BERNARD LEWIS

31 May 1916 – 19 May 2018

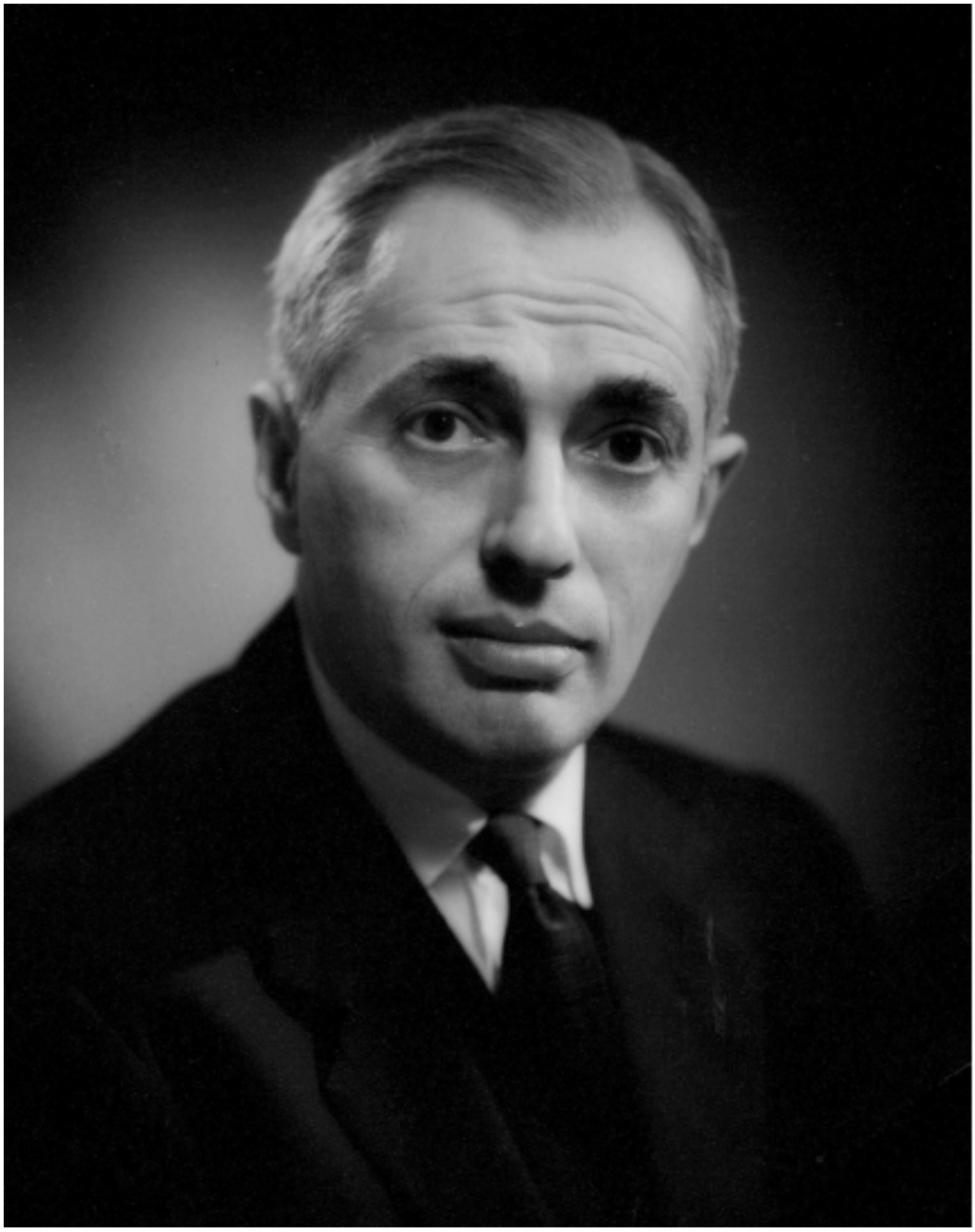
elected Fellow of the British Academy 1963

by

CAROLE HILLENBRAND
Fellow of the Academy

Brought up in a London Jewish family, Bernard Lewis early showed a flair for languages and history, taking a SOAS History MA and then PhD. He served in Intelligence in the war, returning to SOAS where he gained a chair in 1949 and stayed until 1974, when he moved to Princeton, retiring in 1990. He taught and published extensively and was involved in controversies over Orientalism and the 'Clash of Civilizations'. Subsequently he achieved prominence, regularly advising the US government on Middle Eastern issues, while maintaining a steady output of books and articles until his death just before his 102nd birthday.

Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy, XIX, 231–254
Posted 25 August 2020.



BERNARD LEWIS (*photo: Bassano & Vandyk, 1966*)

Life until 1938

Bernard Lewis was born in London on 31 May 1916. He was the only child of middle-class Jewish parents who were both immigrants from Eastern Europe. He was interested in history from an early age and he showed an unusual aptitude for learning languages. He went first to a small private school in London called Wilson College and then moved to the Polytechnic London Day School at the age of 14. He especially enjoyed learning French, Latin and history. He also mentions in his autobiography, *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian*, that from the age of 13 he was privately taught all kinds of Hebrew, including the Hebrew Bible, and that a year later he began to acquire a good reading knowledge of Italian on his own initiative.[1]

Besides the detailed aspects of his autobiography which Lewis gave in *Notes*, he provides an earlier account of his early life and academic career in the introduction to his book *From Babel to Dragomans*.[2] He describes how much he enjoyed learning Hebrew. This began with the need to study the rudiments of Hebrew to prepare for his Bar Mitzvah, but his interest went much further. He really loved studying the grammar of Hebrew in the way that he was already learning Latin and French at school, and the introduction to Hebrew proved the gateway to his lifelong fascination with exotic languages.[3] He studied some Aramaic but admitted that he 'never made much progress' with it, preferring instead to begin Classical Arabic. And his Latin reached a formidably high level, enabling him to compose substantial passages of verse in hexameters in that language, a training quite widely offered at that time.

In 1933, when the prospect of a university education presented itself, Lewis did not apply to study at Oxford or Cambridge. He was happy to remain in the closeness of a comfortable and tightly knit Jewish community in north London. It is plain from his account of his early life that this was a society in which he felt firmly anchored and one can therefore well understand why he resisted the blandishments of Oxbridge. He writes in *Notes* that, although his headmaster was keen for him to try for an Oxford scholarship, his father 'didn't like the idea of my going to Oxford, as he thought it was just a place where students spent all their time drinking and partying'.[4] So he began an Honours degree in History, with special reference to the Middle East, at the

[1] Bernard Lewis and Buntzie Churchill, *Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian* (London, 2012), pp. 17–19. This book is hereafter cited as *Notes*.

