THOMAS WALKER ARNOLD

1864–1930

TO give an account of a life so rich in its personal attractions, so wide in the interests it served and so fruitful in its scholarly achievements as that of the much cherished confrere whom I have been asked to commemorate is a task to which I cannot feel fully equal. For over thirty-three years closest friendship and ever-increasing admiration for his great gifts of mind and character bound me so intimately to his person that I felt at all times his inspiriting presence, however great the distances which separated us during most of that time. In truth I may say, varying the words of Horace: *multis ille flebilis occidit, nulli flebilior quam mihi.*

The fields of scholarly research that benefited most by his lifelong devotion, and that in this place must claim pre-eminent notice, are not those in which I may claim to have worked myself. Hence I should gladly leave it to others far better qualified than myself, duly to appreciate what knowledge in the vast domains of Islamic culture and history and the fascinating study of Muhammadan art owe to Sir Thomas Arnold's life-work. But then there comes back to me the memory of an hour spent in the spring of 1929 by a sunny Dalmatian shore when, after a happy reunion successfully achieved by us after years of separation, that dear friend expressed the wish that his obituary for this Academy should come from my pen. It was grievous to give credence to what he then confided to me with a brave heart of the limited years of life which the doctors' verdict would allow him, and to think that I, the elder in years, was to outlive the beloved friend. But the promise he asked for was given, and now, however conscious I am of my shortcomings, I must try to fulfil it.

Thomas Walker Arnold was born at Devonport on 19 April 1864. As a child he was very delicate and had to

be taken to live out of the town at various seaside places. Familiarity with the scenery of that delightful coast of South Devon awakened in him early a love of nature which remained with him all through life. His daughter, Mrs. Barfield, to whose kindness I owe these notes about his youth, records how his mother, of whom he used to speak often with affectionate admiration, taught him to observe when they went for walks in the Devonshire lanes, and led him to understand and appreciate 'nature' poetry. It was, no doubt, due to the associations fostered by those early surroundings that he thought at one time of becoming a sailor. From them also he derived a lifelong interest in the history of the British Navy. He ever delighted to trace the effects of its activity in distant parts of Europe and Asia. Stories he had heard, mostly from his mother, about life on the Devon coast in the Napoleonic times and the days of smugglers were among the cherished recollections of his childhood.

He went to the Plymouth High School (where he was considered brilliant) until the family moved to London. There he entered the City of London School when he was about sixteen years old, and stepped straight into the sixth form. Abbott was then head master, and of the scholarly methods on which instruction was imparted under his direction, Arnold always spoke with gratitude. Professor R. S. Conway, the classical scholar, and the late Sir Israel Gollancz, were his schoolfellows, and with them he kept up a lifelong friendship. It is a significant proof of the encouragement towards scholarly work which he received at the City of London School that he was able to familiarize himself there with the elements of Sanskrit.

Just as the early years in Devon had given him the precious boon of an appreciative eye for the beauty of nature, so the years in London were destined to foster and develop Arnold's historical sense and artistic feeling. Stimulated by the wealth of memorials which London has preserved of its long past, he enjoyed using what leisure his always retentive

memory and rapid comprehension allowed him to spare from school work, to explore all parts of London in search of historic remains. Similarly he strove to make himself familiar with the art treasures gathered in London's chief museums and galleries. Pictorial art attracted him greatly from his youth, and he took delight in looking at any picture which specially appealed to him, until he had memorized it in detail. He remained all his life a great admirer of the art of the Italian Renaissance and of the paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites. Ever eager to let others have their share in his intellectual joys, he used in those early days to take his three younger sisters with him on his excursions to galleries and to inspire them with his own love of art. In later years he could fortunately let his friends enjoy the same benefit on many a happy pilgrimage he paid to Florence, Siena and other great shrines of Renaissance art in Italy.

In 1883 Arnold proceeded to Cambridge, having obtained a scholarship at Magdalene College. There, officially, he studied classics, but followed many other tracks of learning as well. Among them was Provençal, besides Oriental languages. Oscar Browning, Fellow of King's College, in a testimonial recorded of Arnold that at Cambridge he 'lived in intimate friendship with the best men of his day, who valued him not only for historical and literary qualifications, but for an independence and originality of mind which distinguished him beyond his contemporaries'.

There can be no doubt that he brought to Magdalene College a mind stocked with knowledge and with scholarly ambition certainly much above the intellectual outfit of the average freshman or perhaps even the average graduate. It was characteristic of his innate modesty that though well aware of this fact he refrained from ever explicitly referring to it or hinting at the irksome restrictions which the necessity of reading for a fixed Honours course imposed on one so eager to expand the range of his favourite historical and Oriental studies. He entered for a prize essay on Muhammadanism without gaining the prize. But what

he wrote then was the seed which afterwards grew into the *Preaching of Islam.*

There was obviously some incompatibility between the demands of a well-regulated College course and the aims of a keen young scholar whom work for a research degree—if there had been one instituted at the time—would, no doubt, have suited far better. To this may well be attributed the fact more than once humorously referred to by Arnold that he did not gain at his tripos more than a third Class. Fortunately this poor success in no way affected his warm attachment to his University and Magdalene College. In fact, it only increased his keen appreciation of the high distinction which the latter bestowed upon him many years later when electing him an Honorary Fellow.

But for what the usual Honours course could not offer him there was abundant compensation in the inspiration and guidance he derived from the teaching of such eminent Orientalist scholars as Professors Cowell and Robertson Smith. It was no doubt through the latter's lectures and writings that Arnold's interest was already during the academic years powerfully attracted towards Islām and towards Arabic and Persian literatures as the main fountainhead of its history. The seeds thus laid were to bear abundant fruit in the achievement of his work as a scholar and teacher.

It was an early proof of Arnold's exceptional powers of application that during his undergraduate years and during a fourth year he stayed on after taking his degree, he was able side by side with the study of so difficult a language as Arabic to devote equal attention also to another great classical language of the East, Sanskrit. He had the good fortune of being one of the distinguished group of devoted pupils whom that great *guru* Professor Cowell gathered round him and of whom Miss Ridding has recently given so attractive a picture. His study of Sanskrit gave Arnold an insight into the traditional foundation of Indian culture which stood him in good stead on the educational side of his

work in India. The stimulating influence exercised by Professor Cowell's lifelong love of Persian made its effect felt even more directly during a later phase of Arnold's career.

These Orientalist studies would alone have sufficed to prove Arnold's remarkable philological aptitude. It received striking confirmation by the ease with which his equipment for scholarly work was enlarged since his student days by the mastery of a series of modern languages of the West. Apart from a complete command of French, German, and Italian, he read Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian, all of which help to account for the amazing range of historical sources he was able to draw upon in some of his works.

