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HEURS ET MALHEURS DES CONSULS DE FRANCE  
A JERUSALEM AUX XVII<sup>e</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup> ET XIX<sup>e</sup> SIECLES  
*René Neuville*

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'AN  
*A. Jeffery*

ABRAHAM'S RELIGION  
*H. von den Steinen*

A MINISTRY OF PROPAGANDA UNDER THE FATIMIDS  
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THE STERLING BALANCES AND PALESTINE  
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OIL AND ARAB NATIONALISM  
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ISLES OF THE BLESSED: THE OASES OF KHARAGA  
AND DAKHLA  
*Lewis G. Burnand*

THE WARRIOR PEOPLE OF DJEBEL DRUZE:  
A MILITANT MINORITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST  
*N. N. Nimri*

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# JOURNAL OF THE MIDDLE EAST SOCIETY

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# Research

Since the first number of this Journal appeared the Society has announced a Prize Essay Competition on the theme: **TOWARDS A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING**.—Entries must be submitted by September 30th next, and they will be judged by a Research Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. T. V. Scrivenor (Palestine Administration) and composed of:

- Abdel Monem Mostafa Bey, Consul General of Egypt;
- Dr. A. Bonné, Hebrew University;
- Mr. James Livingstone, British Council.

The purpose of the Competition, besides being to obtain research material at first hand from widespread sources, is to make the aims of the Society as widely known as possible and to arouse public interest in them. The Society is indebted to those bodies, Legations, Consulates and Universities who have kindly helped to give the Competition publicity throughout Middle East countries.

The aims of the Society go far beyond even the comparatively wide scope of the subject of the Competition, but since the population of the Middle East is predominantly rural, and since one of the proper objects of all communities is to achieve an improvement in their standard of living, the subject has been chosen with a view to canvassing informed opinion on rural betterment in the Middle East. In the words of the leaflet announcing the competition

“Competitors are invited to give a brief account of existing conditions in a village or rural community known to them, in any Middle East country,

- (a) indicating the principles upon which the organisation of the village is founded,
- (b) formulating proposals for improving those conditions, with particular reference to education, hygiene and housing,
- (c) giving illustrations from examples known to them of cases where villagers on their own initiative have successfully achieved improvement in their living conditions in these respects.”

The terms are wide in order to encourage all who are interested in this important subject and who have something to say, to make their contributions. The problem postulated is common to all countries and all communities, and it is one to which all thoughtful people who live in them should have something of importance to contribute. The problem transcends divisions of race or creed or nationality. It exists in different degrees in the collective settlement and the village, and it is hoped that the entries to the Prize Essay Competition will contribute materially to its solution.

Turn to inside back cover for full details of competition.

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Owing to prevailing security conditions in Palestine no meetings of the Society can be arranged conveniently at present. Under these circumstances the Council for 1947 has been reconstituted by co-option.

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## NOTE

THE MIDDLE EAST SOCIETY OF JERUSALEM is an independent, unofficial, non-political body founded in January 1946.

The objects of the Society are:—

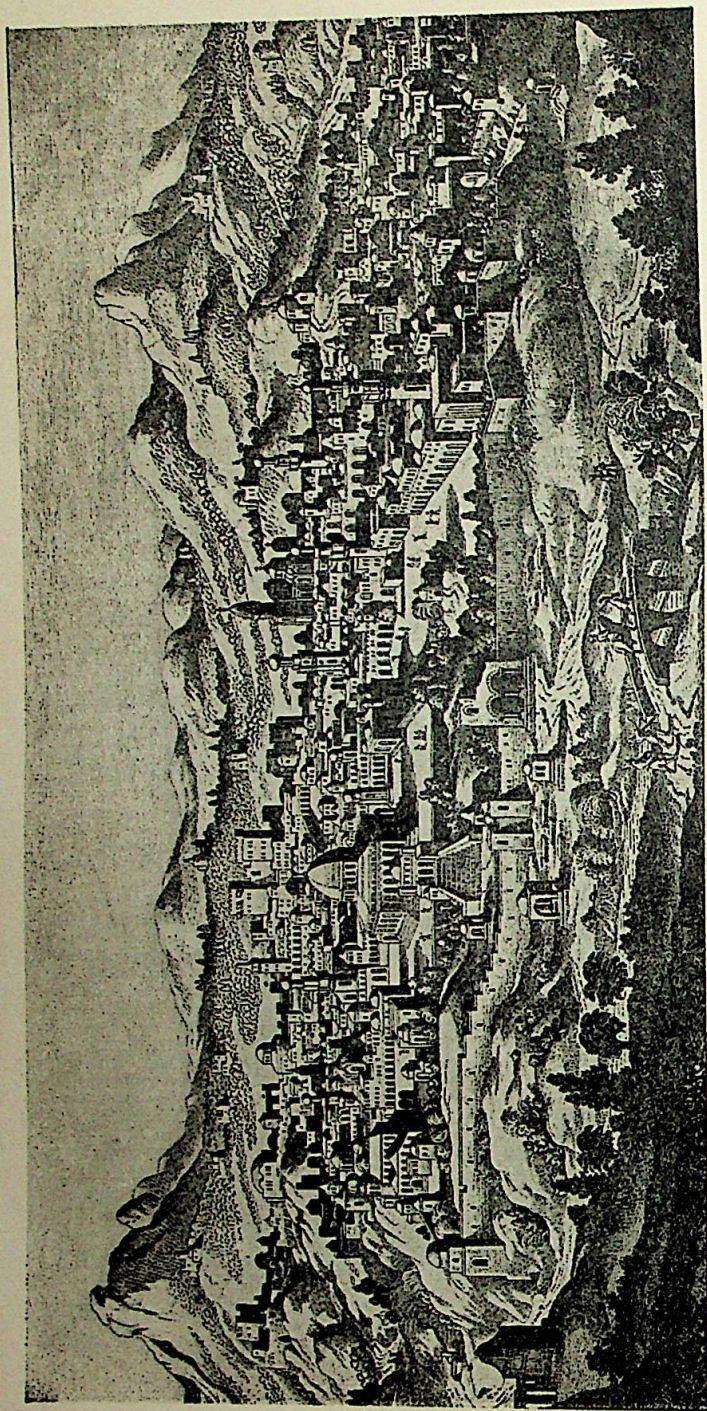
- a. To promote research into specific problems of Middle Eastern life.
- b. To study the political, economic, social and cultural affairs of Middle East countries.
- c. To provide a forum for authoritative discussion of matters falling within the Society's scope of interest.
- d. To exchange ideas, opinions and information with other Societies and Institutes elsewhere, which specialise in these interests and studies.