[2] Bernard Lewis, *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1–11. It is interesting to note that Bernard Lewis gave this exact title ('From Babel to Dragomans') to his Elie Kedourie Memorial Lecture at the British Academy on 19 May 1998, and again as the title of the text of the lecture published in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 101 (1999), pp. 37–54.

[3] Lewis, *From Babel*, p. 1.

[4] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 25.

University of London. In his first year he chose Hebrew, Latin, History and Greek at University College, as well as learning Arabic at what was then called the School of Oriental Studies. This curriculum displayed to the full his love of languages. In the second and third years of his undergraduate degree he studied History and Arabic there.[5] His father had wanted him to be a lawyer, so he also studied law at the same time for a while, but he soon returned to what he really wished to learn about—Middle Eastern history. He was awarded a first class BA Honours degree in History in 1936. He had already become very interested in the Muslim Shi'ite sect known as the Isma'ilis and he decided to work on this subject for his PhD under the supervision of Professor Sir Hamilton Gibb.

Lewis was a great admirer of this great Scottish scholar of Islamic history, who had encouraged him in his studies in SOAS. Gibb recommended that Lewis should study for a while in Paris with the famous scholar of Islam Louis Massignon. This one-year stay (1936–7) proved very valuable for Lewis; he began to study Persian and Turkish and he was awarded the Diplôme des Études Sémitiques in 1937. Once Lewis had returned to London, Gibb suggested that he should go to the Middle East and recommended him for a travelling fellowship from the Royal Asiatic Society. He went first to Egypt, where he learned some Egyptian colloquial Arabic, and then moved on to Palestine and Syria, and made a very brief stay in Turkey. Whilst in Syria he visited the Isma'ili villages there and he especially enjoyed seeing the magnificent Crusader castle, Krak des Chevaliers.

Life from 1938 to 1974

Once back in London in 1938, Lewis was appointed Assistant Lecturer in Islamic History at SOAS and he turned seriously to finishing his PhD thesis. He was promoted to the post of Lecturer in 1940. That same year, his thesis was published with remarkable speed as *The Origins of Ismailism: a Study of the Historical Background of the Fatimid Caliphate*.[6] 1940 saw him publish a second book, *Turkey Today*,[7] followed in 1941 by a booklet called *British Contributions to Arabic Studies*, an assured, penetrating survey of how this field developed in Britain between the Middle Ages and the early twentieth century.[8] However, this unusually early success in publishing three books

[5] In 1938 renamed the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).

[6] Bernard Lewis, *The Origins of Isma'ilism: a Study of the Historical Background of the Fatimid Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1940).

[7] Bernard Lewis, *Turkey Today* (London and Melbourne, 1940).

[8] Bernard Lewis, *British Contributions to Arabic Studies* (London, 1941).

on Middle Eastern subjects so soon was not followed up immediately, although it augured well for his scholarly future. The outbreak of the Second World War caused a halt in his academic activities.

Lewis writes in his autobiography that in 1939 he had married an Anglo-Jewish woman called Jean but that during the war their marriage 'faltered and failed'.[9] Nevertheless, his book *Turkey Today* bears the dedication 'To my wife. Without whose help and co-operation this book could not have been written.' He joined the army in 1940 and was first placed in the Royal Armoured Corps and the Intelligence Corps. At the beginning of 1941 he was moved to MI6 in London where his linguistic skills must have proved invaluable in briefings, information gathering, decrypting messages and so on. In the summer of 1945 the British Foreign Office sent him to the Middle East where he visited Cairo, Jerusalem, Baghdad, Damascus and Beirut. In 1947 he married a Danish Jewish woman, Ruth Hélène Oppenhejm. They later had a son, Michael, and a daughter, Melanie.

At the end of the war he returned to SOAS, where he was soon promoted in 1949 to become Professor of the History of the Near and Middle East. From 1949 onwards he was a very successful lecturer and prolific scholar who published an astonishingly copious number of books, articles and chapters on a very wide range of Middle Eastern subjects. While his earliest studies had been in medieval Islamic history, he said that the war years had 'awakened and nourished' his interest in the contemporary Middle East.

He spent the academic year 1949–50 in Turkey and, for the first time, Iran. In Istanbul he applied for permission to use the Imperial Ottoman Archives, the central archives of the Ottoman Empire. He did so, as he put it, 'with little expectation of success', since so far only Turkish scholars had been given access to them. He writes modestly that his application came at a time when the custodians of the archives were beginning to adopt a more liberal policy. As a result—and not, as he explains, because of 'any particular merit on my part'—he was given 'the coveted permit'. In sheer delight at what had happened, he writes the charming lines: 'Feeling rather like a child turned loose in a toy shop, or like an intruder in Ali Baba's cave, I hardly knew where to turn first.'[10] He was proud to be the first Westerner to be allowed access to the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. Given the innate difficulty of Ottoman Turkish, he is to be congratulated on his continuing achievement in publishing a wide variety of books and articles on Ottoman history and even translations of Ottoman poetry.

During the thirty-five years he spent at SOAS, in addition to his undergraduate teaching responsibilities, Lewis supervised many doctoral students from the Middle

[9] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 71.
[10] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 5.

East and other parts of the world. He was very pleased with their subsequent achievements; he writes in *Notes*: 'One of the great satisfactions of my profession is watching the success of former students becoming themselves independent scholars and teachers and researchers of renown.'[11]

Striking confirmation of this statement emerges from a letter which Bernard Lewis sent on 10 September 1992 to the British Academy, in response to a request for 'material which might be of help to a future obituarist'. This letter shows clear evidence of the early success of his postgraduate teaching at SOAS. It contains two most laudatory contributions written entirely in Arabic by two of the postgraduate students whom Lewis had supervised for their PhD in London. Both of these students are now well-known scholars in the Arab world: Dr Faruq 'Umar,[12] who was later Professor of Islamic History at the University of Baghdad, and Dr Suhayl Zakkar, who became Professor of Islamic History at the University of Damascus. In a message of thanks, Dr Faruq 'Umar writes that he wishes to dedicate his translation into Arabic of his PhD thesis to Professor Bernard Lewis, in recognition of all the care and attention he has received from him during his time at SOAS. Here is part of his Arabic dedication translated into English:

> Dedicated to Professor Bernard Lewis. I am happy to acknowledge that I am indebted to him for revealing and explaining to me the significance and value of history. I also wish to mention with appreciation and pride his erudite participation and learned enthusiasm in the treatment of many topics in this book during the period of my being in London to carry out scholarly research. The dedication of this book to him is a symbolic expression of my gratitude and esteem.