With this linguistic ability there was combined a remarkable power of handling his native English. This precious gift of clear and fluent expression remained with him all through life in speech as well as in writing. An impressive printed proof of it may be found in his charming version of the *Little Flowers of St. Francis*, published ten years after his time at Cambridge had come to a close. It appeared in a popular series and has passed through many editions. But this translation, a little classic in style and language, was more than an early exhibition of remarkable literary skill. The choice of its text serves admirably to illustrate those features in Arnold's character which filled his life with brightness and endeared him to all in the East and West who were brought into closer contact with him. Predominant among them were feelings of sympathetic interest and intuitive comprehension for others, of charity combined with rare clearness of vision for human rights and wrongs. Ready at all times to respond to whatever true joys life could offer and to encourage others to share them, he yet appeared to his friends like a modern disciple of St. Francis. Not without reason, later in India, would those gathered at Lahore in a familiar circle round him call him the 'Saint'.

Such qualities of mind and heart could not fail to attract early notice among his Cambridge contemporaries. So it

was natural enough that in 1888 the late Mr. Theodore Beck, Principal of the recently founded Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh, was glad on the recommendation of Professor (afterwards Sir Walter) Raleigh to enlist Arnold among the brilliant band of his coadjutors. As the experience of close on ten years at that nobly conceived institution was to prove, no choice could have been happier.

The Aligarh College had been started by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, that great and far-sighted leader of enlightened Muhammadan opinion in India, in the middle eighties. He realized that his community, proud of its important role in the past of India, was, owing to its backwardness in modern education, in danger of being relegated to a position of political and social inferiority by the more advanced Hindu elements. He recognized also the risk implied thereby for the stability of the peace and prosperity of India as secured by British rule. In order to remedy that situation he conceived the idea of an institution where youths drawn from the Muhammadan landowning and other upper classes should receive the benefit of a superior education modelled more or less on the lines of an English public school.

The College was not merely to fit its alumni to pass the tests arranged by Indian Universities, then examining machines pure and simple, and thereby to meet the requirements laid down by Government for official employment. It was also to train Muhammadan youths to be gentlemen, capable of filling responsible positions whether in the service of Government or in independent careers, and at the same time to be worthy representatives of Islamic culture as bequeathed by earlier generations when India was for the most part under Muhammadan rule. For this reason Sir Sayyid Aḥmad took special care to provide his College also with eminent Muhammadan teachers capable of imparting traditional knowledge of Islamic law and theology and at the same time enlightened enough to let this knowledge benefit by the light which western

methods of modern critical research could throw on these basic constituents of Muslim culture.

Arnold's advent to Aligarh in 1888 must appear to those who knew him and his aims in life, as a singularly kind dispensation of fortune. He found himself there in a *milieu* which better perhaps than any other then to be found in India allowed full scope to the simultaneous assertion of two predominant qualities of his mind. Encouraged by the sympathy of a group of noble-minded colleagues he was free to devote himself there to that service of others which, as one of them, Sir Theodore Morison, in a touching obituary notice (*The Times*, 12 June 1930) has justly put it, made an appeal to his heart he could not resist. To render such service was made happily easy for him by the enthusiasm which the aims of Aligarh College were bound to evoke in him. Quoting once more from that cherished colleague's testimony (*Journal of the Central Asian Society*, 1930, p. 398), 'Arnold from the first recognized the loftiness of Sir Sayyid's great personality and devoted himself without reserve to seconding his efforts "to regenerate a fallen people", as the phrase then ran'.

Sir Sayyid Aḥmad with true political insight used to urge Muslims to look upon the British as their best friends. It was characteristic of Arnold that, feeling that such recognition deserved a corresponding advance on the part of his own countrymen, he adopted Muslim dress. It was a courageous step, considering the racial notions which the Indian mental atmosphere is bound to strengthen also on the side of Europeans. But no doubt this outward demonstration of a spirit of sympathy and ready accommodation helped Arnold in securing closer contact with his students and Muhammadan colleagues alike. Among the latter were distinguished scholars like Maulawī Shiblī Numānī and Maulawī 'Abbās Ḥussain, who by their wide knowledge of Arabic and Persian literatures and their profound study of Islamic doctrine and tradition enjoyed a great reputation. Intimate association with such living fountain-heads of

Muslim tradition and learning must have greatly influenced and stimulated those labours of research towards which Arnold's scholarly zeal as a historical student was during his Aligarh years mainly directed.

It was in his *Preaching of Islam*, first published in 1896, that the fruits of those labours found their earliest and most impressive record. It is a work embracing a field of history so vast both as regards time and space that even those who are but imperfectly acquainted with the wide ramifications of the subject must be filled with admiration for the courage, the critical care, and the breadth of vision with which he handled such a theme. It is probable that a portion of the materials, especially of those derived from medieval western sources regarding the spread of Islām, was collected by Arnold before he left England. But it is certain that the conception of the work and its execution as a whole belong to the time spent at Aligarh. It is in fact easy to recognize traces of the spirit animating the educational activities of the College in the very scope of the work.

As the title itself if strictly interpreted indicates, the book was meant to elucidate and to record the spread of Islām by its spiritual forces alone, by the peaceful propaganda of its preachers. For those familiar with Arnold's chivalrous resentment of all that flavoured of prejudice or injustice, it is easy to perceive that in planning the book he was influenced, unconsciously at least, by the wish to clear Islām of the odium with which ignorant religious feeling, generated in the struggles of the middle ages and fostered by the dread of Turkish aggression, had for centuries obscured its true character to Western minds. But still more evident it is that he strove hard to keep his true historical sense from giving way to the spirit of the apologist.

It would be difficult in this place, even if I possessed the requisite qualifications of the specialist, to give an adequate idea of the whole range of the researches embodied in the *Preaching of Islam*. In its pages the propagation of Islamic doctrine is traced from the teaching of the Prophet himself

down to modern times and as it extended over vast regions, from China to southern Europe and a large portion of Africa. Arnold was admirably fitted for this great task by his critical judgement as regards the results of preceding modern researches, by his access to original documents in Oriental literature, and by his remarkable capacity for collecting reliable information from the most varied sources. The first two qualifications are conspicuously displayed in the initial chapters. They set forth with rare clearness the life of Muḥammad as the founder of the new religion, and the early spread of the Arab national movement which he started and which for the rapidity and extent of its political effects has no parallel in history.

For the study of the conditions which account for the spread of the Muslim faith during the Prophet's life and the heroic period of Muhammadan conquest, the works of a series of great Western scholars afforded guidance and ample materials. But a perusal of even these chapters, and in particular the important one on 'The spread of Islam among the Christian nations of Western Asia', would suffice to bring out the extraordinarily wide range of Arnold's reading. It reaches already in the first edition of those chapters, from the texts of Muhammadan historians and theologians to Byzantine chroniclers, ecclesiastical writers of the Jacobite, Nestorian, and other Eastern sects, to Migne's Patrologia, Crusaders' records, and a host of other medieval records of the West.

