/6/1020; Confidential minute by T. Morison, 25 July 1910, and Arnold to the Secretary of the J&P Department, 21 Nov. 1911, L/P&J/6/1020.

[317] S. Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880–1930* (London, 2000), p. 116. The India Office publicly admitted as much in London, BL, OIOC, Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, W1757, pp. 30–1.

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primary duty [was] to endeavour to secure for his charges good company and good influence. He cannot do this if, from fear of being called a 'spy', he keeps himself ignorant of what every student at the University knows—who are the black sheep. Notorious sedition-agents he should certainly know, and if need be warn his charges against them.[318]

Government officials in both India and Britain pressed for closer monitoring of students' activities and for a campaign of counter-propaganda against 'seditious' tendencies, while British public perceptions viewed the Bureau as a measure against student sedition.[319] Preconceived racial and cultural assumptions together with concerns over greater Muslim political activism in both India and Britain created widespread fear of what *The Times* dubbed 'the Indian student problem'. As growing numbers of Indians travelled to Britain to study and work, the spectre of revolutionary activity loomed ever-larger and acquired apparent substance with the assassination of the Political ADC William Curzon Wyllie by a Muslim student in 1909.[320] *The Times* summarized public opinion in stating that while the Educational Adviser would be 'not an imperious supervisor, but a real friend and helper', it was hoped that he would therefore exert a positive influence on students' views and mitigate circumstances conducive to sedition.[321] Most damaging, however, was widespread suspicion among Indian students themselves of the Bureau's aims. It was viewed as an agency for political surveillance and espionage, the more so because security precautions following Curzon Wyllie's assassination were associated with its inception and official secrecy over the findings of the Lee Warner Report fuelled suspicions of duplicity.[322] The Bureau's inability to reduce disadvantageous university regulations, its guardianship role, interventionist activities and provision of apparent misinformation all contributed to perpetuate student suspicions.[323] Despite its responsive attitude to student social

[318] Minute by W. Lee–Warner, 29 Aug. 1910, L/P&J/6/1020.

[319] Confidential minute by T. Morison, 25 July 1910, and Indian Students: Reports of the Special Committee, 23 Aug. 1912, L/P&J/6/1020.

[320] Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 116–17. Curzon Wyllie's assassination was in 1909, not in 1912 as Lahiri incorrectly dates it, so her argument that the administrative re-organization of 1912 was an attempt to place students under a framework of institutional control in response to the event is flawed (p. 15).

[321] *The Times*, 1 April 1909, in L/P&J/6/845.

[322] Arnold, confidential report on the work of the Bureau, 17 Feb. 1912, p. 5, L/P&J/6/1020; Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 170–1.

[323] Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 116–52, 170–4. The problem of apparent misinformation stemmed from some universities' willingness to consider private applications even after their official quota of Indian students had been filled. The Bureau/

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and educational organizations, many students remained convinced that any official involvement in them would consist largely of political surveillance.[324] As a result, a number of students called in 1914 for the 'total and immediate abolition . . . of the Department as injurious to their interests' and its officials were banned from the student clubs with whom the Department was intended to co-operate.[325] Students' antipathy attracted wider political support from the Indian National Congress, which condemned its existence as constituted and methods of working.[326] In the first major progress review in 1922, the Lytton Committee found that 'the Indian Students' Department has never enjoyed the confidence of the students'.[327]

It was hoped that the appointment of Arnold as Educational Adviser would partially mitigate initial suspicions because of the high reputation he enjoyed in various Indian circles. As *The Times* put it, 'designing agitators have done their best to inculcate in them suspicions that curtailment of their liberty is designed by the scheme; but the appointment of so warm and disinterested a friend of the young men as Mr Arnold should effectively dispose of this insinuation'.[328] His appointment was certainly welcomed in some quarters; for example, the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference expressed 'complete confidence' in him and one Indian newspaper described him as 'a real friend of India'.[329] His reputation was rather too liberal for one official in the India Office, probably Lee-Warner, who 'doubted whether he would look after the political opinions of the students sufficiently'.[330]

Arnold refused to countenance any form of surveillance work, insisting on a signed pledge to this effect and discouraging support

Department's intentions were construed as deliberately misleading by students who gained university places after hearing the official understanding that courses were full.

[324] C. E. Mallett, Memo on the work of the Indian Students' Department, on 1 July 1912–30 June 1913, Cambridge, Wren Library, Trinity College, Papers of Sir Edwin Montagu, AS6/4/12.

[325] Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. 171; Memo by the Secretary of the J&P Committee, *c*. 11 May 1912, L/P&J/6/1020.

[326] Resolution XXII of the Indian National Congress, 27–29 December 1915, L/P&J/3/183.

[327] Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, p. 30, W1757.

[328] *The Times*, 1 April 1909, in L/P&J/6/845.

[329] Newspaper cutting (n.d., but presumably 1909), Arnold Papers, file 39, box 7; Honorary Joint Secretary of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, 12 Feb. 1909, L/P&J/3/173.

[330] Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, p. 209, W1757.

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for such activities within the India Office.[331] His efforts as Educational Adviser to promote students' interests were genuine, as he endeavoured to reduce entrenched prejudice at Oxford, Cambridge, Sandhurst and London medical colleges, argued against excessive monitoring of students' intentions and progress, and was instrumental in founding a Distressed Indian Students' Aid Committee to help those in financial difficulties.[332] His attitude towards political dissent was disciplinarian, however, in keeping with the Bureau and Department's paternalist framework. His position gave him considerable influence over students' careers and enabled him to use the full machinery of government against those who rejected official advice. Coercive tactics were in part a facet of his unwanted guardianship role; for example, the refusal of one ward, Khem Singh, to comply with his father's instructions to return to India prompted Arnold's veto on passports to elsewhere and advice to Khem Singh's father to withhold funds.[333] Yet he also initiated measures against 'seditious' students, sometimes stepping beyond the boundaries of permissible action. His willingness to warn educational authorities against 'undesirable students' dragged the India Office into a legal quagmire when one such student, Abdul Haq, accused him of illegitimately prejudicing his application to the Inns of Court, and although he hoped to use Oxford University discipline procedures against M. D. Bhat, following anti-British speeches at a meeting of the Majlis student society, he was advised that such action was only possible against violations of public order.[334]

The Indian Students' Bureau and Department ultimately failed to achieve either their ostensible or ulterior purposes. The India Office

[331] Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, p. 209, W1757; Arnold to the Secretary of the J&P Committee, 11 May 1912, L/P&J/6/1020. Arnold was supported by T. Morison: Morison, confidential minute, 25 July 1910, L/P&J/6/1020.