All trends of opinion and all categories of experience relevant to these purposes may be represented in the Society, which is committed to no specific line of policy.

It is intended to publish periodically the *Journal of the Middle East Society* in order to endow the public with a wider knowledge of the Middle East. Every communication published by the Society becomes the property of the Society, in so far that the author may not, save with the permission of the Society's Council duly recorded, republish it until an interval of six months shall have elapsed after its publication by the Society.

Applications for Membership will be received at the Society's address:  
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## JERUSALEM

au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle,  
vue de l'est,

d'après une gravure de l'époque (coll. Ch. Boeglin).

# HEURS ET MALHEURS DES CONSULS DE FRANCE A JERUSALEM\*

AUX XVII<sup>e</sup>, XVIII<sup>e</sup> ET XIX<sup>e</sup> SIECLES

par

RENE NEUVILLE

Consul Général de France

## I

L'institution des Consulats naquit du besoin de donner une direction aux corps de négociants français établis dans les Echelles du Levant, d'établir un magistrat pour régler leurs différends, de créer un intermédiaire qualifié entre eux et la Métropole, enfin et surtout d'instituer auprès de ces groupes de Français, — que l'on nommait la nation, — un protecteur officiel, chargé de la défense de leurs personnes et de leurs biens auprès des autorités du pays<sup>1</sup>.

Or, Jérusalem ne fut jamais une Echelle proprement dite. A l'époque où les premiers consuls furent établis en pays d'Islam, on n'y voyait aucun marchand français. Ceux-ci étaient établis à Rama (Rames ou Rhamata, la Ramleh actuelle), à Jaffa et à St-Jean d'Acre<sup>2</sup>. "La ville de Jérusalem, écrivait à la Chambre de

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\* Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Middle East Society of Jerusalem on 26th November, 1946, under the chairmanship of Mr. J.H.H. Pollock, O.B.E., District Commissioner.

1 "Le principal office de ces Consuls est de faire observer aux Turcs les capitulations qui ont été traitées entre Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne et le Grand Turc, et empêcher les tyrannies et persécutions que les Turcs voudraient faire tant contre les Marchands Français qui habitent en Orient, que contre ceux qui y vont trafiquer sous la Bannière de France... (Le Consul) rend la justice sans aucun intérêt et termine les différends qui surviennent entre les Marchands qui s'y sont habitués sous l'étendard des Français, tant ceux qui sont en terre, que ceux qui sont aux ports en leurs vaisseaux. S'il arrive des différends entre les Marchands et les Turcs, le Consul est obligé d'accompagner les Marchands devant la Justice Turque, pour faire rendre la Justice selon les traités et capitulations accordés entre les Roys de France et le Turc". EUGENE ROGER, *La Terre-Sainte, ou description topographique très-particulière des Saints Lieux et de la Terre de Promission*, Paris, 1664, p. 461.

2 "Les Marchands tant Français que Vénitiens, qui habitent à Sidon, Acre et Rhamata sont en tout environ Cent cinquante personnes". E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 431. Vers 1784, il y a deux comptoirs français à Ramleh, "ce sont les derniers de cette partie de la Syrie, il n'y en a ni à Jérusalem, ni à Yâfa", C. F. VOLNEY, *Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie*, Paris, 1821, p. 195.

Commerce de Marseille un des premiers consuls de France dans la Ville-Sainte, n'est pas un pays de grande relation pour vous: c'est la dévotion qu'y mène les gens et non le commerce"<sup>1</sup>. La Ville-Sainte ne comptait d'ailleurs à l'époque qu'une douzaine de mille habitants, dont une soixantaine de familles juives et quelques cinq-cents Chrétiens<sup>2</sup>; bon nombre vivaient grâce aux pèlerins et aux religieux, la contrée étant laissée en friche et le trafic nul<sup>3</sup>.

Aussi, le consulat de France à Jérusalem ne fut-il établi que relativement tard<sup>4</sup>, un siècle après notre premier consulat du Levant, celui de Syrie qui, fondé en 1544, eut son siège tantôt à Tripoli, tantôt à Alep.

De tout temps cependant, les pèlerins et les religieux latins gardiens des Lieux-Saints avaient été sous la protection du roi de France et de son ambassadeur à Constantinople. Ce rôle, attribué personnellement au roi, rehaussait grandement le prestige de la nation aux yeux des Turcs<sup>5</sup>. Le besoin se fit cependant sentir d'une protection plus immédiate, d'autant que les pèlerins devenaient nombreux et qu'ils étaient exposés sans défense réelle aux exigences des pachas et aux insultes de la populace<sup>6</sup>.

1 Fr. CHARLES-ROUX, *Les Echelles de Syrie et de Palestine au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1928, p. 11.

2 H. VINCENT et F. M. ABEL, *Jérusalem*, t. II, Paris, 1922, p. 1002, "quatorze à quinze mille âmes", estime vers 1630 le P. Roger (*op. cit.* p. 105).