Dr Suhayl Zakkar also wrote a very complimentary notice in Arabic about his supervisor. Here is his Arabic text translated into English:

> In dedication: Professor Lewis is the most revered professor of the current generation of those scholars working on Islamic history in the Middle East and other parts of the world. I had the honour to work under his supervision to obtain a PhD. After Professor Lewis published his study of new Isma'ili missionary activity, I asked him to allow me to translate it into Arabic. He agreed, with thanks.[13]

Below this Arabic notice is the date 7 June 1971.

At SOAS Lewis also increasingly had a public profile outside the world of academe. He enjoyed receiving invitations from famous people and travelling to exotic locations. He mentions in *Notes* that in the period he worked in London he had 'meetings

[11] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 163.
[12] Dr 'Umar died in March 2020.
[13] The translated book is probably Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins* (London, 1967).

with kings, presidents, prime ministers'.[14] He went to Pakistan in 1957 for the opening of the University of the Punjab;[15] in the 1960s he had a one-month trip to Japan; and he paid a visit to meet the Queen in Buckingham Palace.[16] On several occasions he travelled to Jordan where he began a long-standing personal relationship with the royal family; he especially enjoyed meeting King Husayn at a tribal Bedouin gathering in the eastern desert.[17] Much later, a very prestigious public event occurred in October 1971, when Lewis received an invitation from the Iranian Embassy in London to attend at Persepolis the Shah's grandiose celebration of the 2,500th anniversary of Cyrus' founding of the Persian empire.

Whilst working at SOAS (1937–74) Lewis published eleven books, one edited and six co-edited books, one collection of his articles and book chapters, one booklet, and 103 articles and chapters in books (including four in Turkish, four in Hebrew, two in Arabic, two in German and one in French). Lewis was a Visiting Professor at UCLA in 1955–6 and at Columbia and Indiana Universities in 1960. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1963.

Life in the USA, 1974–90

Everything changed dramatically in 1974. In that year Lewis and his wife Ruth divorced. Avrom Udovitch, a Visiting Professor at SOAS from Princeton, arranged that on the very day of the divorce Lewis would receive telegrams, one offering him a Chair at Princeton in the Department of Near Eastern Studies, and another from the Director of the Institute for Advanced Studies, also at Princeton, an institution independent of the university, inviting him to become a Member.[18] Such a double offer was nothing short of extraordinary. Lewis decided to move from London to Princeton, for motives that were perhaps rather more complex than his own account of the move might suggest.[19]

In the event, this dramatic change of location proved to be a great success. Indeed, Lewis writes in *Notes*, 'I have never for one moment regretted moving to Princeton'.[20] He also reveals that he did not travel alone to begin his new life in the USA. He writes enthusiastically that after a 'devastating divorce' he arrived in Princeton, facing 'a new

[14] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 158.
[15] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 199.
[16] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 151.
[17] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 195.
[18] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 171.
[19] Lewis, *Notes*, pp. 168–73.
[20] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 175.

country, two new jobs and a new home, with a new woman'.[21] He describes his new partner as 'an aristocratic Turkish lady' whom he had met early in 1974. She accompanied him to Princeton and helped him to rebuild his life and, incidentally, to improve his Turkish. The relationship ended amicably after ten years.[22] Later on, the identity of the 'aristocratic Turkish lady' was revealed to be none other than Perizad, an Ottoman princess, the great-granddaughter of Sultan Mehmet V.

In *Notes* Lewis mentions that at the time of his move to Princeton his daughter, Melanie, had recently married a physician and migrated to the US. He later writes regretfully that although he now had an all-American family—his children, grandchildren and great grandchildren being scattered across the US—he saw them only rarely and on special occasions. Phone calls and emails compensated for this, but it was not enough.[23]

On arrival in Princeton in 1974 Lewis served as Cleveland E. Dodge Professor of Near Eastern Studies and simultaneously as a Member of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. His joint appointment gave him a great deal more free time than he had had at SOAS. He taught only one semester a year. But there is much evidence that Lewis enjoyed teaching both at undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

To quote the words of Udovitch, who headed the Princeton Department of Near Eastern Studies when Lewis arrived there: 'He was a conscientious teacher and very dedicated to his students. His door was always open; any student could come in … He taught graduate and undergraduate students, and mentored graduate students who are now scholars around the globe.'[24] Not surprisingly his history students were proud to be taught by the eminent author of worldwide bestselling books such as *The Arabs in History* and *The Assassins*. Moreover, he had a steady number of graduate students and he claimed that relationships with them were 'amongst the most rewarding that the academic profession has to offer'.

Lewis also relished the fact that he was free from the administrative and bureaucratic responsibilities that were prevalent in England. He wrote frankly that if he had wished for that kind of work, he would either have gone into business, in pursuit of real money, or into government, in pursuit of real power.[25]

The division of his academic work at Princeton into two halves enabled him to enjoy giving lectures and seminars and also, above all, to pursue his strong desire to publish his research regularly. He describes how it was at Princeton that he began

[21] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 172.
[22] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 173.
[23] Lewis, *Notes*, pp. 174–5.
[24] Emily Aronson, 'Bernard Lewis, eminent Middle East historian at Princeton, dies at 101', (Princeton University, 22 May 2018).
[25] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 176.

closing the numerous files which he had kept over the previous decades, adding ideas and information as opportunity offered, and turning them into books. As he himself notes with modest irony,[26] 'This is the explanation of what might otherwise seem an extraordinary output in my post-retirement—15 books as contrasted with a rather small output in the much longer period of my teaching career.' 'Small output' is a curious way to describe twelve books, four edited books, and 104 articles and book chapters. But his rate of publication became nothing less than turbo-charged after his arrival in the US. Within a year of starting at Princeton he had already published with Princeton University Press a book of his lectures entitled *History Remembered, Recovered, Invented*.[27] As time passed he published an amazing number of new books, articles and book chapters. Such publications were increasingly about modern Middle Eastern topics and issues. He felt strongly that academics in Islamic studies should engage with such material, and it may be that the seeds of this abiding interest in current affairs in the Muslim world were sown in the course of his wartime service, about which he maintained a discreet silence. His fame grew rapidly. He soon showed his feelings of contentment with his new American environment and he became a US citizen in 1982.