[332] Memo by Arnold, 4 April 1910, L/P&J/6/997; Memo by Arnold, 17 Nov. 1910, L/P&J/6/1032; Arnold to the Secretary of the J&P Committee, 11 May 1912, L/P&J/1020; Arnold, confidential report on the work of the Bureau, 17 Feb. 1912, pp. 13, 18–20, L/P&J/6/1020; Correspondence relating to work of the Distressed Indian Student's Aid Committee, 1911, L/P&J/6/1083; see Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, p. 71.

[333] Arnold, confidential report on the work of the Bureau, 17 Feb. 1912, p. 16, L/P&J/6/1020; Memo of E. Gray, 17 March 1915, and Arnold to C. Mallett, 14 May 1915, L/P&J/6/1362; See Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 132–3.

[334] Internal memos and correspondence, petitions of Abdul Haq, L/P&J/6/1093. For more examples of such action, see Arnold, confidential report on the work of the Bureau, 17 Feb. 1912, p. 12, L/P&J/6/1020. Lahiri, p. 127. The Majlis was an association of Indian students, based in Cambridge.

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and students were equally dissatisfied with their activities, and in 1922 all administration relating to Indian students was handed over to the newly-appointed High Commissioner for India.[335] Montagu publicly praised Arnold's efforts and the Lytton Report entirely vindicated him from any responsibility for its failure, but earlier evidence records dissenting criticisms that its unpopularity was due to 'the personality of Mr Arnold'.[336] The authoritarian slant his disciplinary initiatives gave to the Department's work certainly militated against its success by vindicating students' accusations of political suppression, but the surveillance activities which justifiably provided students' principal cause for complaint were carried out under the aegis of a range of government bodies with whom he had little connection.[337] It is difficult to see that the Department could ever have succeeded in its aims, since it was subject to conflicting requirements to promote students' interests and conciliate their suspicions on the one hand and to exert control over their activities on the other. Arnold's response to such pressures reflected his own political convictions. His attitude towards students, whom he saw as 'his babes', was sincerely sympathetic to their ambitions and the prejudice they faced, and he undertook guardianship duties reluctantly because they so frequently required him to act against students.[338] He actively supported disciplinary action, however, when students' activities gave cause for political concern, and his relationships with students were governed in the last resort by his allegiance to Britain and empire.

Arnold's administrative work demonstrated his imperial commitment, but it was the First World War which won him his most conspicuously political role.[339] The war is widely recognized as a watershed in twenthieth-century history. In Britain and her empire, men, money and knowledge were mobilized to an extent never previously encountered, creating a new political, social and military war-

[335] Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, p. 26, W1757; see Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 170–2.

[336] Montagu, speech on the education of Indians, 3 July 1912, Montagu Papers, AS6/3/25; Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, pp. 30–1, W1757; Minutes by Sirdar Daljit Singh and Abbas Ali Baig, 3 Nov. 1916, L/P&J/6/1464.

[337] See Lahiri, *Indians in Britain*, pp. 128–30, 134–7.

[338] T. Morison in *The Times*, 12 June 1930; Arnold, confidential report on the work of the Bureau, 17 Feb. 1912, p. 16, L/P&J/6/1020; Report of the Lytton Committee on Indian Students, 1922, p. 209, W1757.

[339] Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74.

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machine. War-time conditions and capabilities generated an imperial dialectic between internal control and external expansion, whereby Britain's desire to extend her influence in the Middle East and Africa competed for priority with concern to control her increasingly politicized subjects in Asia. Orientalist academic resources became critical tools in forging Britain's war and post-war imperial policies, for as Said argued, at no time did academic and political enterprises co-operate more forcefully than in the dismemberment of Asiatic Turkey.[340] Political settlement in the Middle East was the most sensitive post-war issue facing the British government, because concern to meet the claims of Arab nationalism and thereby minimize Ottoman influence conflicted with strong Indian Muslim support for the Turkish Caliph as spiritual leader of the Muslim world. The British were caught between the need to conciliate Muslim opinion in India in order to maintain colonial authority, on the one hand, and to ensure security and consolidate British influence in the strategically important Middle East on the other.[341]

Government demands for academic expertise propelled Arnold into the international political arena.[342] In the post-war peace negotiations, his knowledge was sought as a political weapon to attack the religious platform of the Indian Khilafatists.[343] He used his understanding of Islamic history and legal theory to manipulate the wording of various provisions of the Turkish peace terms, in order to achieve Arab independence but leave the Khilafatists without a legal-historical case. For example, he suggested an exact wording of 'nothing in this treaty shall be held to interfere with the privileges assigned to the Caliph by the consensus of opinion in the Muslim world'. He believed that this phrasing retained Caliphal suzerainty over Mecca and Medina, if all Muslims agreed, but evaded recognition of the Sultan of Turkey as Caliph. Furthermore, it used the Muslim legal principle of *ijma*, consensus of

[340] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 223–4.

[341] Darwin, *Britain, Egypt and the Middle East*, pp. 143–207; Minault, *The Khilafat Movement*, esp. pp. 52, 86–91; M. Hasan, 'Religion and Politics in India: The Ulama and the Khilafat Movement'; P. Dixit, 'Political Objectives of the Khilafat Movement in India', in M. Hasan (ed.), *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1981), 1–26, 43–65.

[342] In addition to his role in the post-war peace negotiations, Arnold also became a contact point for Dutch colonial administrators seeking to influence British policy in South-East Asia: B. Schrieke to Arnold, 30 July 1920 and 2 June 1924, J. E. Shuckburgh to Arnold, 23 Sept. 1920, Arnold Papers, file 1, box 1; Arnold to W. Duke, 14 Sept. 1920 and Arnold to J. E. Shuckburgh, 18 Sept. 1920, Arnold Papers, file 3, box 1.

[343] On the religious rather than political nature of the Khilafat demands, see Minault, *Khilafat Movement*, esp. pp. 87–91.