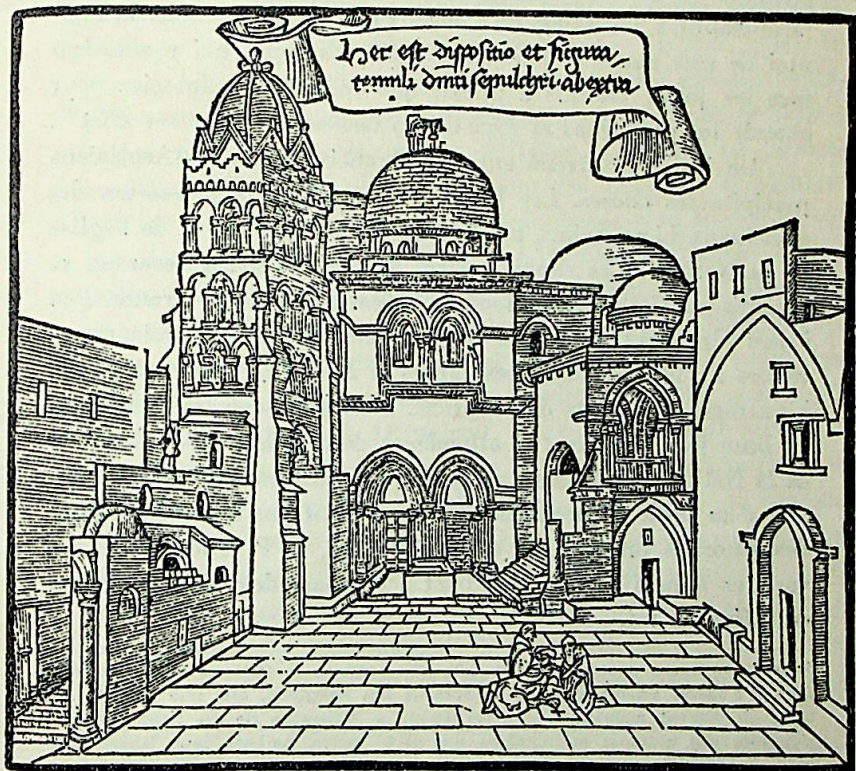
3 "Les rues sont étroites, tortueuses, malfaites et la plupart remplies de ruines... Il y a fort peu de Marchands, mais plusieurs artisans Boulangers, Cuisiniers, Merciers, Tailleurs, Barbiers, Cordonniers", M. J. DOUBDAN, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, Paris, 1661, p. 435.

4 Il fut cependant le premier consulat établi dans la Ville-Sainte. On comprend donc mal que A. M. HYAMSON, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem*, vol. 1, Londres, 1939, p. IX, prétende que le consul anglais W. T. Young, nommé à Jérusalem le 19 Septembre 1838, ait été "the first consular representative of any European power appointed to Jerusalem". Deux siècles auparavant, la France avait déjà eu un consul régulièrement nommé à Jérusalem, reconnu officiellement par la Porte et ayant effectivement résidé et exercé ses fonctions dans la Ville-Sainte.

5 PAUL MASSON, *Histoire du Commerce français dans le Levant*, Paris, 1896, p. 392.

6 "Par les traités qui ont été faits entre les Très Chrétiens Rois de France et les Empereurs des Turcs, il doit y avoir des Consuls, qui soient Français de nation, en tous les Ports de mer, villes maritimes et autres, où les Marchands Français trafiquent dans l'Empire Mahometan. Ce qui fait qu'il y en a trois dans l'étendue de la Terre Sainte: l'un fait sa résidence en la ville de Seyde qui a sous sa juridiction la ville de Damas, où il tient un Vice-Consul, la ville de Tir et celle de Béрут. Le second Consulat est celui de Saint Jean d'Acre, lequel tient un Vice-Consul à Ramatha pour Jaffa et Gaza. Le troisième est celui de Jérusalem, que notre Très Chrétien Roy Louis le





FACADE DE LA BASILIQUE DU SAINT-SEPULCRE

à la fin du XVe siècle,

d'après Erhard Reuwich, in B. von Breydenbach, 3e éd., 1502 (?).

(1621—1625)

Ce furent ces raisons qui, en dehors de toute préoccupation commerciale, firent songer au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle à l'établissement d'un consul à Jérusalem. Louis XIII avait ce projet grandement à coeur. Le 16 Mai 1620, il écrivait à son ambassadeur à Constantinople, Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Césy<sup>1</sup> : "Comme je désirerais de faire établir à Jérusalem un Consul Français qui eût soin de l'emploi de mes aumônes par delà, et de mes sujets qui y abordent tous les jours, j'aurais à plaisir que vous vous employiez pour obtenir les provisions et expéditions nécessaires pour cet effet"<sup>2</sup>.

Un incident survenu entre les Franciscains et les Arméniens précipita les choses. Les Latins avaient alors la possession des principaux Lieux-Saints, notamment du St.-Sépulcre et de l'église de la Nativité. Ces droits avaient été formellement reconnus et garantis par les Capitulations accordées aux rois de France. Peu à peu cependant, les autres communautés chrétiennes étaient parvenues à s'insinuer dans ces églises et à célébrer leur culte, puis à s'arroger des droits de propriété. C'est ainsi que les Arméniens un beau jour pendirent et allumèrent deux lampes dans la grotte de la Nativité. En Orient, un fait de ce genre traduisait l'affirmation d'un droit de propriété<sup>3</sup>. Ne parvenant pas à obtenir justice des autorités turques<sup>4</sup>, le custode d'alors, le P. Thomas de Novare, en appela au début de 1621 à l'ambassadeur de France, qui en référa au roi.