It is most impressive, given his age when he moved to the US, that Lewis published far more books, articles and chapters there than he did in the UK. It is moreover truly astonishing to take in the enormous diversity of his publications, the profound linguistic expertise needed to write such works and the beautiful style that adorns them. A Princeton colleague, Charles Issawi, praises 'his terse, subtle and precise style'.[28] Packed with unobtrusive literary allusions, enlivened by puns, anecdotes and wit, laced with irony and capable of the most felicitous and recondite rhythms, it gives readers continuous pleasure and ensures that they keep turning the pages.

Lewis points out that during his time in the UK he had been mainly interested in early Islamic history. He never entirely lost this interest, and it consistently enriched and informed his thinking. But once he had settled in the US this was no longer his sole concern. He certainly retained in his later years his devotion to Turkey, in the medieval, Ottoman and modern periods. But in his view no specialist on the Middle East should avoid the contemporary scene altogether and he admitted that, since moving to America, he had written at greater length about political issues to do with Islam and the modern Muslim world.[29] Like his teacher Gibb, Lewis argued that Western scholars of Islam who are interested in advising policymakers are the best

[26] For his comments on the importance of irony, see Lewis, *Notes*, p. 176.
[27] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 178.
[28] C. E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, Roger Savory and A. L. Udovitch (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis: the Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times* (Princeton, 1989), p. xii.
[29] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 10.

people to explain what is going on in the Middle East. Once in the US, Lewis' confidence in discussing current controversial political issues in media interviews and in the press clearly revealed that he could have had a highly successful career in journalism. As Zachary Lockman pointed out, Lewis' gravitas, erudition and British air of authority made a real impression in his public appearances.[30]

However, the situation for Lewis in the US was not always tranquil. Two highly polemical issues soon made his name even more widely known. The first concerned the role of Western Orientalist scholars in the study of Islam and the fierce controversy about this issue that arose between him and Edward Said. In his famous book *Orientalism*, published in 1978, Said, the Palestinian professor of comparative literature at Columbia University, argued that Western Orientalist scholars were not interested in Islam as Muslims see it. Said criticised Lewis for his sarcastic scholarship and called his work 'aggressively ideological'.[31] He labelled Lewis an agent of American imperialism, saying that 'the whole purpose of his exposition is to frighten his audience, to make it never yield an inch to Islam'.[32] Lewis wrote a most critical response to Said in 1982, entitled 'The Question of Orientalism'.[33] Lewis emphasised the significant contribution of European Orientalists to a deeper understanding of Islamic history and he firmly denied that they had an imperialist agenda.[34] Thereafter, a protracted and bitter difference of opinion about the interpretation of the term Orientalism between Said and Lewis continued and it became known publicly right across the world. In a later work, *Islam and the West*, Lewis attacked Said's interpretation of Orientalism, criticising him for ignoring German, Austrian and Russian Orientalism. Said in turn accused Lewis of being a frequent visitor to Washington to meet Senator Henry Jackson, writing that 'for the past several years Lewis has been engaged in preaching scholarship and practising politics'. Lewis replied that 'it is difficult to argue with a scream of rage'.[35] Both Lewis and Said had staunch supporters and hostile detractors and the debate about Orientalism has continued apace. Much later on, when he was long since retired, Lewis reflected in *Notes* that he had been very affected in his life and particularly in his role in academic and public affairs by what Said had written about him: 'He (Said) imputed to me an especially sinister

[30] Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 251.
[31] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978), pp. 315–16.
[32] Maryam Sakeenah, *'Us versus Them' and Beyond: an Oriental-Islamic Rejoinder to the Clash of Civilizations Theory* (Kuala Lumpur, 2010), p. 30.
[33] Bernard Lewis, 'The question of Orientalism', *New York Review of Books* (24 June 1982), pp. 44–8.
[34] Bernard Lewis, 'The question of Orientalism', *Islam and the West* (Oxford, 1993), chap. 6; reprinted in A. L. Macfie (ed.), *Orientalism: a Reader* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 249–70.
[35] Edward W. Said and Oleg Grabar; reply by Bernard Lewis, 'Orientalism: an exchange', *New York Review of Books* (12 August 1982).

role as what he called the leader of the Orientalists.'[36] For Lewis, the term 'Orientalist' was not a badge of shame but of pride, for he saw himself as one in a long line of scholars who had laboured diligently to make the Islamic world better known in the West.

The second contentious and widely discussed debate in which Lewis played a leading role was on the subject of the 'Clash of Civilizations'. In his old age Lewis devotes a whole chapter in *Notes* to a detailed analysis of this theme, which he describes as 'one of the great problems of our time'.[37] Already in 1990 he had written an essay called 'The Roots of Muslim Rage' in which he wrote:

> We are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both.[38]

The political scientist Samuel P. Huntington, mentioning Bernard Lewis, then borrowed the phrase 'Clash of Civilizations' in an influential article of his own in *Foreign Affairs*, in 1993.[39] This term has now taken on a life of its own as a concept, both popular and controversial, which refers to the relationship between Muslim-majority societies and the West. In *Notes* Lewis praises Huntington for making 'a real contribution to our better understanding of one of the great problems of our time'.[40]

In a later chapter in *Notes* also entitled 'The Clash of Civilizations', Lewis takes the opportunity to criticise the position of women in Islamic society and he praises the speeches of Atatürk in which the recurring theme was the need to make women equal participants in modern Muslim countries. Lewis adds that in his view 'the greatest defect of Islam and the main reason they fell behind the West is the treatment of women'. He makes the powerful point that repressive homes pave the way for repressive governments.[41]

[36] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 267.
[37] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 258.
[38] Bernard Lewis, 'The roots of Muslim rage. Why so many Muslims deeply resent the West, and why their bitterness will not easily be mollified', *Atlantic Monthly*, 266 (1990), 47–60, at 60.
[39] Samuel Huntington, 'The clash of civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, 72/3 (1993), 22.
[40] *Notes*, p. 258.
[41] *Notes*, p. 257.

Retirement, 1990–2018

Bernard Lewis had an extraordinarily long and unusually busy so-called retirement, which lasted until his mid-nineties. He officially retired in 1990 at the age of 74. The years that followed were made extremely happy by the presence of his new partner in life, Buntzie Churchill, the President of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia. In *Notes* he wrote the joyful words: 'Who would expect at the age of eighty to fall in love?' Buntzie Churchill, who was a widow, described in a most charming way the happiness she now shared with Bernard Lewis: 'Then an exceptional man came to occupy a place in my life…. Because we had been friends, moving into a romance wasn't hard—in fact, it was delicious.'[42] Their relationship began in earnest in 1994, meeting at weekends or on holidays, and they remained devoted to each other until Lewis died in 2018. Lewis' last two books, *Islam: the Religion and the People*, 2008, and *Notes on a Century*, 2012, both dedicated to Buntzie, include her name on the front covers.[43] In his dedication to her in *Notes* Lewis writes that without Buntzie's presence and participation 'this last and best part of my life could not have been lived'. Indeed, as he describes it, the time he spent with Buntzie proved to be the most fruitful period of his career in which he produced more publications than in the whole of his previous life—fourteen new books, three revised books and fifty-one articles and chapters: an incredible achievement.