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opinion, against Indian Khilafatist claims, for 'if the Indian Muslims object to the proposed clause, they must throw over their own religious law'.[344] Further memoranda advised that the claims of the Khilafat Movement relied on 'ecclesiastical pedantry', Western misunderstanding of the Caliph's role in Islam, and manipulation of meaning through translation.[345] Arnold may have advised Lloyd George directly in dealing with the Khilafat delegation of 1920.[346] Even after the conclusion of peace negotiations, his linguistic skills and historical knowledge were called upon to assess the potential impact of Turkish Khilafatist propaganda.[347]

Arnold's research into Muslim legal and political theory on behalf of the Foreign and India Offices rebounded on the academic field through the publication in 1924 of *The Caliphate*. The work combined theological explanations with an outline of political history and assessments of the current situation, with the basic purpose of explaining the institution's contemporary relevance. His theological discussions argued that historical fictions and European misconceptions had attributed to the Caliph theoretical powers with no basis in *Sharia*'t law. These ideas had informed recent European concerns and Muslim ambitions regarding the Caliphate, both unconsciously and deliberately. He argued that the proclamation of the Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal's nationalist party in 1922 demonstrated Muslim recognition that modern constitutional government was incompatible with the Caliphate's historical associations, but that although both political reality and supporting theory were long dead, the ideal of a united Muslim community under one leader would remain a theme in Muslim aspirations. The Caliphate had no political future, yet provided a focus for resentment of European domination and a source of spiritual inspiration.[348] His analysis of

[344] Memo by Arnold, 1 May 1922, London, PRO, Foreign Office Political Records (1906–), FO 371/7872.

[345] Memos by Arnold, 1 July 1922 and Aug. 1922, FO 371/7872.

[346] A. Faruqi, 'European Involvement in the Aligarh Movement: The Role and Influence of the European Faculty in the Social and Political Aspects of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, 1875–1920', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University (1978), p. 390. Faruqi implies that Arnold was sympathetic to the Khilafat Movement, but as official records and Arnold's *The Caliphate* demonstrate (discussed below), he was in fact hostile to the political threat it represented. See Secretary of State to the Viceroy, 'Notes on the Khilafat Deputation of Mohamed Ali and Syed Hossain', 21 March 1920, Arnold Papers, file 1, box 1.

[347] J. W. Hose to Arnold, 13 July 1923 and 18 Sept. 1923, Arnold Papers, file 1, box 1.

[348] T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 179–82.

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Muslim political impotence contrasted sharply with the powerful spiritual force he deemed pan-Islamism to represent.

Publication of *The Caliphate* provoked wider ripples in the worlds of both academia and politics. Arnold claimed that his conclusions were not the result of extensive original research, for as he commented in the preface, he had attempted little more than to 'present the result of [European scholars'] researches to English readers who may be unacquainted with the scattered writings of these distinguished authorities.'[349] In fact, his work expanded the British orientalist field by publicizing new trends in European thinking and contributing additional points of argument.[350] Yet in passing judgement on the validity of Khilafatist claims, Arnold spoke alike 'to historical scholars and to statesmen and publicists whose interest is focused upon the contemporary world', providing for the latter a frame of reference in judging politico-religious issues.[351] His work was also a European contribution to a fiercely disputed issue in Muslim thinking, the competition to define a future direction for Islam. In 1925 Ali Abd al-Raziq, an Egyptian judge, published a modernist critique of Muslim theology which questioned two fundamental principles, the necessity of the Caliphate and even the possibility of Islamic Government at all. The theoretical basis of his work was drawn more from non-Muslim writers on Islam than from *Hadith* and the sciences of Qur'anic interpretation, prompting condemnation, as one critic put it, for accepting Thomas Arnold's thesis over the consensus of Islamic thought. In the resulting furore, the book was formally denounced by a council of leading *ulama* and Abd al-Raziq forbidden to hold any public office.[352] Arnold's intrusion into a highly contested arena therefore became ideological capital for intra-Islamic conflicts. Furthermore, the potential political rebound which stemmed from Abd al-Raziq's active involvement in the Liberal Constitutional Party was so extensive that the British Resident in Egypt even tried to use the threat of international criticism to influence the *ulama*'s judgement.[353] This storm of politico-religious controversy epitomizes the interplay of academic and political reaction to *The Caliphate*.

[349] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[350] See A. Toynbee, 'Review of *The Caliphate*', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III (1923–5), 822–5; for comparison, see D. Margoliouth, 'Review of *The Caliphate*', *English Historical Review*, XL (1925), pp. 143–6.
[351] Toynbee, 'Review', pp. 822–5.
[352] Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, pp. 183–92.
[353] Henderson to J. Austen Chamberlain, 15 August 1925, FO 371/10913.

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The Khilafat issue provoked the closest inter-action of Arnold's academic and political activity, since his advisory role exemplified the use of academic orientalist expertise in policy formulation. His knowledge of Islamic theology and political philosophy became ammunition in a battle for political power, his academic investigations a governmental resource. Furthermore, imperial insecurity imposed new claims on his political loyalties, eliciting a qualitative change in his academic judgements. True to his earlier religious affinities, he represented the Caliphate as a source of spiritual energy, but in condemning the Muslim world to political impotence, he evinced more muted sympathy for the Caliphal ideal than in *The Preaching of Islam* and greater inclination to address wider contemporary affairs.[354] A new discourse between his sympathy for Islam's cultural and spiritual achievements and his sensitivity to political considerations distinguished the spirit of his post-war academic and practical work alike.

Arnold's academic career in Europe and appointment to SOS placed him at the heart of the disseminative process highlighted by Said as a means by which 'the Orient' was made a Western construct and possession. Said sees the dissemination of orientalist knowledge as the consolidation of 'latent orientalism', providing a frame of reference for describing and understanding the Orient and expressing a Western sense of dominance. The process of academic institutionalization which took place in the early twentieth century was therefore deeply conservative, because it sought to preserve ideas of oriental difference and inferiority.[355] At the fundamental level of Said's 'latent orientalism', institutionalization certainly perpetuated a desire to dominate the Orient, if only epistemologically.[356] In historiographical terms, however, it generated more liberal, sympathetic and even potentially subversive currents than previously (see chapter I).

Arnold was deeply involved in this institutionalization of orientalist study through his editorship of various encyclopaedias and anthologies and his role in developing SOS's academic and research status. He was appointed English editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, contributed to Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and the *Cambridge Medieval History*, and was sought after by the editors of the *Encyclopae-*

[354] Cf. Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), p. 346. See A. Yusuf Ali in *The Times*, 13 June 1930.
[355] Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 221–2, 206.
[356] C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient'.