This range of sources critically searched and quoted with that scrupulous care upon which Arnold always laid stress is necessarily still more extensive and varied in the great chapters which deal successively with the spread of Islām in Christian Africa, in Europe under the Turks, in Persia, Central Asia, &c. Under Arnold's hands the account of Islamic propaganda in India becomes a veritable storehouse of information on those far-reaching ethical and social movements which have continued for centuries deeply to affect the ancient civilization of the great sub-continent and which

make themselves felt to this day as strongly perhaps as any Western influences. If comparatively little of this information could be gathered from indigenous, i.e. Hindu, sources, the cause must obviously be sought in that peculiar feature of Indian mentality which has long stood in the way of the development of true historical sense, and is reflected in the scantiness of early historical records in India.

The record of the spread of Islām in China is based mainly on data collected from European and Muhammadan travellers' accounts. This is obviously not due to any dearth of information on the subject in the abundant Chinese historical literature, but solely to the impossibility for the non-Sinologue of gaining access to it. Fortunately no such difficulties of language stood in the way of Arnold's full and very illuminating treatment of the wide dissemination of Islamic faith in Africa and the Malay Archipelago. For the former vast field, where Islām as a civilizing factor is playing a very important part up to the present day, Muhammadan literary records could be plentifully supplemented by the accounts of Western travellers, officials, and missionaries. As regards Indonesia, another wide domain of Islamic propaganda, Arnold was equally fortunate in being able to ransack plentiful Dutch, Portuguese, and other Western accounts.

The *Preaching of Islam* will always remain a monument of Arnold's many-sided learning and his high aims as a critical student of history. It also serves as an impressive illustration of those exceptional personal gifts which enabled him to do much scholarly work of lasting value by the side of other absorbing activities. The retentive memory with which he was blessed and his great linguistic ability no doubt helped him greatly. Yet considering how freely he gave of his help and time to others, and how far removed he was at Aligarh from great libraries, the collection and critical use of so huge an array of multifarious literary materials as are worked up in the first edition of the *Preaching of Islam* may well excite surprise.

I should not be able to account for it had I not been more than once a delighted witness of the alacrity, the joy and the ease, with which he was ready in all places to gather whatever information books could offer on subjects within the range of his scholarly interests. That range was exceptionally wide. To take only the side of religion, his interest in doctrines, spiritual movements, sectarian organizations, mysticism, and the like was by no means confined to Islām. He was almost equally at home in the history of Christian churches both of the West and East, in the legends of saints, in the growth of monastic orders, in ecclesiastical customs and rites. Theological controversies and dogmatic systems had for him but little attraction except inasmuch as they affected human activities. Monastic institutions, and in particular their libraries, presented an irresistible allurement for him wherever his travels might take him. On such visits it was an exhilarating experience for me to watch with what keenness and unfailing flair he would pick out at a glance publications, however obscure or local, which might throw light on historical developments he would wish further to investigate some day.

The genuine enthusiasm he displayed in the course of such explorations naturally secured for him willing help on the part of learned book-owners and librarians. The grateful tribute paid in the Preface of the first edition shows how the *Preaching of Islam* benefited by such and kindred assistance secured in many parts, from London and Rome to Calcutta. Yet the note of diffidence struck in the very first words of that Preface might well have seemed justified by the 'circumstances so disadvantageous' under which he had then worked. If in spite of these difficulties and of Arnold's innate modesty which was as great as his learning, the work was published after having 'almost exemplified the Horatian precept: *nonum prematur in annum*', this was due to the encouragement and help he derived from his happy union in 1892 with a very gifted lady (Miss M. Hickson) able to share all his scholarly aims. Those who knew Arnold best

in those early years must have appreciated what he meant by that dedication to his wife 'but for whom this work would never have emerged out of a chaos of incoherent materials'.

This union, which proved the greatest blessing for Arnold's whole life thereafter, had originated in prolonged acquaintance at the Aligarh College. There were many ties of sentiment binding both of them to this institution while its noble founder was alive to guide and protect its destinies. But even before his death signs of trouble, due to dissensions among its supporters, were not slow to make their appearance and to affect the position of the European staff. This and regard for the future of his family—a daughter had by then been born to them—induced Arnold early in 1898 to accept an appointment in the Indian Educational Service as Professor of Philosophy at the Government College, Lahore. The teaching work there, which under the prevailing system necessarily aimed at securing a high percentage of passes at the examinations of the Punjab University, was probably more exacting than that at Aligarh and more removed from stimulating intercourse with Indian students responsive to personal influences. On the other hand Arnold at the capital of an important province was brought into personal contact with a wider social circle comprising eminent English officials as well as Indians of distinction. He found here congenial scholar friends, like Dr. P. S. Allen, then a colleague at the Government College and now President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, then of the Indian Archaeological Survey and now holding the Sanskrit chair at Leiden University. Their attachment continued to brighten his life after he himself had been translated to England. In Lahore, too, my own friendship with him began.

In spite of heavy teaching duties, not always of a congenial type, Arnold was able during his stay at Lahore to bring out in 1902 an edition of an important Arabic text, *Al-Mu'tazilah*, containing an exposition of the presentment

of Muslim theology as current among the Mu'tazilite sects. Owing to their trend towards the ascetic life and to the influence of Christian thought traceable in some of their doctrines, this text attracted Arnold's special interest. He therefore felt much gratified by the welcome his edition received on the part of the late Professor I. Goldziher, of Budapest, the greatest authority then on the history of Islamic sects and doctrines.

Arnold's position at Lahore offered advantages for getting into closer touch with the Muhammadan population of the north-western borderlands of India, a fascinating region. At one time he was attracted by the prospect of being employed by that remarkable potentate, the late Amīr 'Abd-ul-Raḥmān of Afghānistān, to supervise the translation of English works into Persian. But regard for his scholarly aims and his family ties induced him early in 1904 readily to accept the appointment of Assistant Librarian at the India Office Library. It meant severance from Eastern surroundings which he loved, and incidentally also the abandonment of what Indian pension claims he had earned.

But for this he felt fully compensated by the abundant resources for scholarly work which London with all its rich libraries and collections held open to him. That great storehouse of Oriental manuscripts and books dealing with the East which the far-sighted generosity of the East India Company had first called into being, was a happy resort for Arnold, ever eager like a busy bee to store the cells of his widely receptive brain with sweet honey of learning. In Dr. F. W. Thomas, the Librarian of the India Office and now the holder of the Boden Sanskrit Professorship at Oxford, he found a very sympathetic chief, and in Mr. (now Sir) William Foster, in charge of the Records of the India Office, an ever helpful friend.

He could not fail to appreciate greatly the opportunities which through his life in London he enjoyed, for ever enlarging his circle of personal friends. He possessed to an unusual degree the gifts of mind and heart to secure deep

regard and often lifelong attachment from all who were fortunate enough to be brought into closer contact with him. His genial personality, his bright outlook on life which no experiences could ever dim, his delightful humour, his feelings of genuine sympathy for those in need of help or encouragement, all combined to attract friends to him. He was a keen observer of human activities in widely disparate spheres, appreciative of all that they can offer of beauty and comfort. So he had scarcely to draw upon his great stores of learning, whether in the field of history, literature, or art, in order to make his talk ever enjoyable and stimulating. As a correspondent writing to *The Times* (17 June 1930) in a noble tribute drawn from intimate friendship has very truly recorded: 'Where others saw dullness he found interest, and he could make the interest general. Himself a fascinating talker, he had the rarer gift of inspiring his hearers to talk well, so that each went away with the pleasant, if erroneous, sense of being brilliant.'