As he had done in London, Lewis continued in the US, and especially in his retirement, to meet royalty, heads of state and other prominent people. These celebrities included the President of Turkey, Turgut Özal, in 1992, the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, in 1995 shortly before his assassination, and Colonel Gaddafi in 2006. Lewis was especially pleased to meet Pope John Paul II on several occasions between 1987 and 1998; he writes in *Notes* that he was 'on friendly, personal terms with this Pope'.[44] He was a close friend of Teddy Kollek, the Mayor of Jerusalem.[45] He went in person to the funeral of King Husayn of Jordan in February 1999.[46] Already by 1993, Lewis had become closely involved in discussions with US political leaders. He was present that year in the White House at an event hosted by President Clinton with the Prime Minister of Israel, Yitzhak Rabin, and the PLO leader Yasir Arafat who had together come to sign a Declaration of Principles for peace between the Palestinians

[42] Buntzie Churchill, 'I was and am most fortunate', chap. 7, in Barbara Kretchmar, *Widows – Our Words and Ways: a Collection of Personal Stories* (Mill City Press, 2019), p. 54.
[43] Bernard Lewis and Buntzie Ellis Churchill, *Islam: the Religion and the People* (New York, 2008).
[44] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 283.
[45] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 225.
[46] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 220.

and the Israelis.[47] Later on, it so happened that just before the horrific 9/11 attack, Lewis had already sent to his publisher a new book, called *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response*, which dealt with what he viewed as the decline of the Muslim world. It became an instant bestseller. After 9/11 he published another book entitled *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*; this too was a best-seller.[48] Lewis became a regular presence in the media, and the Vice-President, Dick Cheney, and the Pentagon's top officials turned to Lewis for advice. Already aged 85, he travelled to Washington to visit Cheney's home and office several times. In *Notes* Lewis explicitly insists that it was certainly not his job to offer policy suggestions to those in power in Washington; his role was to explain the background to why the Muslim world felt increasing animosity towards Western intervention.[49] In 2006, when Lewis was 90, former Vice-President Cheney could confidently declare that 'no one offered sounder analysis or better insight than Bernard Lewis'. Mike Pompeo, the 70th US Secretary of State, was also a great supporter of Lewis, calling him 'a true scholar and great man'. It is interesting to note that later in 2006 Lewis was invited by Colonel Gaddafi to visit Libya to have 'some private conversations' about Iran and Saudi Arabia. From there Lewis and Buntzie, who had accompanied him to Libya, flew on via Cyprus to Israel.[50] In his later retirement they used to spend three months every year in his flat in Tel Aviv, overlooking the Mediterranean. He asked to be buried in Israel.

Lewis enjoyed two very unusual birthdays a decade apart from each other. A one-day celebratory conference, organised by Buntzie Churchill under the auspices of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, took place there on the occasion of his 90th birthday (31 May 2006). Its theme was 'Islam and the West'. Many of his admirers came from all over the world to attend it. Lewis records that over 600 people were present. Among those attending the conference were Vice-President Dick Cheney, Secretary of State to President Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and Professor Fouad Ajami (d. 2014), the Lebanese-American historian. At the end of the conference, Lewis, without using any notes, gave a moving speech full of perfectly memorised quotations. Once again his eloquence had 'cast its usual spell'.[51] It was also an extremely happy day for him when he celebrated his 100th birthday in Tel Aviv in 2016. Reflecting on the amazing length of his life, Lewis writes in the opening sentence of the first chapter of *Notes*: 'When I look back over the ten decades of my life,

[47] Lewis, *Notes*, pp. 209–10.
[48] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 261.
[49] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 330.
[50] Lewis, *Notes*, pp. 338–41.
[51] Fiamma Nirenstein and Harold Rhode, 'Happy birthday to Bernard Lewis, the centenarian scholar who explained Islam', *Times of Israel* blog (1 June 2016).

I realise how extraordinarily fortunate I have been.'[52] Bernard Lewis died on Saturday 19 May 2018 in Voorhees Township, NJ. This date was only eleven days away from his 102nd birthday. As he wished, he was buried in Israel. He is survived by his partner, Buntzie Churchill; his children, Melanie Dunn and Michael Lewis; seven grandchildren; and three great-grandsons.

Some books by Bernard Lewis chosen for special discussion

It really is difficult to select which of Lewis' publications to highlight from amongst the phenomenal number of his excellent books written over seventy-five years. Their wide range of subject matter demonstrates his versatility, his outstanding linguistic expertise and his rare ability to make his deep knowledge of a given subject accessible to non-specialists as well as his fellow-scholars. During the first period of his academic career in London he published meticulously researched and clearly written books on medieval Islamic history and thought. After his move to America, Lewis did not, as already noted, lose this deep interest in pre-modern subjects. But he began to widen his research to include more recent and even contemporary Middle Eastern topics and to publish on them regularly.

In *Notes*, Lewis lists the number of his single-authored books as thirty-four, as well as six edited or co-edited books. However, as he himself explains, he did actually publish even more books than those he mentions in *Notes* and he adds that many of his books were regularly republished, often over many years. On occasion he revised, recast or expanded some of his early books and published them under another title. His books have been translated into twenty-nine languages. His articles and book chapters number 203.

The following selected and by no means exhaustive list of books written by Lewis is divided amongst the major subject areas of Lewis' publications. As well as the books that he himself had authored, he obviously greatly enjoyed the challenge of translating into English a number of valuable medieval primary sources, written in various difficult Middle Eastern languages—Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew and Persian. He also composed poetry in Latin. He argued that the surest way to understand a text in another language is to translate it into one's own. His love of translation frequently extended to Middle Eastern poetry, which is never an easy task,[53] and he even translated verses by Pushkin.[54]

[52] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 7.
[53] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 6
[54] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 37.