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dia Britannica.[357] These works of combined expertise could be seen as definitive texts of historical analysis, the accepted Western construct of 'the Orient', yet through his contributions Arnold's unusually sympathetic analyses acquired mainstream status. His anthologies similarly publicized his admiration for Muslim culture and raised interest in Islamic art, a subject largely ignored in the past.[358] His editorial work therefore embedded his positive perceptions of Islam's moral teachings, tolerance and missionary ethos into Western understandings. SOS was in broad terms the most imperialist area of Arnold's involvement, since it was specifically intended to prepare British officers for imperial service and to further British knowledge of the Orient, each aim 'a matter of urgency in the imperial and national interests'. The Reay Report of 1909 from which SOS drew its founding ethos emphasized in particular the extent to which Britain was lagging behind the rest of Europe in providing for scholarly study and colonial training alike.[359] The institution was intended as a factory for the production of orientalist thinkers and workers and its terms of reference perpetuated the idea of oriental difference, but Arnold injected academic liberalism into its conservative structure by seeking to cultivate in students his own respect for Islam's ethical teachings and tolerant attitude.[360] Although his work as an academic perpetuated the conservative structures of European orientalism, he contributed within them to a growing ideological trend away from dry scholasticism towards more responsive and liberal interpretations. His conformity with the established formats of orientalism effectively institutionalized his sympathetic understanding of Islam.

Institutionization both stimulated and was prompted by closer links between national communities of scholars. Jacques Waardenburg has argued that from the first Orientalist Congress in 1873,

[357] T. W. Arnold, 'Persecution' and 'Toleration', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (13 vols, Edinburgh, 1908–26) IX, 765–9 and XII, 365–9; T. W. Arnold, 'Muslim Civilization During the Abbasid Period' in J. R. Tanner, C. W. Previte-Orton, C. W. Brooke (eds). *Cambridge Medieval History* IV (Cambridge, 1923), 274–99; *Encyclopaedia Britannica's* editors to Arnold, 22 Sept. 1925, Arnold Papers, file 11, box 3.

[358] Arnold and Guillaume (eds), *The Legacy of Islam*; T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson (eds), *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to E. G. Browne on his 60th Birthday* (Cambridge, 1922).

[359] C. H. Philips, *The School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1917–67: An Introduction* (Winchester, 1967), pp. 11–12, 17; Hourani, *Islam in European Thought*, pp. 65–8.

[360] MSS lecture notes (n.d.), Arnold Papers, files 16 and 17, box 4; Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400; Gibb, 'Arnold', *Dictionary of National Biography* (1937). See E. G. Browne *et al*. to the Secretary of State, 18 Aug., 1920, Arnold Family Papers.

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European orientalist scholars increasingly worked within a unified intellectual and methodological tradition.[361] National differences of interest and style still remained and British scholars were slow to incorporate academic developments in the rest of Europe, as discussed in chapter I, but nevertheless orientalists were progressively working as a European bloc of researchers.[362] Arnold's career exemplifies this process of Europeanization. Even while in India, he established contacts with orientalists in Europe such as Stanley Lane Poole, Ignaz Goldziher, Ignace Guidi and Snouck Hurgronje, all leading orientalist scholars whom he consulted on points of research and translation.[363] At Lahore, he developed close friendships with Percy Stafford Allen and Mark Aurel Stein, with whom he frequently discussed new research projects or academic problems, and back in England, he extended his range of contacts to include leading figures across Europe and was himself sought out for consultation.[364] He travelled widely in Europe, meeting fellow academics, attending international conferences and giving a number of lectures.[365] As already mentioned, he was instrumental in the development of the pan-European *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Said has rightly commented on the political facet of these two processes, in that they consolidated a European vision of Islam which was imposed on political relationships.[366] Yet as part of the professionalization of academic study in all disciplines, they also began to polarize the roles of academic and politician, in that amorphous participation in a range of fields was replaced by clear occupational categorization.[367] Professionalization did not sever the links between

[361] J. Waardenburg, cited in Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 209–10.

[362] On links between the French and British colonial systems in particular, see S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings of Empire: Britain, France and Colonial Modernity in the Mediterranean and Asia' in C. A. Bayly and L. Fawaz (eds), *European Modernity and Cultural Difference from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean, 1890s–1920s* (Columbia University Press, forthcoming).

[363] S. L. Poole to Arnold, 29 Dec. 1894, I. Goldziher to Arnold, 14 June 1897, 31 May 1898, 10 Sept. 1901, 24 April 1902, 7 March 1903, 6 July 1903, I. Guidi to Arnold, 26 May 1902, C. Snouck Hurgronje to Arnold, 19 May 1902, Arnold Papers, file 1, box 1.

[364] Arnold to Allen correspondence, Allen Papers; Arnold to Stein correspondence, Stein Papers, mic 2, 3, 22, 64, 126, 397; Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; J. P. Vogel to C. M. Arnold, 17 June 1930, Arnold Family Papers; A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', 57–68. See book of testimonials (1904), Arnold Family Papers in the possession of Mr Arnold Barfield.

[365] Arnold to Stein correspondence, Stein Papers, mic 126, 64.

[366] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 210.

[367] Collini, *Public Moralists*, p. 209.

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academia and politics, for orientalist scholars, acquiring greater authority from their new professional status, increasingly participated as experts in government and policy formulation. Arnold's own career is evidence of this role; for example, his European academic standing was the basis for his correspondence with Bernard Schrieke, a Dutch colonial administrator and anthropologist, T. E. Lawrence, dual agent of imperialism and Arab nationalism, and Francis Younghusband, chief executor of Curzon's 'forward' policy into Tibet.[368] Furthermore, as education in orientalist subjects increasingly became a pre-requisite of political administration, academic researchers were called on to train agents in the field. This role is demonstrated by the intimate connection between the Indian Civil Service and the role of political science in the Cambridge syllabus and by the founding principles of SOS.[369] Yet the establishment of academic career structures made forays into the world of colonial government largely temporary, as were Arnold's own, and there was a world of difference between the academic specialist and educated administrator whom he trained. More importantly, professionalization created international standards and criteria within particular fields of research, subject to internal dynamics above practical utility.[370] While these processes gave orientalist knowledge greater authority and facilitated its influence on politics and government, they also enhanced the non-political dynamics of orientalist study.

As a result, orientalist academia's political roles were not necessarily conservative, since new currents of thinking were injected into the political field. Furthermore, orientalists increasingly did not confine their contacts to European colleagues but actively sought to develop closer links with Muslim thinkers. Between the 1890s and 1920s, orientalist debates experienced two contradictory tendencies: a resurgence of colonialist conservatism on the one hand and growing responsiveness to the reality of dynamism and change in Europe's colonies on the other.[371] With respect to Islam, this latter tendency was primarily a reponse to pan-Islamism and nationalism, and

[368] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 224; B. Schrieke to Arnold, 30 July 1920, 2 June 1924, Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', pp. 57–68.