The love of acting as a teacher and intellectual guide was deeply implanted in Arnold's nature. So it was fortunate for him and for Oriental studies in England that he secured appointment to the chair of Arabic at University College, London, which had become vacant shortly before his return from India. The salary attached to it was almost nominal, and strange as it may have seemed at the metropolis of an empire which comprises in its population more Muhammadans than any other country, facilities for proper instructional courses in the many branches of Islamic studies were practically absent. It was not until years later that this great gap was properly filled after the foundation of the School of Oriental Studies within the University of London. But undismayed by conditions which his confreres at continental Universities must have found it hard to understand, Arnold devoted himself to the discharge of professorial duties with a zest which the fact of their having to be carried on after tiring hours of office work could never quench.

There can be no doubt that he enjoyed the tasks which

these lectures and conscientious preparation for them involved. But equally certain it is that this absorption by combined official and teaching labours helped much to delay the time when Oriental scholarship could receive the full benefit of Arnold's researches. His brave spirit and innate gaiety of mind would scarcely ever allow him to complain of those limitations. But a glimpse of the difficulties besetting him is afforded by remarks in the Preface to the second edition of his *Preaching of Islam*. He there refers to certain regulations which then closed the Reading Room of 'the one Library in this country that aims at any completeness' by 7 p.m. and 'thus made it practically inaccessible' to him except on Saturdays.

Those remarks were called forth by the delay of several years in the publication of that second edition long after the work had gone out of print. It appeared in 1913 and was the outcome of an effort 'to revise the work in the light of the fresh materials that had accumulated' during the preceding sixteen years. The extent of the effort required is sufficiently indicated by 'the vast literature on the subject, in upwards of ten languages, which has been published during this interval'. The thoroughness of that revision with the help of fresh materials can easily be recognized even by the non-specialist student. But he may also notice the increased attention which Arnold felt obliged to pay to what might be briefly referred to as the 'other side of the picture'.

I mean that forcible propagation of Islām which, though forbidden in the Qur'ān, has yet played no negligible part in the story of Muslim expansion. In the introductory chapter it is still emphasized that the work is not to be a history of Muhammadan persecutions but of Muhammadan missions. Yet more than one place of the second edition shows that Arnold with a mind ever open was by then prepared to give weight to the opinion which so great an authority as Goldziher had expressed, about the difficulty of separating altogether such twin manifestations of

religious zeal when it comes critically to judge of their results.

The difficulties above indicated were scarcely reduced when in 1909 Arnold was selected by the India Office to be Educational Adviser for Indian Students in England. Experience, often regrettable and in some cases distinctly tragic, had proved the necessity of an organization to befriend and guide students coming from India to study at English Universities and other institutions for higher education or to read for the Bar. The organization was set up largely under the influence of Arnold's old friend and colleague, Sir Theodore Morison, at that time Member of the India Council. The choice of Arnold to be its first head was an ideal one for the objects to be served by it. Personally it meant promotion for him and a sphere of activity for which he was admirably fitted by his long educational experience in India and by the great qualities of his heart.

It has been truly said by Sir Theodore Morison in the obituary notice previously quoted that 'he laboured in the service of Indian students with well-nigh saintly unselfishness'. The devotion with which he served their interests for over eleven years full of toil and cares must be admired all the more because ignorance and prejudice on the part of a section of those for whom he so eagerly laboured often added to the difficulties of his task of guidance and wholesome control. Even without such factious obstacles it was trying work to attend to the vexing details of the grievances and troubles of those who were often ill-prepared to meet the conditions of a social atmosphere wholly different from the one in which they had lived before, and to face all the temptations and risks attending the change. It was such work which made Arnold say with humorous but genuine humility as quoted by Sir Theodore Morison: 'I was really meant to be a curate'. But it called for firmness, too, especially when it came to dealing with cases where reference to Scotland Yard was imperative, and for courage such as showed itself

in his serene disregard of anonymous letters threatening his life.

Those who were not aware of Arnold's happy ability of turning, however weary with such distracting and responsible labours, gaily to welcome a friend or to follow up closely a fascinating subject of study, may well wonder how during those years of official toil as Educational Adviser and after 1917 as Secretary to the Secretary of State for Indian students, he found time to prosecute his cherished researches. Yet it was certainly during this long period that Arnold was able to amass those great stores of thorough and carefully sifted knowledge which enabled him in the years following his release from those duties to enrich Oriental research in rapid succession with a series of masterly publications.

Striking evidence of his powers of work as well as of the self-sacrificing zeal with which he was ever ready to further the scholarly labours of others is afforded by his accepting charge as the English Editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* several years before the outbreak of the Great War. His selection for this task must have appealed to him as an encouraging recognition of his merits by the eminent continental Orientalists who had planned and called into being that great international enterprise under the auspices of some of the chief Academies of Europe. The charge thus assumed was a heavy one; for it implied such editorial tasks as the supervision of the extensive translation work needed for the articles of non-English scholars (the majority of the contributors) and the scrutiny of an unending stream of proofs issuing from the great Leiden *officina* of Brill.

This, combined with Arnold's official fetters, sufficiently accounts for the fact that his own contributions, apart from the extensive and very instructive article on *India* itself were not as many or as important perhaps as might have been hoped for under more favourable conditions. Incidentally his share in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* was felt by him as a great boon during the trying years of the great struggle; for it enabled him to keep in touch with the labours of scholars

for whom he cherished great personal regard even though Destiny had cast them among his country's enemies. He never ceased to give thanks for the kindly dispensation which had caused the publication of the *Encyclopaedia* to be placed in neutral Dutch hands and had thus preserved it from interruption or worse. Even before that great undertaking began to take shape Arnold had found time to contribute important articles to Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. I must content myself with quoting their titles: 'Persecution', 'Toleration', and 'Saints and Martyrs (Muhammadan) in India'. They all indicate subjects which from the very start of his career never failed to make a strong appeal to the soul of Arnold.

Meanwhile the transformation of the London University from an examining into a teaching body had been followed by a movement intended to provide the reconstituted University with a School of Oriental Studies worthy of a seat of learning established at the centre of an Empire embracing more of Eastern populations than any that history knows. The institution was to be modelled largely on the lines of the École des langues orientales vivantes at Paris and of the Orientalisches Seminar at the University of Berlin. It was meant to provide instruction in Oriental languages and kindred branches of Eastern knowledge largely for students intending to take up administrative, missionary, or similar careers in the East. But at the same time it was to comprise also a nucleus of professorships which, as long established at all the old Universities of this country and the Continent, were to serve the interests of research into Oriental literatures and cultures. The deliberations of the Committee constituted to prepare a suitable scheme for this School of Oriental Studies progressed slowly. Still longer it took to secure from different sources the needful funds for the proposed institution.