Books about the history and culture of Turkey

Turkey Today (London, 1940)

It is clear that from a very early stage that Lewis really liked Turkey. This rare little book of 127 pages and some 44,000 words was written when Lewis was only 24; it is dedicated to his first wife, whom he does not name there. Its aim, explained in the Preface, is 'to present the main facts about the internal and external development of Turkey during recent years'.[55] The book has no footnotes and it is hard to guess where the very confidently presented survey about Ottoman and more recent Turkish history, packed with solid data and careful assessments of key issues, has come from, especially as he had paid only one very brief visit to Turkey before he wrote the book. Perhaps Lewis was able to use reports from UK government sources. At all events the positive narrative about the importance of Turkey was clear and useful at a time of war.

Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives (Jerusalem, 1952)

Lewis was very proud of the fact that he was the first Westerner to be allowed access to the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul in 1950. That permit was to be of crucial importance to his career; the only two other countries where he could have been allowed, as a Jew, to work on historical archives were Iran and Israel. This early work already shows Lewis' interest and expertise in Ottoman history. Over the years this book was supplemented by a flood of detailed, highly specialised articles which utterly transformed scholarly knowledge about Ottoman Palestine.

The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London, 1961)

This very long, compendious and magisterial book covers the history of modern Turkey, from the decline of the Ottoman empire up to the present day. It has rightly become the classic work on the history of the evolution of modern Turkey and its transformation into a modern nation state. It was originally published in 1961. Lewis produced a revised edition in 2002 for which he wrote a new chapter about more recent events in which he discussed Turkey's Western orientation, its inclusion in NATO and its application to join the European Union. This is the first book in which the development of modern Turkey is examined in detail over a period of two centuries, with extensive use of Turkish as well as Western sources. No fewer than 104 editions were published between 1961 and 2009 in seven languages. This has proved to be one of the most influential of all his books.

[55] Lewis, *Turkey Today*, p. 5.

There was, however, a long-delayed sting in the tail. In the first two editions of the book (1961 and 1968) Lewis made a plain statement about the Turkish massacres of the Armenians. But in later editions of his book he amended these words, toning them down somewhat. This would lead to accusations that he was a genocide denier. The controversy culminated in a civil court case in Paris in 1995, which he lost—and for which he paid damages of one franc.[56]

Books about the Isma'ilis

The Origins of Isma'ilism: a Study of the Historical Background of the Fatimid Caliphate (Cambridge, 1940)

The first version of this book was finished in 1939 and was submitted as a PhD in the University of London. Lewis admitted that after the thesis was accepted he intended to make substantial revisions to it and to look further into the early history of the Isma'ili sect and the emergence of the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt. However, he did not follow up this plan. He explained apologetically that the temptation to have a book published so early in his career proved too tempting, especially in view of the momentous advent of the Second World War. So his book, in a form unchanged from the thesis, appeared in March 1940. Many years later, in *Notes*, Lewis writes about this first book of his, saying 'Looking back, I am not very proud of it'.

The Assassins: a Radical Sect in Islam (London, 1967)

In this still-famous book, read enthusiastically by many generations of students, Lewis describes the origins of the 'notorious' Assassin breakaway Isma'ili sect and he analyses the life of their Persian founder, Hasan-i Sabbah, whom he calls 'a revolutionary genius'. He describes the Assassin doctrines, preached by Hasan from his centre at Alamut in northern Iran, and his use of carefully planned murders of prominent Sunni rulers and military and religious leaders. Lewis also traces the precarious rule of Hasan's successors in Iran until the coming of the Mongols, as well as the fascinating history of the Assassins of Syria and their most famous leader, Rashid al-Din Sinan, who came to be known in Europe as 'the Old Man of the Mountain'. This book, which has often been republished and translated into a large number of languages, is clearly one of the most impressive of Lewis' achievements; it combines deep knowledge, comprehensive coverage and great readability. No wonder it continues to be popular today.

[56] 'Condamnation judiciaire de Bernard Lewis', *Réseau Voltaire* (8 June 2004).

Books about Middle Eastern history and culture

The Arabs in History (London, 1950)
This book, probably still even now the most famous book that Lewis ever wrote, was first published in 1950, and it has been reprinted many times ever since. It has long been viewed as probably the best short presentation of the history of the Arab peoples. It shows an admirable ability to highlight the essential aspects of this subject and has the additional bonus of being written in a limpid, lapidary style. Now brought completely up to date, this classic study considers the achievement of the Arab peoples and their place in world history, from pre-Islamic times to the present day. There is no doubt that this was a brilliant book at the time when it was first written and it has remained so ever since. It is an astonishing achievement for a man only 34 years old.

Islam in History: Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East (London, 1973)
This book was republished in 1993 and newly edited in 2001. It is a collection of revised and updated versions of twenty-one articles written by Lewis in well-known popular locations such as *Encounter* and *The Times Literary Supplement*, as well as in academic journals. The collection covers a very wide range of fascinating themes, such as travel to the Middle East, the career of the famous Jewish doctor Maimonides from Muslim Spain, heresy in Islam, revolutions and the decline of the Ottoman empire. The book also gives essential background on modern Middle Eastern conflicts with the West, and how Islam, from its first expansion to the exploits of Saddam Hussein, has been fatefully involved with the Western world. This is Lewis at his most exciting and esoteric—a rare combination of qualities.

The Muslim Discovery of Europe (New York, 1982)
While in Princeton in 1979 I was able to attend weekly seminars given by Bernard Lewis in which he discussed the evolution and nature of Muslim knowledge of Western Europe from the fifteenth century onwards. It was a fascinating topic, an intriguing corrective to Eurocentric approaches, and in 1982 Lewis turned it into a sparkling and challenging book, shot through with wit and pathos, which was enthusiastically received. For the first time students and general readers were treated to a clear analysis of how Muslims viewed European culture and society before the nineteenth century.

The Jews of Islam (London, 1984)
This pioneering book is based on lectures given by Lewis at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1981. In it he analyses the formative and classical periods of the Judaeo-Islamic tradition in medieval Islam, its

development during the Ottoman empire and its eventual disappearance in the twentieth century. Of special interest is his discussion of the Jews of medieval Spain and their rich Hebrew literature written there before 1492. Seventy-one editions were published between 1977 and 2014 in six languages.