[369] S. Collini, D. Winch, J. Burrow (eds), *That Noble Science of Politics: a Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 354–7; Philips, *SOAS: Introduction*, p. 17.

[370] Collini, *Public Moralists*, pp. 209, 213, 233–5.

[371] S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings'; see Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 222–4.

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focused on the emergence of a liberal, Western-educated Muslim intelligentsia seeking to re-define Islam for the modern world. Its primary organ of expression was the *Revue du Monde Musalman (RMM)*, which purported 'to make Islam known as it is actually evolving' by publicizing this 'springtime of the Muslim peoples'. A major feature of the journal was its coverage of the work of Muslim thinkers and activists, with the effect of increasing Muslim influences on orientalist debate.[372] Its religious counterparts were *The Moslem World* and *Christian Missions in Moslem Lands*, both missionary publications dedicated to understanding Islam as contemporary reality rather than text-based theory. Arnold associated himself with this body of orientalist thought soon after his return to Britain, drawing particular attention to the work of its main journals in the revised *Preaching of Islam*. Under its influence, his interests shifted in the 1920s to the modern Islamic world and politico-cultural analysis. Much of his academic output aimed to demonstrate the contemporary significance of historical developments, but by the end of his life his research specifically focused on a *Survey of Islam in the Modern World*.[373] The arguments he put forward reflect the challenge of this new Islamophilic modernism to orientalist orthodoxy.

The historical analysis on which Arnold's contemporary understanding was based sharply contrasted with the traditional assumptions of orientalism. He argued that the relationship between Christo-European and Muslim cultures had in the past been mutually influential and beneficial. In particular, he claimed that the establishment of Arabic philosophy, medicine, sciences and arts in Europe through the Muslim conquest of Spain stimulated a 'revival of learning' and cultural development in Christian Europe.[374] This acknowledgement of a heavy European debt to Islam was highly provocative, not least because its underlying assumption was that Islam was 'the fundamental fact' which made it possible.[375] Arnold maintained close contacts with like-minded cultural analysts, such as Julian Ribera, who argued controversially that Provençal music, poetry and chivalrous ethos were primarily derived from Arabic traditions, and Hermann Goetz, whose depiction of eighteenth-century

[372] S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings'; see E. Burke III, 'The Sociology of Islam: The French Tradition' in Kerr (ed.), *Islamic Studies*, pp. 73–88; C. A. Bayly, 'The Orient'.
[373] E. D. Ross in *The Times*, 16 June 1930.
[374] 'Influences of Islam on Europe', MSS article (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 16, box 4.
[375] Guillaume, 'Preface' in Arnold and Guillaume (eds), *Legacy*, p.v.

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Indian art as a flourishing, distinctive school undermined traditional analyses of cultural decline and imitation (see chapter II).[376] This Europe-wide group of historians promoted an original and sympathetic revision of orientalist interpretations of Christian and Muslim cultural history and inter-action.

The contrast between his revisionist historical understanding and awareness of present-day prejudices drew Arnold towards orientalist modernism. Looking to the past for inspiration, he argued in favour of greater cultural exchanges in the present and future. He believed that Islam had fallen into cultural decline over the last century, and that a full cultural renaissance required its followers to build on recent efforts to acquire so-called 'Western' advances in social, political and scientific thought. Against this apparent conservatism, however, he pursued the theme of his Aligarh and Lahore years that 'all good in advancing civilizations can be absorbed, without adopting foreign follies'.[377] Although his focus was primarily on Muslims, he also criticized out-dated Western popular and academic ignorance of growing currents of receptivity among Muslims and corresponding failure to reciprocate. Christians and Muslims alike came under fire as too prejudiced by ignorant, out-of-date literature to recognize 'how . . . numerous are the points of likeness'.[378]

Ideas of cultural organicism associated with theorists such as Herbert Spencer, Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee formed a referential context for any analysis of civilizational growth and decline. Toynbee, for example, explained historical change in terms of culture-civilizations, the basic organizational units of human society, and argued that political shifts epitomized catholic processes of organic growth and decay.[379] His theory of challenge and response appears compatible with Arnold's analysis of the Mongol invasion of Persia and current Western dominance as problems to which Muslims must respond culturally.[380] Arnold conflated culture and civiliza-

[376] H. Goetz to Arnold, 24 Aug. 1923, 11 Oct. 1925, 3 June 1927, 22 Dec. 1927, 2 Jan. 1929, and J. Ribera to Arnold, 1 Nov. 1924, Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; see Arnold's review of Ribera's book in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III (1923–25), pp. 375–6.

[377] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10.

[378] T. W. Arnold, 'Europe and Islam', in Marvin (ed.), *Western Races and the World*, pp. 152, 159.

[379] A. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (12 vols, London, 1934–61).

[380] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10. Although *A Study of History* was only published between 1934 and 1954, its conception dates from 1921: C. T. McIntire and M. Perry, 'Toynbee's Achievement' in C. T. McIntire and M. Perry (eds),

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tion in common with organicist theory but replaced race with religion as their defining feature, and in rejecting 'that easy generalization—the East', he undermined both the divisional organicist framework and orientalist tenet of difference. He insisted that 'we must dismiss from our minds the old distinction between East and West. It is a distinction largely based upon ignorance and is now out-of-date'. In his view, the debt of Christian and Muslim thinking alike to the classical world and past mutual influences made present-day ideas the exclusive preserve of neither culture; in fact, 'the Christian and Muslim world are both heirs of the same civilization.'[381] He defined civilization not by one particular culture, but by equal regard for distinctive traditions and cross-cultural links and by reverence for knowledge, whatever its source.[382] His ideal of non-discriminatory, unified 'civilization' was admittedly at variance with his adherence to the concept of 'the Muslim world', but nevertheless implied a refutation of fundamental assumptions underlying Western constructs of 'the Orient'.

Arnold's links and identification with a range of Muslim thinkers in respect of cultural matters exemplify the responsive attitude of the *RMM* school of thought to modernist tendencies outside Europe. He developed close, lasting relationships with key Muslim thinkers in India so as to 'drink in as much learning as I can . . . [from] my *maulavis'*, and was equally keen to learn from Muslim intellectuals on his visits to Cairo.[383] Theodore Morison believed that 'there is . . . hardly a single eminent Muhammadan scholar with whom Arnold is not in correspondence'.[384] Arnold's emphasis on the value of Islamic history, literature and languages within a framework of receptivity to new ideas echoed themes in the arguments of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Sayyid Amir Ali, with whom he had worked closely at Aligarh and as Educational Adviser (see chapters I and IV).[385] After his return to England, he continued

Toynbee: Reappraisals (London, 1989), p. 3. Arnold knew Toynbee personally and therefore was probably aware of his ideas.