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Juste, d'heureuse mémoire, créa l'an 1621, comme il était au siège de Saint Jean d'Angély, exprès pour la défense de nos Religieux, afin que par son autorité ils fussent maintenus et favorisés en la jouissance de ces lieux, et pour s'opposer aux outrages et injustices que cette nation barbare leur faisait souffrir", E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

1 Césy demeura à l'Ambassade de 1618 à 1641, avec une éclipse de 1631 à 1634.

2 ANTOINE RABBATH, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire du Christianisme en Orient (XVI—XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Paris, 1907, t. I, p. 331. D'autres lettres de Louis XIII insistent sur la nécessité d'établir un consul à Jérusalem, *id.*, *ibid.*, p. 332, note 1.

3 Sur ces coutumes, cf. GÉRARD TONGAS, *Les relations de la France avec l'Empire Ottoman durant la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'Ambassade à Constantinople de Philippe de Harlay, Comte de Césy (1619—1640)*, Toulouse, 1942, p. 99.

4 "Depuis quelque temps (les Arméniens) ont donné huit mille sequins au Pacha et au Cady de Jérusalem pour obtenir la permission de mettre deux lampes au rang des nôtres, qui sont dans l'Étable de Bethléem", E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 421. Le sequin était une monnaie d'or ayant cours dans le Levant et valant environ 10 francs-or.

Louis XIII décida de dépêcher un ambassadeur extraordinaire à Constantinople et à Jérusalem, avec mission de faire rétablir les religieux latins dans leurs droits et d'installer un consulat à Jérusalem. Il choisit, pour cette mission, le jeune Louis Deshayes de Cormenin<sup>1</sup>, fils du gouverneur de Montargis, qui connaissait déjà, semble-t-il, la Turquie<sup>2</sup>.

L'instruction même du roi à son ambassadeur ne nous a malheureusement pas été conservée, mais, dans sa relation de voyage, Deshayes en donne un résumé très suffisant: "Le Roy, ayant eu avis que les Chrétiens et les Arméniens faisaient diverses entreprises sur Bethléem et plusieurs autres lieux saints de Jérusalem et que, par le moyen de quelques officiers, qu'ils avaient corrompus, ils s'efforçaient d'en déposséder les religieux Cordeliers<sup>3</sup> qui les servent, il dépêcha le sieur Deshayes vers le grand Seigneur, pour faire châtier l'insolence de ces usurpateurs et apporter à ces pauvres religieux le soulagement, qu'ils espéraient de son autorité. Et, afin qu'à l'avenir ils pussent être plus promptement secourus au besoin et que les pèlerins, qui vont visiter ces saints lieux y pussent recevoir de l'assistance, il lui commanda d'établir un consul à Jérusalem<sup>4</sup>, pour les protéger sous son nom et tenir la main à l'exécution des commandements que son Ambassadeur obtiendrait à la Porte en leur faveur. Sa Majesté désirant aussi rendre quelque hommage à celui de qui seul elle relève et faire reluire partout les exemples d'une singulière piété, voulut que le sieur Deshayes offrît en son nom au Saint-Sépulcre une chapelle d'argent, avec plusieurs autres ornements les plus riches que l'on ait encore vus en ces lieux-là<sup>5</sup>. Et ayant appris

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1 Pour tout de qui concerne Deshayes, je renvoie à sa biographie par GERARD TONGAS, *L'Ambassadeur Louis Deshayes de Cormenin (1600—1632)*, Paris, 1937. On sait que Deshayes mourut sur l'échafaud en 1632, par ordre de Richelieu, pour avoir trempé dans le complot de Gaston d'Orléans.

2 ID., *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 104, note 2.

3 On donnait autrefois en France ce nom aux Franciscains.

4 Le père de l'ambassadeur, Ardoine Deshayes, "Maître d'hôtel du Roi et Gouverneur de Grey et de Mont-Arjis", avait lui aussi déclaré que son "fils se transporte sur les lieux, en titre d'Ambassadeur extraordinaire, afin d'établir un consul pour veiller et prendre garde à ce que les pèlerins et autres, tant religieux qu'autres, qui vont par dévotion en Jérusalem, ne soient plus vexés, mais aient toute la liberté qui se peut avoir en ces lieux", le P. Jean La Bretesche S. J. au P. Christophe Balthazar S. J., in A. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

5 "Ornements de draps d'or en brocart, des lampes d'argent massif et autres objets du culte: mitre, crosse, chapelle pontificale". Cf. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 352. "Une riche et précieuse Chapelle d'argent et les ornements

LA TERRE SAINTE,  
EVESQUE DES ARMENIENS DE JERUSALEM.



LE PATRIARCHE ARMENIEN DE JERUSALEM

en 1631,

d'après E. Roger, La Terre-Sainte, 1664.

que l'église de cet auguste monument et celle de Bethléem, qui toutes deux ont été bâties par Sainte Hélène, avaient besoin d'être réparées, il lui commanda d'obtenir permission d'y faire travailler et donna ce qui était nécessaire pour les réparations"<sup>1</sup>.

"Après avoir reçu les commandements de Sa Majesté le 15 Avril de l'année 1621"<sup>2</sup>, Deshayes quitta Paris et, par Ulm, Vienne et Belgrade, atteignit Constantinople le 6 Juillet, après un long et pénible voyage qui avait duré "deux mois et vingt-trois jours"<sup>3</sup>. Ayant vu l'ambassadeur et les ministres turcs, muni des lettres nécessaires du Grand-Seigneur, Deshayes se remit en route pour Jérusalem le 20 Août<sup>4</sup>. Il était accompagné d'un officier turc (*chiaoux*) porteur des commandements de l'Empereur Osman "au Pacha Ferrouc, qui auparavant fut Bey de Napelouse et maintenant a pour entretenement la principauté de Jérusalem" pour qu'il sache que "de toute ancienneté, les prêtres et religieux francs qui servent les églises et lieux de dévotion, qui sont tant dans la ville de Jérusalem qu'aux environs, comme aussi les pèlerins qui les vont visiter avaient accoutumé de n'être point inquiétés et de vivre en pleine liberté, conformément aux impériales capitulations qui sont entre nous et l'Empereur de France, et que même de toute ancienneté ils sont en possession de l'Eglise de Bethléem... Et quoique plusieurs fois les autres nations chrétiennes leur en aient voulu débattre la possession, il a toujours été jugé qu'il n'y avait que les religieux francs, qui eussent droit en l'église de Bethléem et qui pussent célébrer la messe ou liturgie en la grotte où Jésus est né (à qui soit honneur et gloire), ni moins y allumer des lampes... Mais que nonobstant cela, la nation arménienne a, depuis quelque temps, d'autorité privée et avec vio-