There could never have been any doubt about Arnold being the scholar best qualified to hold the chair of University Professor of Arabic at the School and to supervise the

work of the Assistants and Readers attached to it. Nor do I think I am betraying a secret when mentioning that he was approached more than once about accepting with that chair also the function of being the Director of the Institution to be established. This charge he felt unable to accept, recognizing rightly how great had been the sacrifices he had already made to administrative duties.

There was unavoidable delay about the professorship, too, owing to practical considerations connected with his pension claims for service at the India Office. But at last by 1920 a satisfactory solution of this difficulty was obtained. On transfer of the Indian Students Department to the newly established office of the High Commissioner for India his appointment was opportunely abolished and Arnold thus enabled to retire with the pension he had so amply earned. The great value of the official services he had rendered under the India Office had earned him in 1912 the Companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire. They were now appropriately recognized by a knighthood bestowed on his retirement in 1921. He appreciated these distinctions, I think, most of all as quasi-visible mementoes of the confidence and support he was proud of having enjoyed at the India Office on the part of all those with whom his official labours and much willingly rendered personal service had brought him into contact.

I well remember the eagerness with which Arnold had looked forward for years to this freedom long deferred which was to give now full scope to his ambitions as a scholar and teacher. The ten years of untrammelled activity which followed, bore rich fruit in the number of capable students whom he was able to inspire with his own enthusiasm for Islamic culture. Whether as officials in the Sudan, Irāq, and elsewhere in the East, as officers in overseas forces, or as missionaries, &c., their influence is bound to make itself felt widely for the good of the Empire. Easier still it is to gauge the results of that freedom in the light of the important publications that followed its attainment.

I cannot help recognizing a reflex as it were of the increased sunshine which that freedom instilled into Arnold's heart, in the steadily growing delight with which he henceforth devoted his most cherished researches to the study of Muhammadan pictorial art. It was a field bound to exercise a powerful attraction for him. All through life he found one of his keenest pleasures in paintings, and never missed a chance of feasting eyes and mind by visits to the great picture collections in this country or abroad. But before turning to the fruits of his labours in this field, it will be convenient to refer to those publications which attest his continued faithful attachment to the study of the Islamic world and the part it has played in history. They were based, it seems safe to assume, for the most part on his professorial lectures and help to illustrate their range and varied interest.

In *Europe and Islam*, the chapter contributed by Arnold to Mr. Marvin's *Western Races and the World* (1922), the relations between Muhammadan culture and western civilization as developed since the early middle ages among the Christian nations of Europe are discussed with a breadth of view befitting the true historian. Apart from the many elements of theological doctrine and ethical teaching common to Christianity and Islām which ought to make for mutual comprehension, emphasis is laid 'on the fact that the Christian and Muslim world are both heirs of the same [classical] civilization'. The truth of this fact had been fully established by the researches of modern scholars. Recent developments were affording striking proof of the feeling of unity which Islamic faith succeeds in creating among peoples widely separated by race and geographical position. Arnold felt obliged to urge due recognition of these facts with special regard to the grave political problems presented by the large Muhammadan population included in the British Empire and by the movements of the post-war period affecting it.

Arnold would not have been the true student of history

and the convinced believer in the great destiny of the British Empire that he was, if those problems and others bearing more particularly upon the situation in India had not occupied his attention very closely. The question of the Caliphate figured prominently among those problems both during and after the Great War in view of its effects upon the fate of Turkey and the position claimed by its Sultan as the spiritual ruler of the Faithful throughout the world. Arnold had devoted close study to this question, and in connexion with it his advice and knowledge were duly sought by Government both during and after the great struggle. The results of this study were utilized for University lectures and finally embodied in a book of lasting value, *The Caliphate*, published by the Clarendon Press in 1924.

Acknowledging in its Preface his indebtedness to a series of great Continental scholars, he says, with that modesty so characteristic of his whole nature, that he 'cannot claim to have done much more than present the result of their researches to English readers who may be unacquainted with the scattered writings of these distinguished authorities'. But under Arnold's hand this task was achieved by a synthesis of masterly clearness in which the use of the title Khalīfah and the changes in its significance during successive periods are traced right through from its first appearance in the Qur'ān to the present day. Concise in its exposition of relevant facts, yet supported by a wealth of exact references to varied documentary evidence, there is presented to us here a synopsis as it were of the whole development which Islām as a political body has undergone in the course of history.

After a lucid exposition of certain points of resemblance between the Caliphate and the Holy Roman Empire and of the fundamental differences between the two systems, we are shown how the heritage of the great conquests secured to Islām by the time of the Prophet's death invested his immediate 'successors', elected as such and designated

Khalīfahs, with the charge of ruling a vast and rapidly expanding Empire. Though leaders in public worship, and hence also called Imāms, these Khalīfahs could lay no claim to spiritual powers such as those of the Popes. Arnold's historical insight is brilliantly displayed where he investigates the theological sanction sought in the Qur'ān for the autocracy into which the Caliphate rapidly changed on the accession of the Umayyad dynasty, and shows how this marked departure from the political tradition of the Arabs was probably due to their Caliphs having become the inheritors of the Persian monarchy.

In the chapters devoted to the Abbasid Caliphate which replaced Umayyad rule Arnold's great qualities as a historian have found full scope. We are shown how with the end of what had been for a century an essentially Arab empire, the centrifugal powers steadily asserted themselves through the establishment of independent Muslim kingdoms. Yet the supremacy of the Abbasid Caliphs, first seated at Baghdad and since the Mongol invasion at Cairo, lingered on for five centuries as a fiction even after they had become mere puppets under the protection of local Turkish dynasties. Arnold's command of a vast range of historical sources is illustrated by the thoroughness with which the assumption of the title Khalīfah by independent Muslim princes from Spain to India is traced during this long period. At the same time we are made to follow in the exposition of philosophical and ethical writers how this widely applicable use of the title Khalīfah was supported by the spread of doctrines which considered all kings as Caliphs or vicegerents of God on earth.

Not the least illuminating chapters of the book are the last ones. They show in careful detail from contemporary historical records how Ottoman conquest in the first quarter of the sixteenth century put an end to the rule of Mamlūk Sultāns in Egypt, and with it to that nominal survival of a supreme Caliphate which the protection afforded by them at Cairo to helpless descendants of the Abbasids had main-

tained for two and a half centuries. Upon Sulṭān Salīm's conquest of Egypt there had been based late in the eighteenth century the fiction that the last of those puppet Caliphs whom he carried off to Constantinople as a captive had handed over his own dignity to the ruler of Turkey by a formal act of transfer. While exposing the fallacy of this fiction by an overwhelming mass of critically marshalled evidence, Arnold shows also his keen eye for modern political developments by closely tracing the use which Turkish diplomacy made of that fiction.