[381] Arnold, 'Europe and Islam', pp. 146–60; 'The Culture of Christendom and of Islam', MSS lecture notes (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 16, box 4.

[382] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10; see Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400.

[383] Arnold to Allen, 9 Dec. 1903, Allen Papers; T. W. Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 12 Jan. 1908, Arnold Family Papers.

[384] T. Morison, in book of testimonials (1904), Arnold Family Papers.

[385] See S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings' on the *RMM*'s identification with Sayyid Amir Ali's ideas.

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to extend his non-European contacts, Muslim or otherwise, corresponding with such diverse figures as the Congress politician M. H. Kidwai and the Dalai Lama among others and lecturing in Cairo in 1907–08, 1928 and 1930.[386] In ideological terms, Arnold associated himself with the ethos of the 'New Light' movement which had developed from Aligarh in the 1880s and 1890s, calling for Muslims to build on its achievements. Its ideals were most clearly explained and defended by Mustafa Khan in *An Apology for the New Light*, published in 1890. His aim was to justify the 'New Light' to its more conservative critics, but also to rouse it from mere words into action. He defended its acceptance of Western education, advocacy of social reforms and attempts to purify and rationalize religious belief, but maintained that such ideas were not, as its accusers believed, inimical to Islam *per se*. He argued that through political conservatism but social liberalism 'a regenerated India—a united India—will greet your vision'.[387] Similar arguments were asserted by Arnold some thirty-five years later as a model for further progress.[388]

Arnold's arguments in favour of cultural receptivity were also based on political analysis. He believed that Islam's declining political power required Muslims to recognize that politico-religious formations based on Islam were no longer possible, from which must follow a re-statement of doctrine.[389] In support of this argument, he pointed to recent events in Turkey, namely the abolition by Kemal's nationalist party of the Sultanate in 1922 and Caliphate itself in 1924. This seemed to him to indicate a conviction that 'the historical associations of the Caliphate were incompatible with a constitutional government, responsible to a National Assembly'. Given that a constitutional political formation must underpin modern styles of government, the Caliphate's functions had become merely ornamental and therefore dispensable.[390] His positive view of the Turkish nation-

[386] M. H. Kidwai to Arnold, 4 Oct. 1916 and others (n.d.), Arnold Papers, file 2, box 1; A. R. and L. H. Barfield, 'Family Perspective', pp. 57–68; see also W. Rahman to Arnold, 24 May 1912, Jiraha Bairain Khan to Arnold, n.d., Zahaid Ahmad to Arnold, 20 Sept. 1928, Arnold Papers, files 1 and 2, box 1.

[387] Mustafa Khan, *An Apology for the 'New Light', or Considerations on a Recent Movement in the Indian Mahomedan Society* (Allahabad, 1891), esp. pp. 8, 13, 18–26, 34–43, 61–74, 78, 88.

[388] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10.

[389] *Ibid*.

[390] Arnold, *Caliphate*, pp. 179–80.

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alists' programme contrasted with governmental concerns at European failures to restrain Kemalism through international controls.[391]

Arnold did not replicate his cultural admiration, spiritual sympathies or challenges to orientalist assumptions in the political arena, however, and was always a 'convinced believer in the great destiny of the British Empire'.[392] His basic political ideology divided him from the more radical thinkers of the *RMM* school, whose Muslim sympathies prompted strong criticism of colonial policy, support for liberal nationalist movements and in some cases active dissent.[393] The discourse between Islamic and British sympathies in his post-war writings shows clearly that his admiration for Islam was tempered under political conditions by his concern for the security of imperial rule. He felt that Islam's success in creating a true sense of global community was potentially a dangerous source of instability, particularly under modern conditions:

> To the politician this characteristic of unity in the bonds of faith is a source of constant anxiety, as it is capable of expressing itself in forms of fanaticism that may spread rapidly over immense tracts of country . . . In the present day when intercommunication is so much easier and the sufferings of the Muslim world have done so much to excite sympathy for fellow Muslims in distress, the possibility of a widespread activity becomes still more possible.[394]

He acknowledged that anti-European resentment was already channelled into calls for unity, but by assessing the Wahhabi reform and Khilafat movements chiefly in spiritual-religious terms, simultaneously concluded that pan-Islamic sympathies were ultimately incapable of undermining imperial security.[395] His attitude mirrored wider orientalist reactions to pan-Islamism and religious nationalism as both a danger and a moment of opportunity.[396] Arnold never gave the Muslim spiritual vitality and cultural renaissance he advocated a political dimension; although he cited imperialism and loss of political power as integral components of the problems faced by Muslims

[391] See Darwin, *Britain, Egypt and the Middle East*, p. 242.

[392] Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74. Stein highlights Arnold's early interest in the British Navy and its imperial role.

[393] S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings'. Louis Massignon, editor of *RMM* from 1919, was perhaps the most prominent of such anti-colonial activists: see Gude, *Louis Massignon*.

[394] Arnold, 'Europe and Islam', pp. 146–60.

[395] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam*, (1st edition) pp. 345–6, (2nd edition) pp. 425–6; Arnold, *Islamic Faith*, p. 47; Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 182.

[396] S. Bayly, 'Racial Readings'.

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in the contemporary world, he never advocated a political solution.[397]

Within the British political spectrum, Arnold's views corresponded most closely with Liberal ideas of principled imperialism in a programme of 'order plus reforms' rather than strident Tory calls for imperial expansion, strength and unity.[398] He supported Liberal concessions of provincial self-government in India as a means of conciliating discontent, but deferred to political consensus that complete self-government was an unattainable, suicidal goal and foreign rule 'inevitable'.[399] His appointment as Educational Adviser and post-war advisory role confirm his liberal ideology, since Morley and Montagu's reformist influence on the India Office is unlikely to have encouraged conservative leanings in such sensitive areas. He believed that imperialism faced 'serious problems', since 'the haughtiness of Englishmen towards "natives" generally is the most destructive force working against their rule' and arrogant colonialism appeared set on a hopeless course.[400] Nonetheless, Islam in particular would remain a field for Western political dominance because of its present and future political impotence.[401]

Yet Arnold's ideas, isolated from their imperial framework, provided a battery of ammunition for political spokesmen of Islam. Both his academic research and practical activities gave support to perceptions of separate Muslim nationhood. *The Preaching of Islam* argued that Muhammad's religious message united the 'scattered tribes' of Arabia into a nation, but implied that nationhood was not therefore dependent on Arabian ancestry, because its bonds of unity were 'ties of religion, now stronger than those of kinship'. The convergence of religious and political boundaries reinforced the role of religion as the defining feature of nationality.[402] Juxtaposed against contempor-

[397] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10.