Race and Slavery in the Middle East: an Historical Enquiry (New York, 1990)

This is a revised and expanded edition of a book, entitled *Race and Color in Islam*, which Lewis published in New York in 1971. It deals with a very sensitive subject. It is a fascinating and meticulous analysis of the culture of slavery and the evolution of racial prejudice in the Middle East. It provides a detailed account of how, despite Qur'anic legislation banning 'the enslavement of free persons except in strictly defined circumstances', Africans were treated as slaves in the Muslim world from late antique times until the twentieth century. The message of the book is brilliantly enhanced by twenty-four illustrations, from Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, Afghanistan, Iran and India, dating from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. They give clear evidence of the life of black slaves and eunuchs—as objects to be sold in a slave market, as domestic servants, as wrestlers, as magicians and other lowly roles. In *Notes* Lewis explains that he tried to deal fairly and objectively with a subject of great historical and comparative importance and to do so without recourse to either polemics or apologetics. He then says ruefully: 'It is an interesting reflection on the subject that *Race and Slavery*, of all my books, is the poorest seller and the least translated.'[57] Nevertheless, this remarkable, ambitious and lengthy book, covering the theme of slavery from ancient times until the twentieth century, has received many glowing reviews, praising its scholarly depth and encyclopaedic knowledge. Lewis' insights are almost all backed up by references in the footnotes only to primary historical sources, in Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and Turkish. It is a model of scholarly writing suitable for both students and the general reader. Forty-three editions of this book were published between 1995 and 2014 in English and French. Despite the profoundly serious nature of its subject matter, Lewis lightens the heavy burden of its message by his trademark wit. He recounts how, when he joined the British army in 1940, he had to fill in a form which among other details required him to state his 'race'. The sergeant in charge of raw recruits explained to him that 'Jewish' would not do, since the appropriate place for that word on the form was 'religion'. He continues 'The sergeant explained to me, slowly and carefully, that as far as the British Army was concerned, there were four races, and I had a free choice among the four: English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish.'[58]

[57] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 304.
[58] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 313.

What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response (London, 2002)
In the preface to this book, Lewis writes that it was already with the publisher when the events of 9/11 took place. In it he analyses 'the events, ideas and attitudes that preceded and in some measure produced them'. This book about the modern history of the Islamic world, written at the age of 86, reveals Lewis' ability to find just the right words to express penetrating insights into controversial, contemporary issues. As already mentioned, it proved to be a bestseller. He provides here a fascinating portrait of a culture in turmoil. Twenty-seven editions of this book were published between 1993 and 2003.

Books about language and translations

A Handbook of Diplomatic and Political Arabic (London, 1947)
This little book, which Lewis wrote very early in his career, is an example of his enthusiasm for learning and teaching Middle Eastern languages and it reveals his great interest in the practical inner workings of politics. No doubt he drew on his experiences during the war, when he worked for MI6 and met officials and diplomats during his travels in the Middle East, about which very little detailed information exists in the public realm (though we learn that at the end of the war he was in Cairo). This book contains vocabulary in current diplomatic and political usage, and, given the inevitable changes that time brings to such highly specialised vocabulary, it is of historical interest as a record of what has now vanished. He explains that it is intended as a supplement to the standard Arabic–English and English–Arabic dictionaries. The book also adds glossaries of honorifics, civil ranks and titles and an appendix of terms used by the United Nations. This is Lewis the born philologist at work.

Solomon Ibn Gabirol, The Kingly Crown, translated by Bernard Lewis (London, 1961)
This book is a wonderful and inspiring translation of the greatest Hebrew religious poem of the Middle Ages. Little is known about the author, Solomon ibn Gabirol (died *c.*1058), except that he lived in Saragossa and was interested in philosophy. Lewis describes the poem as being beautifully written 'in rhymed prose of a Biblical simplicity, and divided into a series of symmetrically constructed stanzas, each ending with a Biblical quotation'. The poem is arranged in three parts: the first part praises God 'who is the ultimate and sole cause of all being', the second part describes the wonders of God's creation, and the third part is a hymn of glory 'to the greatness of God'.

Music of a Distant Drum: Classical Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Hebrew Poems (Princeton, 2001)

Once again Lewis, a world-famous specialist in Islamic history, returns to a long-standing interest of his, namely poetry. This is a very unusual book. The phrase *Music of a Distant Drum*, unexplained by Lewis, quotes the famous Fitzgerald translation of the *Rubaiyat* of the Persian poet 'Umar Khayyam, but Lewis is content for his less cultivated readers to miss this allusion. The book presents a beautifully chosen collection of 150 poems dating from the sixth to the eighteenth centuries. They are translated into English from four languages—Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hebrew. The book, published when Lewis was 85, includes a finely judged introduction, which highlights the important role played by poetry in the cultural and religious life of the Middle East, Spain, North Africa, Turkey and Iran. Some of the chosen poems are court panegyrics, whilst others are written by black slaves or Sufi mystics. Not only does Lewis have rare linguistic diversity; he has also produced translations of a very high literary quality.

Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople, 2 volumes (New York, 1974)

Lewis himself felt especially proud of his two-volumed book *Islam, from the Prophet Muhammad to the Capture of Constantinople*, which contains many excerpts from medieval Arabic sources about Islamic history across the centuries, which he himself translated in preference to using, as his publisher had suggested, existing translations by various scholars. He describes this book as 'probably the most frequently cited and accepted of my various publications' and thinks it 'will still be read in a hundred years from now'.[59] It will also stand as a monument to his philological vigour and his fine-tuned ear for *le mot juste*.

Autobiography

Notes on a Century: Reflections of a Middle East Historian (London, 2012)

This book is an enlightening and often riveting survey of its author's remarkably long and impressive life. It is a continuously fascinating account of the events of his career and personal experiences and at the same time it is a penetrating analysis of the history of Islam and the Muslim world, a world to which he dedicated his exceptionally long professional life. He is beyond any doubt the most celebrated and prolific scholar of that world in the entire twentieth century.

[59] Lewis, *Notes*, p. 170.

Concluding comments

Bernard Lewis, then, was a towering giant in the field of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. His devotion to scholarly research proved to be phenomenal. Indeed, he published books, articles and book chapters for a period that extended to an incredible seventy-five years (1937–2012). His research covered multiple aspects of the medieval and contemporary history of the Muslim world. He deliberately eschewed a 'theoretical' approach in his research, disdaining the fashionable jargon that so often accompanies such theory-driven work, and preferring instead to draw on the information and ideas which he gained from a very deep knowledge of primary source materials in Arabic, Turkish, Persian and Hebrew. A lucid and elegant writing style embellished his extraordinary range of subject interests. Well might it be said of him—as of Francis Bacon, another master of style—that he wrote 'what oft was thought but ne'er so well expressed'.

Lewis was a superb historian, who educated millions through his books. His penetrating insights and prolific writings helped ordinary citizens as well as powerful heads of state to engage with the perennial complexities of the Middle East. Already in 1989, Lewis was presented with a Festschrift of fifty-two chapters, as a tribute to his outstanding scholarship.[60] The roll-call of the great and the good in Islamic studies who joined in honouring Bernard Lewis, make this perhaps the most many-splendoured Festschrift of the past century. On the cover of the Festschrift is written: 'There is no period of Middle Eastern history that Bernard Lewis has not touched, and none he touched that he has not adorned.'