In his *Preaching of Islam* Arnold had already given proof of his extensive knowledge of medieval Christian records bearing on the Muhammadan East. This now stood him in good stead when showing how the acceptance in the West of the Sulṭān's claim to spiritual authority, a claim wholly unfounded in Islamic tenets, was facilitated by the error, popular in the West and current already among medieval writers, which assigned to the Caliph the same position as held by the Pope in Catholic Christendom.

Interesting sidelights are thrown on the efforts made by Sulṭān 'Abd ul-Ḥamīd to enlist the political support of Muslim communities in other countries through Pan-Islamic propaganda laying emphasis upon his position as Khalīfah. These efforts were indeed brought to an end by the constitutional developments in Turkey which finally led to the abolition of the Caliphate by the Turkish National Assembly in 1924. Yet Arnold took care to point out in the concluding pages of his survey that the ideal of a political community embracing the whole Muhammadan world under the headship of one Khalīfah is not dead. He might well have emphasized this warning by a reference to the Khilāfat agitation which seriously threatened peace on the North-West frontier of India, had this movement not been still so close to current politics at the time when his book was published.

It has appeared to me desirable to pay special notice to the value of this book because it brings out strikingly how

eminently fitted Arnold was for the critical study of history as dependent on intellectual and religious ideas. In the Preface of *The Caliphate* we are told how its publication had been delayed by his exacting work in the School of Oriental Studies. We should probably attribute to the same cause the regrettable fact that other lectures of his dealing with the history of Islām in its cultural and political aspects never received record in a published form.

But fortunately we possess from his hand a masterly analysis of the religious and political system set up by Muḥammad. *The Islamic Faith* is a very small book published in 1928 in Benn's 'Sixpenny Library' but in the opinion of competent judges it deserves to be called a classic on the subject. It sums up with convincing clearness the essential conclusions modern research has arrived at as regards the doctrine embodied in the Qur'ān and the influences under which it was developed, the character of Islām as an organized political society, and the sects and movements to which it has given rise. The currents of theological thought which in successive periods affected the interpretation of the doctrine laid down in the Qur'ān and its application in public and private life are surveyed with the eye of an observer critically detached but sympathetically interested in all manifestations of religious feeling. In these pages Arnold has bequeathed to a wider public as well as to students the essence of his mature thoughts on a theme that was ever dear to his heart.

All through life Arnold derived keen enjoyment from the study of pictorial art. His knowledge of the works of the great masters of painting in Europe was very extensive, particularly as regards the early Italian and Flemish schools. It was thus natural that after his return to London his attention was strongly attracted by the many fine specimens of Persian and Mughal painting among precious illuminated manuscripts placed under his own care in the India Office Library or to be found at the British Museum and other great collections. His familiarity with Persian literature as

well as with the history of India in the great times of the Mughal Empire gave him close insight into the subjects illustrated by those pictures, just as his intimate knowledge of Christian story and hagiology added to his pleasure in studying the religious paintings of the Renaissance.

It was thus natural that his aesthetic taste and historical knowledge were readily enlisted for collaboration in the fine volume which he and Mr. Laurence Binyon devoted to the *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (Oxford University Press, 1921). It is a delightful publication. In it the charm of many beautiful pictures reproduced in the plates and the illuminating observations on their art from Mr. Binyon's ever felicitous pen happily combine with the vivid account of the fortunes of that great royal house contained in Arnold's Introduction and with his instructive notes on the individual illustrations.

The art patronized by the Emperors who in succession ruled India after the conquest by Bābar, their great ancestor, was bound by its main subjects to make a very special and as it were personal appeal to Arnold. In the first place it was the human interest abundantly offered by the portraiture which plays so large a part in that art and which is the distinctive excellence of the Mughal School. From the plentiful records preserved of this period Arnold's learning could gather many significant data about the lives of the notable personages whom those miniature portraits put so strikingly before our eyes.

But he must have felt specially attracted also by the representations, so frequent in these pictures, of Darbārs and other gorgeous scenes of royal life. All through his Indian years and his later life also, ceremonial functions of all sorts, whether ecclesiastic or secular, had an irresistible fascination for him. They helped, no doubt, to throw glamour over the drab sides of the modern world and to bring back visions of a more picturesque past. It was an infectious pleasure to watch him as he followed with glittering eyes some procession in an Italian church, or were it only a string

of humble Carthusian monks gaily wending their way on a Ligurian hillside, relieved for the day of their vow of silence. He would spare no trouble when work permitted and the opportunity offered, to attend a great State function or a colourful Church festival. How I wish he could have been present at King George's Coronation Darbār at Delhi or have seen the splendours of the Grand Moguls' Diwān-i-'am revived for a brief span of time on the Prince of Wales's visit to Delhi! Fortunately Rome was nearer, and there at St. Peter's he could feast his eyes on grand ceremonies at the time of Easter, with the added delight on one occasion of being himself accommodated within the Vatican.

By aesthetic taste and scholarly knowledge alike Arnold was admirably prepared for the historical study of Muhammadan pictorial art, and to this a predominating share of his literary activity was devoted during the last ten years of his life. That art had found its finest expressions in Persian painting, and it is with the earliest traceable constituents of this that the important lecture deals which Arnold delivered at the Armstrong College, Newcastle, in 1922 and two years later published at the Clarendon Press. In this carefully illustrated small volume of *Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaean Art* we are shown for the first time how certain constantly recurring characteristics of Persian painting, as we know it in an almost unbroken series from the thirteenth century onwards, have their roots in the art of the Sasanian period, though its earliest extant specimens are separated from this by a complete blank of six centuries.

Still more striking perhaps is the conclusion to which Arnold was led by the examination of an important but previously unnoticed illuminated manuscript of the early fourteenth century. In its representations of incidents taken from the Bible he recognized what seems convincing proof of the surviving influence of that Manichaean painting which Mānī's dualistic religion had fostered and which together with that doctrine itself had completely perished

under the destructive forces of both Christian and Muhammadan persecution.

By this lecture and the notes on the *Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* Arnold has allowed us to watch steps as it were in his long and unremitting course of researches to which the study of Eastern art owes one of its outstanding masterpieces, his *Painting in Islam*. Published in 1928 at the Clarendon Press, this beautifully printed and richly illustrated quarto volume forms a lasting monument of Arnold's love of art, vast learning, and sure critical judgement. It needed the combination of these qualities with rare literary gifts and sympathetic comprehension of the Oriental mind to produce a work so full of illuminating observations on a host of newly gathered facts, and so stimulating alike for the study of Eastern art and its cultural and historical background. It reveals to the Western student manifold fascinating aspects of that art, obscured before by imperfect knowledge of its origin and development. At the same time it shows how much of interest the surviving specimens of this art present as illustrating the intellectual and social conditions of Islamic civilization during the different phases in which they were produced.