[398] R. Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century, 1815–1914* (2nd edition. London, 1993), pp. 266–7; P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 205–6, 208; Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914–1990* (London and New York, 1993), pp. 183–4.

[399] 'The Problem of Modern India' and 'The New Light', MSS articles (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1919 and post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10; Interview with Mr Arnold Barfield, 26 May 2000. Mr Barfield is one of Thomas Arnold's four grandsons.

[400] Arnold to C. M. Arnold, 21 Dec. 1907, Arnold Family Papers, in the possession of Dr Lawrence Barfield.

[401] 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10.

[402] Arnold, *Preaching of Islam* (1st edition), pp. 2, 22–7, (2nd edition) pp. 2, 27–33.

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ary political realities, this concept of Islam as nation became far more problematic, but Arnold continued to support Muslim self-identification in primarily religious terms. He explicitly argued at Aligarh that Muslims formed a single nation, despite internal differences, and should pursue 'a high national ideal'.[403] Furthermore, he believed that only a sectarian institutional framework could protect Muslim nationality against becoming 'a Hindu sect'.[404] These ideas produced a tension within his analytical framework as a whole because his proposed future direction for Islam was based on existing political realities rather than the nationalist terminology in which his arguments were couched.

For those listening to such ideas, however, such phraseology could be used to sustain political subversion of imperial dominance. Ideas of nationhood were taken up and projected into the political arena by men of Aligarh and to a lesser extent Lahore, for it was but a short step from cultural and religious pride to political activism.[405] The politicized, anti-British tendencies which developed at Aligarh after 1900 owed something to Arnold's earlier alternative current of thinking, though Arnold himself effectively rejected this reformulation of the Aligarh ethos in favour of a return to Sayyid Ahmad's loyalism.[406] He had promoted at Aligarh the same pride in Islam's cultural heritage, religious revival and terminology of nationhood which underlay calls by many U.P. Muslims and former Aligarh students for separate political status. Similarly, he supported the cultural aims of organizations in Lahore whose activities later became politicized (see chapter IV). Even beyond Aligarh and Lahore, Arnold's academic output largely publicized the potentially subversive aspects of his thinking, since it was his cultural analyses which were in the widest public domain. His emphasis on moral responsibility and duty to the Muslim 'nation' reflected themes which domin-

[403] Report on Akhwan us-Safa meeting and speech to the Duty Society, Cambridge, CSAS, *MAOCM* in *AIG*, 6 June and 7 Nov. 1893.

[404] Faruqi, 'European Involvement', p. 181; 'The New Light', MSS article (n.d., but internal references suggest post-1924), Arnold Papers, file 43, box 10.

[405] On Muslim activism in favour of separate political status, see Robinson, *Separatism*, esp. pp. 84–175, 257–344; Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, pp. 116–97; Minault, *Khilafat Movement*; Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation*, pp. 300–48; Robinson, 'Nation formation: the Brass thesis and Muslim separatism' and Brass, 'A Reply to Francis Robinson' in Jeffrey *et al.* (eds), *India: Rebellion to Republic*, pp. 28–55. For an all-India perspective which contends historical assumptions about communalism, see A. Jalal, 'Exploding Communalism: The Politics of Muslim Identity in South Asia', in Bose and Jalal (eds), *Nationalism, Democracy and Development*, pp. 76–103.

[406] See Robinson, *Separatism*, pp. 133–256.

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ated late nineteenth and early twentieth-century British political discourse, with the result that his ideas were easily politicized by Indians working within the idiom of British politics.[407] Arnold's ideas and influence therefore contained the potential to justify both anti-imperialism and its expression by some Muslims through religious identification.

Arnold's practical and academic work alike drew him into the political arena. As Educational Adviser to Indian Students he was the principal executor of a new India Office initiative and as an adviser to the India and Foreign Offices on the Khilafat movement in India he actively contributed to imperial policy-making. His academic publications, involvement in Britain's newly-founded School of Oriental Studies and development of a European network of contacts ensured his contribution in bridging the separating enterprises of academic orientalism and political imperialism. His activities in his most visible political roles were ultimately governed by his concern for imperial security, and post-war challenges to political loyalties consolidated his commitment to Britain's imperial role and produced more overtly political themes in his writings. Yet there were significant ambiguities in his role as an imperial agent, as his ideas combined liberal political imperialism with academic originality. His work remained within orientalist discourse but introduced new methodology and concepts into its formulations of Islam and at times undermined its conventional assumptions. Paradoxically, this internal innovation was most clearly visible in the politico-cultural analyses to which his scholarly interests shifted in the 1920s, in common with the modernist school of orientalist thought centred around the journal *Revue du Monde Musalman*. His participation in the institutionalized structures of academic orientalism enabled wider propagation of his revisionist ideas among both intellectual and political circles, and his close links with and receptivity to Muslim thinkers enhanced Muslim influences on orientalist debates. He contributed indirectly to subversive currents, since his active encouragement of cultural activism among Muslims was used by those whom he influenced as a basis for activism in the political arena. The interaction of scholarly and political concerns in Arnold's academic and practical work therefore demonstrate the ambiguities and tensions which characterized the relationship between orientalism and imperialism.

[407] Collini, *Public Moralists*, pp. 93–4.

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Conclusion

If we are to live in harmony and co-operation with our Muhammadan fellow-subjects we must come to realise how much more numerous are the points of likeness than those we have hitherto recognised.

T. W. Arnold, 'Europe and Islam'

In the aftermath of the Indian Mutiny-Rebellion of 1857–59, Muslims were pilloried by British commentators and policy-makers as disloyal conspirators to reinstate their former Mughal glory, yet in 1935, the Government of India Act looked to this same group to stabilize British rule. Islam and its followers were no longer the external enemy, resentful at displacement by a superior politico-religious force, but partners in a co-operative imperial enterprise. Admittedly British political clout would govern the relationship in the last resort, but its essence was receptivity and co-operation. This new configuration of perspectives was engendered by a thorough re-appraisal of Islam's relationship with the West.