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de grand prix, sur lesquels aux jours solennels on voit reluire les Louis, et les Fleurs de Lis... Les deux plus riches lampes d'argent, posées l'une au milieu du Sépulcre et l'autre sur la pierre où Notre Sauveur fut embaumé et enseveli"; E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 et 143. Cf. aussi G. GOLUBOVICH, *Croniche ovvero Annali di Terra Santa, del P. Pietro Verniero di Montepiloso*, t. II, Quaracchi, 1929, p. 24, qui donne le texte de la lettre d'envoi de Louis XIII, datée de St-Jean d'Angély le 13 Septembre 1620.

1 LOUIS DESHAYES, *Voyage de Levant fait par le commandement du Roy en l'année 1621*, Paris, 1624, p. 1. Ces réparations coûtèrent 400.000 livres, d'après GUILLAUME du PEYRAT, *L'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Cour*, Paris, 1695, voir aussi G. TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 106.

2 L. DESHAYES, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

3 ID., *ibid.*, p. 89.

4 ID., *ibid.*, p. 332.

lence, fait attacher deux lampes dans la grotte où Jésus est né... Et que de plus ladite nation arménienne prétend d'être participante au gouvernement et en la possession de l'église où est enfermé le sépulcre, qui est appelé par les Chrétiens le sépulcre de Jésus... Encore que de toute ancienneté les religieux francs aient accoutumé en faisant leurs oraisons et processions en ladite église d'allumer deux cierges auprès de la pierre appelée pierre de l'Onction, ce qui a de tout temps été défendu à toutes les autres nations chrétiennes... C'est pourquoi afin que tous les lieux qui d'ancienneté étaient en la possession et au gouvernement des religieux francs leur soient derechef rendus... mon impérial commandement est intervenu... à la mi-lune de Guimaziel Ahir, l'année du prophète mille trente, qui est l'année du Christ mil six cent vingt-et-un, le sixième de Mai"<sup>1</sup>.

Deshayes arriva à Jérusalem fin Septembre 1621. Il devait y demeurer vingt-deux jours<sup>2</sup>. Au cours de ce bref séjour, l'ambassadeur obtint, après de longues palabres avec les autorités de la ville, que les Arméniens fussent chassés des Lieux-Saints, de Bethléem notamment, et que permission fut donnée aux Latins de réparer l'église du Saint-Sépulcre. Enfin, le pacha consentit à l'installation d'un consul à Jérusalem, en dépit des intrigues des Vénitiens, qui craignaient pour leur influence alors grandissante dans le Levant. Ayant obtenu pleine satisfaction<sup>3</sup>, Deshayes quitta Jérusalem le 22 Octobre pour regagner la France, où il arriva après Pâques 1622<sup>4</sup>.

Entre-temps, le roi avait nommé le consul par lettres patentes datées de Bergerac le 13 Juillet 1621.

"J'ai estimé à propos, écrit le lendemain Louis XIII à Césy, pour la gloire de Dieu et le soulagement des personnes pieuses qui vont, par dévotion, visiter les Saints Lieux, de commettre le Sieur Lempereur pour exercer la charge de consul pour la Nation française à Jérusalem"<sup>5</sup>.

1 DESHAYES, *op. cit.*, pp. 420 ss. et G. TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1937, pp. 114 ss.

2 ID., *ibid.*, p. 418.

3 ID. *ibid.*, p. 418. D'après une autre version, Deshayes n'aurait pas obtenu que les lampes des Arméniens fussent enlevées, cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 29.

4 DESHAYES, *op. cit.*, p. 429 et G. TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1937, p. 43.

5 A. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 332. "Louis XIII, pour faire ponctu-

Ce Jean Lempereur, originaire de Paris<sup>1</sup>, avocat à la Cour souveraine du Parlement, avait déjà résidé au Levant<sup>2</sup> et avait été re-

ellement observer les capitulations, l'an 1621, Sa Majesté étant au siège de Saint Jean d'Angély, envoya le sieur Lempereur, Parisien, qu'il créa Consul, luy ayant fait expédier toutes les choses nécessaires pour exercer cet office pour Sa Majesté à Jérusalem, afin qu'en vertu de son autorité Royale, fussent réprimées les insupportables tyrannies que les Turcs faisaient souffrir en ce temps-là, tant aux Religieux qu'aux Chrétiens Catholiques de la Terre Sainte, E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, op. 431. Voici le texte de la Commission consulaire du premier Consul de France à Jérusalem :