The great value of Arnold's treatment of the subject is appropriately demonstrated by the initial chapter of the book. It fully sets forth the basis of the uncompromisingly hostile attitude shown at all times by Islamic theology against pictorial art. Then with a wealth of historical data, supported by as yet scanty archaeological evidence, it traces the long struggle in which the painter succeeded already during the earliest period in facing the condemnation of his art by the religious law and popular prejudice. Arnold's innate humour throws many an amusing sidelight on this divergence between creed and practice as favoured by Muhammadan princes, and suitably illustrates it by corresponding examples drawn from the Christian world of the middle ages and later periods.

His unfailing critical caution makes him set forth in a

separate chapter the manifold difficulties placed in the way of the study of Muslim painting through the loss of valuable materials. This loss is due to destruction in political catastrophes or iconoclastic zeal; to deficiency of literary records about painters, who as a class were viewed with contempt; to the unscrupulous addition to pictures of forged signatures, &c. In the full account presented of the origins of Muhammadan painting we are shown in full clearness how this art was no fresh creation of any specifically Islamic culture, but the development of earlier forms of art cultivated among the non-Arab populations now brought into the fold, or under the rule, of Islām.

The mass of evidence here carefully marshalled leaves little doubt that in this transmission of definite artistic traditions Persia, long before the meeting place of classical, Indian, and Far Eastern influences, had the chief share. It is in connexion with the profound impression which Chinese painting continued also later to make upon Persians, that we are treated to a proof of Arnold's literary skill by a charming piece of metrical translation from Nizāmī.

The chapters which deal with the painters' manner of working and with the subject matter they treated exhibit to the full Arnold's exceptional command of literary sources relating to painters and the probably unequalled range of his acquaintance with their works, widely scattered as these are for the most part in illustrated manuscripts. But it can scarcely surprise us to find that among the subjects treated by those painters none made so strong an appeal to Arnold's interest as the works of religious art. The very existence of Muslim religious pictures had been denied before him. This, added to the comparative rarity of such paintings and Arnold's close study of Christian art, sufficiently explains the special thoroughness and loving care with which he discusses what might well be claimed by him as his own favourite discovery.

I well remember the delight which filled him when in an early manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' at-Tawārīkh* or

'Universal History', divided now between two libraries in London and Edinburgh and not adequately noticed before, he discovered a whole series of fine illustrations both of incidents in the life of Muḥammad and of biblical scenes from the Gospels and the Old Testament. Some of the latter pictures and of those traced by Arnold among the illustrations of other manuscripts are often obviously reminiscent of Christian representations. But also where no such relationship is observed, Arnold's treatment of such figures and stories cherished in Muslim religious tradition is very instructive. Nor has he neglected to draw special attention to the figures and legends of those many mystics and saints, which play as great a part in Muslim religious art as the corresponding 'Acta Sanctorum' do in Islamic literature. One feels how near these holy personages were to Arnold's heart and how pleased he was to bring them before the reader's eye in some of the finest plates of the book.

A special short chapter is devoted to Burāq, that strange mythical beast on which Muḥammad is believed to have made his famous ascension to heaven, and a favourite subject in Muslim religious art. Here antiquarian interest prevails, as it does also in the chapter dealing with portraiture. Regard for recent publications, specially numerous as regards the vast picture-gallery of portraits produced at the courts of the later Shāhs of Persia and the Indian Grand Moguls, appears to have induced Arnold to make his survey of these very attractive creations of artistic activity shorter than we might have wished.

But for this we are offered some compensation by a series of shrewd and illuminating observations on that lack of expression of emotion which generally characterizes the human figures in pictures 'charming . . . in colour, graceful in outline, and successful in their presentation of the story'. Yet emotion is often expressed with remarkable success in the pictures of animals. In the special care Arnold takes to draw attention to this satisfactory fact, I feel I can detect something of his unfailing sympathy with animals. Was it

not unconsciously perhaps, like so much else of his lovable character, fostered by the cherished example of his great Saint, St. Francis?

In the concluding chapter we are given extracts from such biographical notices of contemporary painters, lamentably meagre, as can be found in the writings of historians and similar sources. Arnold does not fail to emphasize the scantiness of the guidance to be derived from these sources for the study of Islamic painting. At the same time he clearly indicates the most fruitful direction for future investigations by pointing to the need of such patient study of details and individual characteristics of masters and schools as Giovanni Morelli achieved for the great periods of Italian painting. Time was not given to Arnold to take up this great task, for which he was better fitted than perhaps any one living. But it was given to him to have laid down in his *Painting in Islam* the solid foundations for the history of an art that together with Muhammadan architecture may well claim a place among the great achievements of man's artistic activity.

The years left to Arnold after the publication of that great work were, alas, far too short to permit him to apply his combined aesthetic judgement and command of literary sources to all those tasks concerning Muslim pictorial art which specially attracted him by their importance and the fruitful direction they offer for future investigations. As prominent among such tasks he had clearly indicated the settlement of problems as to which of the pictures bearing the names of famous artists are authentic and the definition of the main characteristics of their styles.

The greatest of these names is that of Bihzād, who flourished as court painter under the last Timurid prince of Herāt and under the founder of the Persian Safavid dynasty. By his masterly scrutiny of a manuscript of the Ẓafar-nāmah, a biography of Tīmūr (Tamerlane) dated A.D. 1467 and long treasured in the library of successive Mughal Emperors at Delhi, Arnold was able to establish

beyond all doubt the authenticity of the magnificent set of pictures which illustrate it, and which by records dating from the time of Akbar downwards are ascribed to Master Bihzād. This result of Arnold's brilliant investigation—which incidentally revealed a genuine specimen of the handwriting of the great Mughal Emperor, usually supposed to have been illiterate—was published in a separate volume, *Bihzād and his Paintings in the Ẓafar-nāmah MS.*, 1930. It is as delightful to the eye of the connoisseur as it is important to the student.

Arnold during the last few years of his life had another opportunity offered to record the main results of his long continued investigation into Islamic painting by his important share in the fine volume, published in collaboration with Professor A. Grohmann, of the German University of Prague, under the title: *The Islamic Book, A contribution to its Art and History from the VII—XVIII Century*, 1929. The first part by Professor Grohmann deals with the early period as represented by the interesting but very scanty remains of Islamic miniatures, book decoration, and bindings, mainly from the Fayyūm finds in the Archduke Rainer's Collection now at the National Library of Vienna. In the second part, dealing with the period from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century, we have a concise exposition by Arnold of the results first set forth in his *Painting in Islam*. But here they are treated with special regard to the distinct development of the various schools of painters in Persia, India, and Turkey.

In addition to the survivals in Persian painting, derived from Sasanian, Christian, and Manichaean art, due emphasis is laid here also on the strong Chinese influences to which Persian art was subjected during the early decades of Mongol domination. A separate chapter on Bihzād and his school brings out clearly the reasons for the exceptional appeal which the merits of that master, truly expressive of Persian feeling, have made to the enthusiastic appreciation of his contemporaries and of succeeding generations. Striking

illustration of the clear historical insight pervading all Arnold's work is afforded in the chapter on Islamic painting in India, where he lucidly traces the bearing which the personal qualities of successive Mughal Emperors and their policy exercised upon the artistic activity of their times. It is the same also with the light his remarks throw upon the ways in which Hindu traditions in painting, an art fostered at all times by Hindu religious feeling, influenced that activity, especially as patronized by Akbar. The final chapter dealing with Islamic book-craft shows how keenly alive Arnold was also to the exquisite taste and skill displayed by the calligrapher, decorator, and binder in the manuscripts illustrated by those court painters.