The *Economist* called Lewis a 'latter-day dragoman', 'the doyen of Orientalists'.[61] He was showered with praise both at home—Hugh Trevor-Roper wrote that 'Bernard Lewis has no living rival in his field'—and also in the Middle East—the key Arab newspaper, *Al-Ahram* in Cairo, declared that 'When it comes to Islamic studies, Bernard Lewis is the father of us all.'

Many admiring obituary notices about Bernard Lewis soon appeared across the world. Professor Gilles Kepel, the best-known French scholar of the modern Middle East, wrote on 22 May 2018 a very fine panegyric of Bernard Lewis:[62] 'With the demise of Bernard Lewis on Saturday, 19 May, a whole tradition of orientalist erudition, mingled with passionate intervention in public debate, has been extinguished.' The Saudi journalist Mamdouh al-Muhaini, of *Al-Arabiya TV*, wrote: 'He was blessed

[60] Bosworth, Issawi, Savory and Udovitch (eds.), *The Islamic World*.
[61] *Economist* (22 May 2018).
[62] Translated from the French article by Gilles Kepel, 'L'historien anglo-américain Bernard Lewis est mort', *Le Monde* (22 May 2018).

with profound historic knowledge and [the capability for] rational analysis. In this world, Lewis will remain forever one of the most important historians of the modern era.'[63] Dominic Green in the *Spectator USA* expressed a very positive view of Lewis, saying that he was 'the English-speaking world's most eminent modern scholar of the Middle East… Lewis was a superb historian, probably the last in the line of the Western Orientalists.'[64]

As well as many more words of praise written about Lewis after his death from a good number of Arab commentators, there were also hostile views about him expressed in the media with accusations that he had promoted a Zionist ideology. His request to be buried in Israel was also mentioned in this context.

It is clear that during his unusually long life Lewis never forgot his Jewish heritage. Brought up in a Jewish milieu in north London, he demonstrated more openly in his advanced old age his unfailing devotion to the Jewish faith and his support for a peaceful solution to the Israel-Palestine dilemma. In a public statement, the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said: 'Bernard Lewis was one of the great scholars of Islam and the Middle East in our time. We will be forever grateful for his robust defense of Israel.'[65]

In his splendid obituary of the great Orientalist scholar Joseph Schacht (d. 1969), Bernard Lewis writes the following tribute: 'Schacht was a truly great scholar, one of the last in the great tradition of European orientalism … at the same time his work possessed those qualities of profundity, of originality, of controlled imagination which alone can raise scholarship from the level of antiquarianism to that of creative achievement.'[66] These very qualities may justifiably be applied even more appropriately to Bernard Lewis himself, the scholar who has been called by many 'the last Orientalist'.[67]

It is only when one contemplates the vast panorama of this man's century of life, teeming with people and places, events and episodes, experiences of high and low alike on a global canvas, that the true lineaments of his colossal, awe-inspiring achievement gradually take shape. His ferocious work ethic ensured that very little that he learned was wasted. His description of how he gradually closed more and more of his files from the mid-1970s onwards does not do justice to his phenomenal achievements.

[63] 'Arab writers on renowned historian Prof. Bernard Lewis (1916–2018)', *MEMRI*, Special Dispatch No. 7517 (12 June 2018).

[64] Dominic Green, 'Bernard Lewis was right about "the return of Islam"', *Spectator USA* (22 May 2018), p. 10.

[65] 'Netanyahu eulogizes Bernard Lewis as "great scholar, robust defender of Israel"', *Times of Israel* (20 May 2018).

[66] Bernard Lewis, 'Obituary: Joseph Schacht', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 33/2 (1970), 381.

[67] See too the finely judged encomium of Charles Issawi in Bosworth, Issawi, Savory and Udovitch (eds.), *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, p. xii.

The contents of each file had to be absorbed and refined. His crystalline intellect discerned the underlying patterns beneath surface events and disparate facts and moulded them into an integrated whole. And his people skills merged with his historical imagination so that with his inner eye he saw the human beings who triggered the seismic changes of the past. He was blessed in his ability to see both the wood and the trees, and to respect the twigs as well. His philological rigour underpinned but did not block the speculative activity of his mind. And his felicitous style, with its intricate rhythms, its grace notes of wit and wisdom, was the ideal vehicle for ensuring that what he wrote reached millions of readers. He never lost touch with his early grounding in the major Islamic languages and that kept his feet on the ground. And running through all his scholarship—sometimes to the fore, sometimes in the background—is his lifelong loyalty to his beloved Hebrew heritage, which weaves like a golden thread across the loom of his long life.

Appendix

Honours and prizes received

Fellow of the British Academy, 1963; Membre Associé, Institut d'Egypte, Cairo, 1969; Honorary Member, Turkish Historical Society, Ankara, 1972; Member, American Philosophical Society, 1973; Citation of Honour, Turkish Ministry of Culture, 1973; Honorary Doctorate, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974; Fellow, University College, London, 1976; The Harvey Prize, The Technion, Haifa, 1978; Honorary Doctorate, Tel Aviv University, 1979; Member, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1983; Honorary Member, Société Asiatique, Paris, 1984; Honorary Member, Atatürk Academy of History, Language, and Culture, 1984; Annual Education Award for Outstanding Achievement in the Promotion of American-Turkish Studies, 1985; Honorary Fellow, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1986; Honorary Doctorate, State University of New York, Binghamton, 1987; Honorary Doctorate, University of Pennsylvania, 1987; Honorary Doctorate, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, 1987; Board of Directors, Institüt fur die Wissenschaften vom Menschen, Vienna, 1988; Tanner Lecturer, Oxford University, 1990; Jefferson Award, 1990; George Polk Award, 2001; National Humanities Medal, 2006.

Academic positions held

SOAS, University of London, 1940–74; Visiting Professor, UCLA, 1955–6; Columbia University, 1960; Indiana University, 1960; Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton,

1974–86; Collège de France, 1980; École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1983, 1988; Cornell University, 1984–90; Honorary Incumbent, Kemal Atatürk Chair in Ottoman and Turkish Studies, Princeton, 1992–3.

Note on the author: Carole Hillenbrand CBE is Professor Emerita at the University of Edinburgh and Professorial Fellow of Islamic History at the University of St Andrews. She was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 2007. In 2016 she was awarded the British Academy's Nayef Al-Rodhan Prize for Global Understanding for her book *Islam: a Historical Introduction* (London, 2015).