Thomas Arnold's career spanned the critical period in this process of re-evaluation, from the 1890s to the 1920s, and exemplified its principal features. His intellectual and personal life bridged British and Muslim cultures to an exceptional degree, so that, as his colleagues Theodore Morison and H. A. R. Gibb put it, the Muslims' 'way of looking at life became part of [Arnold's] intellectual experience.'[408] He combined high moral and intellectual standards with great receptivity to individual expressions of non-doctrinal spiritual faith, Christian and Muslim alike, creating 'feelings of sympathetic interest and intuitive comprehension for others, of charity combined with rare clearness of vision for human rights and wrongs.'[409] This 'very human personality' became the defining feature of his academic *oeuvre*, educational work and personal relationships, and decisively informed his quest to erode European and Muslim mutual prejudice. His call to Britons to acknowledge Muslims as equal compatriots in a harmonious relationship (cited above) sounded the keynote of new themes in European attitudes towards Islam, reverberating all the more strongly in an acutely sensitive post-war world.

British political attitudes towards Islam and its followers began to shift in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Once the Liberal party had discarded Gladstonian hostility and Tory ideologues recog-

[408] Morison and Gibb, 'Arnold', pp. 398–400.
[409] Stein, 'Arnold', pp. 439–74.

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nized the benefits of conciliation, British policy-makers across the political spectrum endeavoured to consolidate links with colonial and independent Muslim parties. Both the ex-radical Morley and staunchly Tory Minto perceived Muslims, or at least a significant proportion of them, as trustworthy participants in governing the Raj and awarded them a disproportionately weighty communal award in the 1909 Government of India Act. In the post-war period, the British government offered support to Arab national movements in the Middle East, established close links with Reza Shah Pahlavi's constitutional movement in Persia, and focused Indirect Rule policies in the African interior on existing Muslim emirs. Following the abolition of the Caliphate and Sultanate by Kemal's nationalist party, Britain hoped that Turkey's more conservative religious forces might exert a restraining force on secular radicalism. These alliances were substantially motivated by concern for imperial security, in that particular Muslim groups were regarded as counterweight to more overtly hostile elements in the imperial matrix. British policy-makers hoped that Indian Muslims would defend the Raj against Congress demands for self-government and independence, Arab nationalists would be more amenable to a British Middle Eastern presence than their Ottoman predecessors, and Indirect Rule would minimize dislocation in African society. Co-operative policies were also motivated by wider geopolitical forces, however, as a defence against European encroachment on British strategic and economic positions, and it was hoped that Britons and Muslims could form a united phalanx against Russian and French aggression and expansionism. Political changes were not therefore the result of a purely imperial dynamic, nor did they focus exclusively on 'the Orient' as a site for domination.

Academic appraisals of Islamic philosophies, policies, history and culture experienced a parallel and related qualitative shift in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Secularism, universalist philosophies and agnosticism broke down religious polarities between Christians and Muslims, while new movements among Muslims directed attention towards contemporary realities. Professionalization of intellectual study created internally dynamic academic structures, the development of new methodologies prompted questioning of accepted interpretations, and new disciplinary approaches such as *Kulturhistorisch*, socio-anthropology and modernism expanded fields of interest. These processes stimulated a revision of approaches to the study of Islam across Europe, in which new interpretations refigured orientalist understandings and sometimes

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challenged notions of oriental difference, inferiority and essentialism. Condemnatory prejudice, narrow analysis and disparaging comparisons with European civilization continued to inform much intellectual analysis. But from the last decades of the 1800s, sympathetic revisionist commentators became a significant and increasing minority.

Academic and political perspectives on Islam exerted reciprocal influences in both theoretical and practical terms. On the negative side, intellectual hostility afforded apparent justification for imperial arrogance and prejudice, but at the same time, British conciliatory and co-operative attitudes were made possible by shifts in intellectual mentalities, in that debunking myths of Islam as aggressive, intolerant enemy was a pre-requisite for establishing Muslims as co-operative partners. Events in the political arena stimulated research; politicians called on orientalist expertise to formulate policy and train agents in the field; and governmental support consolidated academic structures. Intellectual and political trends did not follow parallel courses, however, in terms of either progress or patronage. Imperial expansion in the Orient was primarily a British and French enterprise, but intellectual re-assessments were spearheaded by German scholars addressing the field as observers rather than participants. Revisionist interpretations stimulated a counter-Western discourse in which imperial aims and policies were subverted by colonial subjects and even orientalist commentators themselves. European academic re-evaluations of Islam across all aspects of the field coincided in Britain at the turn of the century with a resurgence of imperial enthusiasm which affirmed racial, cultural, political and religious superiority.

It was this particular dichotomy which gives Thomas Arnold's work its historical importance. His academic work in the Islamic field was unusually sympathetic within the European context, but appeared even more unconventional in a purely British setting. In both, his humanist philosophy, anthropological interests and methodological approach stood out in the intellectual arena and confronted long-standing assumptions. He championed European-led academic re-evaluation in the British domestic and imperial context, but also brought peculiarly British experiences to bear on revisionist trends as a whole. His admiration of Islam and its culture and participation in European revisionist scholarship made him something of a maverick in British colonial circles, but as British policy-makers revised imperial strategies, his Islamophile proclivities were met with

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greater receptivity and sympathy within the metropolitan context. His endeavours to rehabilitate Islam in European understanding became less radical with time in response to both internal dynamism in orientalist scholarship and the demands of the First World War on political loyalties, but in any case came to appear less extreme as the enterprise of re-evaluation attracted more disciples. In 1896, his sympathetic attitude in *The Preaching of Islam* stood out as exceptional even among revisionist commentators, whereas by the 1920s his arguments had begun to lag behind those of his more radical *Revue du Monde Musalman* associates. Yet his work nonetheless continued to appeal to Muslims and Europeans alike. In applying his ideas in practical and political arenas, he promoted a liberal version of empire and programme for Muslim development, in ways which drew on and appealed to Muslim thinkers and which could both support and subvert imperialism itself. Arnold's personal configuration of intellectual, religious and political precepts, and its manifestation in his academic, practical and political roles, aptly demonstrate the ambiguities in European perceptions of Islam. Individual attitudes were governed by many frameworks of reference, including, but not necessarily dominated by, the imperial matrix. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the re-evaluation of Islam afforded greater possibilities than the orientalist paradigm suggests.

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