The value of the *Islamic Book* is greatly enhanced by the abundance of its plates. The pictures they reproduce from a host of interesting manuscripts widely scattered among public and private collections in Europe and America cover the whole range of Muhammadan painting. The gathering of these illustrative materials was probably for the most part Arnold's work, and the extensive search for them, often in less accessible places must have afforded him much pleasure. The notes on these plates bear evidence of his unfailing critical care and precision. The student must feel all the more grateful for them since, owing perhaps to difficulties arising from publication abroad, the text completely lacks references to the plates.

Arnold's indefatigable search for fresh materials together with the wide recognition that he was the leading authority in this field, brought him into contact with numerous collectors appreciative of his sure judgement and his generously given advice. He thus was offered the opportunity of preparing a descriptive catalogue of the important collection of paintings in the library of Mr. A. Chester Beatty. This work, in which he took much delight, was destined to become a posthumous publication. The same was unfortunately also the fate of the three Schweich Lectures he delivered before the British Academy under the title: *The Old and New Testaments in*

Muslim Religious Art. They are now in the press and will, no doubt, furnish much interesting documentation of a theme particularly attractive to Arnold. Arnold had also derived pleasure from collaborating with his cherished friend Dr. F. R. Martin, on *Miniatures from the Period of Timur in a MS. of the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair*, published at Vienna in 1926.

If consideration is given to the unfailing thoroughness of all Arnold's work, as evinced *inter alia* in the scrupulous care bestowed upon bibliographies, precise references, and minutiae of exact transcription, and if account is taken of the time he was ever prepared to devote to teaching duties and to helping researches of fellow scholars, this great output of finished scholarly work during the last years of his life might well have surprised even those who were familiar with his happy gift of an easy pen and lucid exposition. Now that we unfortunately know how near the blessed life of the great scholar was drawing to its close, it is easier perhaps to recognize the unavowed reason which prompted such continuous efforts.

Arnold, though not possessed of what might have outwardly appeared a strong physique, had scarcely ever suffered from ill health. So when in the spring of 1929 the joy of reunion with him was granted to me at Ragusa after years of separation, it came as a shock to receive from his lips the confession that his doctor had diagnosed weakness in his heart and advised precautions. He would not allow the knowledge of this trouble in any way to affect his natural gaiety and high spirits. Their delightful display brightened the small circle of friends who shared that short holiday, even more than all the glories and historical attractions of its scenes. It was all in keeping with the brave determination he had confided to me at the time that he would not forgo the joys of an active life and his cherished labours for the sake of a longer spell of years purchased by renouncing accustomed ways and adopting valetudinarian prudence.

He had used the weeks preceding our reunion with great

zest for ransacking Sarajewo and Mostar for records bearing on Islām as carried to these westernmost limits of Turkish conquest in the Balkans. Near the precincts of Diocletian's palace, too, he enjoyed the pleasure of such discoveries among books and antiquarian relics. It was hard to lose such joyous inspiring companionship when we had to part after seeing the splendour of Venice rise from the morning haze of the sea. He seemed still the same during the brief intervals when I could enjoy his ever cheering company that summer in London and Oxford, while learning of his new pictorial finds and cherished plans of fresh work. During a glorious autumn tour, alas, far too short, which we made together through the Dolomites, his spirits were as buoyant as ever. It was difficult to restrain him from over-exertion on steep hillsides. It was just the same courage which, as a close friend has described it in a letter to *The Times* (17 June 1930), he had displayed before 'in light-hearted leading down mountain sides where no path was'.

An invitation from the Cairo University to give lectures as a visiting Professor in the early part of 1930 had been greeted by him with great satisfaction. He had longed ever since he left India for an opportunity of setting his foot again on Eastern ground, and Cairo as the greatest surviving seat of Islamic culture provided an irresistible attraction. So he decided to accept the invitation, though it needed his courage to face protracted separation from his beloved companion in life who had been an invalid for some time past, and who, alas, was not destined to survive him long. The months before his start in January were more than ever full of strenuous work. It was learned later that to a friend at the British Museum who expressed apprehension as to the effect of excessive work, he offered the excuse of its being 'a race with death' for the sake of the tasks he was anxious to complete. There seems indeed reason to believe that the strain of labours so eagerly pursued for years may have accelerated the end.

But death when it came showed kindness to him who had faced the end so bravely. The voyage in January out to Egypt which included a short stay in Cyprus and rapid visits to Rhodes and Jerusalem gave him some rest and much pleasure. His work at Cairo was congenial and easy—'I have never enjoyed', he wrote, 'such an aristocratic interpretation of a professor's duties in my life'. The contact with distinguished Orientalist colleagues, both European and Egyptian, was to him very stimulating. He eagerly used the leisure which his two short lectures a week allowed him, for work on several publications which he was anxious to bring out. Among them was his 'Arabic Grammar', unfortunately left unfinished, as also his contribution to *The Legacy of Islam*.

Then by May he achieved Constantinople, towards which his eyes had been turned for many years. His stay extended only over nine days, but he had the gratification, on prolonged visits paid to the great libraries in company of his old friend and fellow worker, Dr. F. R. Martin, to find extraordinarily fine examples of Persian painting previously unnoticed. Like his stay at Cairo it must have been a very pleasurable but also very strenuous time.

The effects of the strain undergone did not fail to make themselves felt when by the close of May he regained his home, only to find Lady Arnold far from well and his old friend and schoolfellow Sir Israel Gollancz dying. For the brief span of a week he exerted himself to resume his work at the School of Oriental Studies, and then after two days of indisposition he passed away on 9 June through heart-failure. Fate had been kind by allowing him to breathe his last peacefully and unaware of the farewell it meant from his beloved wife and daughter who were by him at the end. But to them and to his many friends and admirers all over Europe and in the East his sudden departure was a grievous shock.

In Arnold there passed away a great scholar whose life's work will continue to bear fruit as long as Oriental studies

exist. The benefits which generations of pupils derived from his devoted labours as teacher have been fitly commemorated through the presentation by friends and fellow scholars of his cherished collection of books to the School of Oriental Studies to be kept there as a Seminar Library for Islamic research.

Some of the aims of his noble life were brought before the eyes of a wider public in England by the great success of the Persian Exhibition, arranged in 1931 at the Royal Academy, which owed its origin to his planning, as was fitly recorded by the dedication of its official guide to his memory. He appreciated the manifold honours which his scholarly achievements had secured for him in lifetime. But what his soul would perhaps have most rejoiced in is the lasting gratitude and devotion enshrining his memory in the hearts of all those into whose life his spirit had brought cheer and brightness.

AUREL STEIN