"Louis, par la grâce de Dieu Roi de France et de Navarre, à notre très cher et très aimé Jean Lempereur, Chevalier de Jérusalem", salut. Etant donné qu'il a été rapporté par moult personnes pieuses, de mérite et de qualité, qu'il serait très nécessaire et utile, tant pour la gloire de Dieu et pour le bon maintien des Religieux de St. François qui y sont établis pour l'honneur des Saints Lieux, que pour l'aide et la protection des Pèlerins, qui y vont par dévotion visiter ces Sanctuaires, de commettre un de nos sujets qui soit qualifié pour exercer la charge du Consulat pour la Nation française dans la Ville sainte de Jérusalem et autres lieux de dévotion de la Terre Sainte, afin que les Pèlerins reçoivent aide de lui, comme le besoin l'indiquera pour la sécurité des personnes et de leurs biens, désirant donc y pourvoir et rendre témoignage à chacun du zèle et de l'affection que nous portons à la Religion Catholique, et donner aide et secours à ceux qui veulent faire de bonnes oeuvres, ne pouvant mieux faire, ni un meilleur choix que celui de votre personne pour exercer cette charge, d'autant plus que vous avez moult bonnes qualités, et dévouement à notre service, et d'expérience dans les affaires de cette partie du Levant, y ayant demeuré longtemps, pour cela nous vous commettons et envoyons en vertu des présentes signées de notre main, pour exercer cet office, et la charge du Consulat pour la Nation française dans la sainte ville de Jérusalem, et autres lieux de dévotion qui sont dans la Terre sainte, et en vertu des présentes vous pourrez user et jouir des honneurs, autorité, prérogatives, prééminences, franchises et libertés, qui en dépendent, ordonnant que vous commenciez à recevoir et à jouir de la pension, qui vous sera assignée et ordonnée par nous quand sera notre bon plaisir. Nous mandons à notre Très cher et Très aimé sieur de Césy, Conseiller à notre Conseil d'Etat, et notre Ambassadeur au Levant, de recevoir de vous et de consigner le serment nécessaire, et requis, et habituel en tel cas, vous mettant et instituant, ou bien vous faisant mettre et instituer de notre part en possession et exercice de la présente Commission, et faire de sorte que vous l'exerciez paisiblement, sans gêne ni empêchement quelconques, faisant cesser tous les empêchements contraires à cet effet, étant donné que c'est là notre désir et notre bon plaisir. Nous prions à cet effet le Pacha ou le Vizir du Grand Seigneur, de vous faire donner aide par son service quand la nécessité le requérera et l'occasion s'en présentera. Donné à Bergerac, le 13 Juillet de l'an de grâce 1621 et de notre règne le douzième, (signé:) Louis. Par ordre du Roi, Brulard, Secrétaire d'Etat. L.S.". D'après le Fr. Jacques Martin, qui dit avoir vu et copié l'original à Constantinople le 25 Octobre 1623, G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. V, 1936, p. 109.

\* Lempereur avait été fait Chevalier du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem en Avril 1618; cf. F. PASINI-FRASSONI, *Histoire de l'Ordre militaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*. Rome, 1908, p. 173 et *Registrum Equitum Sani Sepulcri*, f. 11 (Archives de la Custodie de Terre-Sainte).

1 Le P. La Bretesche, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 334, E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 431, ainsi que deux mentions de l'époque sur les registres de la Custodie de Terre-Sainte (cf. note précédente et note suivante). C'est à tort, semble-t-il, que PAUL MASSON, in *op. cit.*, p. 447, dit la famille Lempereur originaire de Provence.

2 Il était arrivé à Jérusalem le 2 Avril 1618, d'après le registre des pè-

commandé au roi par un certain M. de Mont-Sigor<sup>1</sup>, son cousin, qui était "secrétaire de M. le connétable"<sup>2</sup>. "Le Roy, écrit-il le 20 Septembre 1621, m'a honoré et gratifié de la charge de consul en Jérusalem et autres lieux de dévotion de la Terre-Sainte, afin d'avoir soin de prendre garde que les Révérends Pères Cordeliers et les pèlerins qui fréquentent les Saints-Lieux ne soient tyrannisés et injuriés par les Turcs... Cette charge est de très grande conséquence pour ce qui regarde l'intérêt particulier des dits Frères et pèlerins"<sup>3</sup>.

Lempereur était donc encore à Paris le 20 Septembre 1621. Une relation de l'époque nous dit qu'il se proposait de partir pour Jérusalem à la fin du même mois<sup>4</sup>. Cependant, ce ne fut que deux ans après le retour de Deshayes que le nouveau consul quitta Constantinople, muni des Commandements du Grand Seigneur<sup>5</sup>, pour Jérusalem où il entra le 2 Décembre 1623<sup>6</sup>.

Il semble que, dès son arrivée dans la Ville-Sainte le 2 Décembre 1623, Lempereur se soit heurté à la défiance des religieux qu'il était chargé de protéger, aussi bien qu'à l'hostilité des Vénitiens, quoiqu'il eut été "reçu avec un extrême contentement dans le pays"<sup>7</sup>. Césy avait pressenti ces ennuis; le 10 Décembre 1623 il

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lerins tenu au couvent Saint-Sauveur (*Navis peregrinorum*, vol. I, f. 24 v.). Le texte de sa Commission consulaire confirme ce séjour au Levant.

1 Ou M. du Fargis? Cf. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

2 Le duc de Luynes.

3 RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

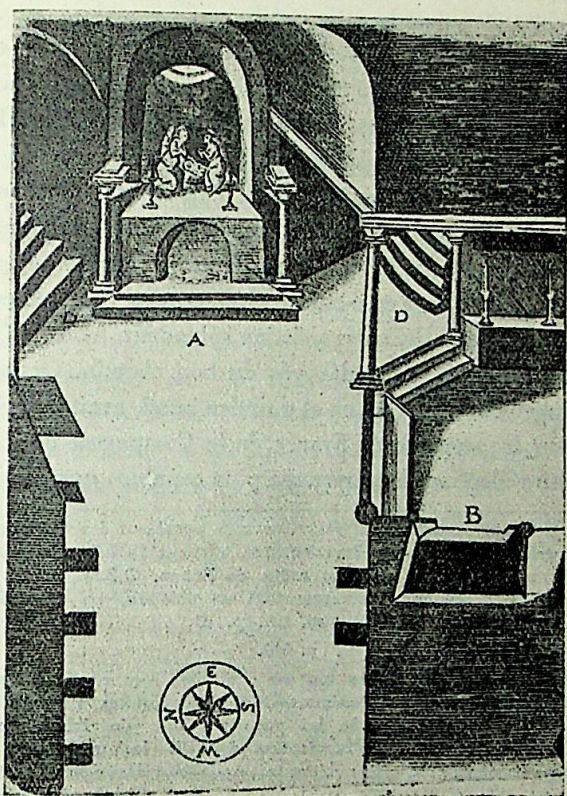
4 Le P. La Bretesche au P. Christoffe Balthazar, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

5 Césy au Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, 10 Décembre 1623, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 339. Dans ces commandements, le Grand Seigneur justifie surtout la mission de Lempereur par la nécessité de veiller au rétablissement de vieux usages qui voulaient que les Franciscains fissent périodiquement des dons à divers "Turcs, santons et pauvres" de Jérusalem. Le P. GOLUBOVICH (*op. cit.*, 1929, p. 64, note 2) pense que c'était là "pur prétexte pour faciliter l'introduction et l'établissement du Consul à Jérusalem". Voir aussi L. LEMMENS, *Acta S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, I, Quaracchi, 1921, p. 30. Le texte des commandements se trouve, en traductions italiennes assez différentes, dans: Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français, No 16.160, f. 25, et dans G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. V, 1936, p. 111.

6 Le Registre des pèlerins ne mentionne d'autre arrivée de Jean Lempereur que celle du 2 Avril 1618 (cf. ci-dessus p. 7, note 2). Cependant, ce registre note l'arrivée à Jérusalem le 20 Janvier 1624 du "Nobilis Dominus Franciscus Imperator, Parisiensis" (*Navis peregrinorum*, f. 31). G. GOLUBOVICH (*op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 64, note 1) pense qu'il s'agit d'un frère du Consul, dont il est fait mention dans d'autres documents.

7 Césy au Roi. Cf. RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 341. A son arrivée à Jérusalem, Lempereur logea au couvent des Franciscains "puis, ses gens se montrèrent tellement exigeants qu'on fut obligé de les loger dans une maison en





### LA GROTTTE DE LA NATIVITE

au début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle,

d'après G. Sandys, *A relation...*, 6<sup>e</sup> ed., 1670.

- A. Autel de la Nativité.
- B. Crèche.
- C. Autel des Magès.
- D. Escaliers d'accès à la Basilique.

écrivait au Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld: "Je vous supplie que les aumônes de France soient autres que par le passé. Autrement je ne doute point que les religieux ne traversent, sous main, le consul lorsqu'il ne leur servira que de contrôleur, chose qu'ils ont grandement appréhendée; et ils ne souffriront son établissement que dans l'espérance qu'il aura, tous les ans, de l'argent de France, de quoi leur procurer le repos dont ils ont besoin"<sup>1</sup>.

Les Cordeliers avaient d'autres craintes encore, —et ce ne semble pas que ce fût tout à fait à tort—<sup>2</sup>, celles de voir les Jésuites suivre notre consul. Car les Franciscains détenaient alors le monopole de l'établissement en Terre-Sainte, où ils étaient "soixante ou quatre-vingts"<sup>3</sup>; à Jérusalem même, il y en avait "trente ou trente-cinq, tant au couvent de Saint Sauveur, qu'en l'église du St.-Sépulcre"<sup>4</sup>. Lempereur avait formé le projet, avant de quitter la France, d'établir en Terre-Sainte "un collège d'hommes doctes pour réduire et rétablir, en sa pristine splendeur, tous les Chrétiens schismatiques, entièrement dévoyés du bon chemin. Or, est-il que selon le jugement d'un chacun et du mien aussi, avait-il écrit à l'Assistant pour la province de France de la Compagnie de Jésus, l'on ne peut faire élection de personnes plus capables que des Pères de

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dehors du couvent", c'est du moins ce que pensèrent les Franciscains (*Histoire Universelle des Missions Franciscaines*, d'après le R.P. Marcellin de Civezza, M.O., par le R.P. Victor Bernardin de Rouen, O.F.M., t. III, 2 partie, Paris 1898, p. 23). "Ses gens" comprenaient un chiaoux, un drogman et trois serviteurs, cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

1 G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

2 Le P. G. Golubovich pense tout au contraire, —et en dépit des affirmations de l'auteur même des Chroniques—, que les Jésuites n'étaient pour rien dans cette affaire, montée d'après lui par la Cour de France pour faire simplement remplacer par des Franciscains français les religieux du même Ordre italiens et espagnols qui avaient la garde des Lieux-Saints, cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 31, note 1. Le P. Golubovich reconnaît cependant (*Ibid.*, p. 35) que les Jésuites voulaient sinon "s'emparer des Lieux-saints", du moins "s'introduire dans la Ville-sainte".

En 1714, un custode parle de "la soif qu'ont les Jésuites de s'introduire dans cette Ville-sainte, et il y a près de cent ans, d'après nos registres, qu'ils travaillent pour s'y introduire" (voir note 1, p. 18).

Sur les tentatives d'établissement des Jésuites et des Capucins à Jérusalem, voir encore GÉRARD TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, pp. 85 et 90.

3 E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 431. "Cette Terre-Sainte est si bien dans la possession des Religieux de l'Observance de Saint François, appelés Cordeliers en France, qu'aucuns autres Religieux ne peuvent s'y établir, n'y fonder sous peine d'excommunication majeure, et ne viennent la visiter qu'après avoir pris l'habit des dits Religieux de l'Observance", JACQUES GOUJON, *Histoire et voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, Paris 1696, p. 12. Les Franciscains devaient garder ce monopole jusqu'en 1847, date du rétablissement du Patriarcat Latip de Jérusalem.

4 M. J. DOUBDAN, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

votre Société, qui journallement font paraître, soit par bon exemple, soit par érudition, qu'ils n'ont d'autre désir que d'accroître et augmenter le nombre des élus<sup>1</sup>. L'ambassadeur de Venise près la Cour de France s'en était d'ailleurs ouvert à Louis XIII. Le 9 Juin 1624, celui-ci écrivait à Césy: "l'Ambassadeur de Venise me vint voir, il y a quelques jours, et me voulut persuader que les Chrétiens schismatiques qui reconnaissent le Patriarche de Jérusalem, même les religieux qui sont aux Saints Lieux, voulaient se retirer de ma protection et recourir à la leur seule, par l'apprehension qu'ils avaient que j'eusse dessein d'y établir les Jésuites... et me priant de les éclairer là-dessus de ce que faisait le consul Lempereur en la Sainte Cité"<sup>2</sup>. Un mois plus tard, l'ambassadeur de la Sérénissime République revient à la charge et Louis XIII le signale à Césy, ajoutant: "De l'instant de leur première plainte, je vous en fis part, avec ces deux ordres: de ne rien relâcher de ce qui m'était dû, mais aussi de ne rien innover; de peur que, par quelques sequins, ils ne suscitent une avanie contre le consul et les pauvres Pères Cordeliers, desquels ils veulent bien parler en passant, et sans toutefois oser enforcer la matière pour ne se trouver pas trop court"<sup>3</sup>.

La vérité est que les "pauvres Pères Cordeliers", la plupart étrangers, avaient partie liée avec les Vénitiens pour se défaire de l'importun représentant du roi de France. Le gouverneur de la ville, Méhémet pacha, ne demandait, les sequins aidant, qu'à avoir sa part dans l'intrigue. "Ce n'est pas sans sujet", écrit Lempereur, "que je me plaignais, par les dernières lettres que j'ai eu l'honneur d'écrire à Votre Majesté... de la véhémence de Méhémet pacha de cette ville, qui... n'a cessé de crier après mon établissement... s'imaginant que ma présence en ce Saint Lieu... lui servirait de barrière, pour l'empêcher de se jeter, sans contrainte, sur la bourse de nos religieux, comme il l'avait fait par le passé. Je pensais néanmoins que les présents que je lui avais faits m'eussent donné quelque part dans ses bonnes grâces... mais il n'a pas pu se tenir longtemps dans les termes de la courtoisie et de la raison. Il a fallu qu'il ait montré le naturel com-

1 Lempereur au P. Christophe Balthazar, de Paris le 20 Septembre 1621, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 336. On trouvera sur ce petit complot, qui avait été amorcé par Deshayes, d'autres précisions dans l'ouvrage cité.

2 Le roi à Césy, in RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

3 Le roi à Césy, 11 Juillet 1624, in *ibid.*, p. 343.

mun à ceux de sa créance, et qu'il m'ait fait connaître qu'un cœur infecté comme le sien de méchanceté, ne peut concevoir que des amertumes". Méhémet souligne donc auprès de son chef Mustapha pacha, gouverneur de Damas, "que ce n'était pas la coutume qu'il y eût un consul à Jérusalem" et accuse Lempereur de complicité avec "l'Emir Facardin"<sup>1</sup>, alors en révolte contre le pouvoir central. Puis, il "envoya quérir par vingt cavaliers" notre consul et le fit conduire à Damas, où il fut "mis dans le château, (le pacha de Damas) m'accusant, poursuit Lempereur, sans m'ouïr, de trahison et rébellion, disant aussi que le commandement que j'ai obtenu du Grand-Seigneur était faux<sup>2</sup> et acquis à force d'argent! et, pour sa conclusion, il me fit entendre qu'il me voulait pendre, si je ne lui donnais quarante mille sequins". Le pauvre consul devait être loin d'avoir pareille somme<sup>3</sup>. C'est pourquoi il demeura enfermé "cinq jours entiers", et ne fut élargi qu'après qu'un rabais important fut consenti par le pacha: Lempereur lui fit "présent de deux mille piastres, et environ mille à ses officiers"<sup>4</sup>, piastres qu'il dut d'ailleurs emprunter "au Sieur Tarquez<sup>5</sup>, consul de Seyde et aux Sieurs Gratien de Lisle de Guiben, marchands Français".

Tout cela en dépit de nouveaux commandements du Grand Seigneur "par lesquels il donne permission au Sieur Lempereur envoyé par l'Ambassadeur de France à Constantinople pour voir

1 Cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 67. Voici en quels termes le P. Eugène Roger (*op. cit.*, p. 361) raconte l'exécution de Fakhreddine, qui eut lieu à Constantinople le 14 Mars 1635: "Comme le Grand Seigneur aperçut que l'Emir se tournait vers l'Orient à genoux, et faisait le signe de la Croix il s'écria: "Vite, vite, étranglez ce pourceau de Chrétien". Ce qui fut exécuté sur le champ, en suite de quoi on lui coupa la tête et comme on le dépouillait de ses vêtements, on lui trouva sur la chair nue une Croix d'or en façon de celle de Lorraine". On ne peut s'empêcher d'évoquer avec émotion, devant ce dernier trait, la fin glorieuse d'autres révoltés et d'autres martyrs qui, trois siècles plus tard, périrent ce même signe sur la poitrine.

2 Cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 67.

3 Le roi lui avait accordé, en fait de traitement, "six mil livres de pension à prendre sur quelques bénéfices de Mr. le Cardinal de Guise" (RABATH, *op. cit.*, p. 334). De son côté, Lempereur dit avoir obtenu "une pension de douze mil écus pour mon entretenement, à prendre sur des abbayes" (ID., *ibid.*, p. 337).

4 En tout 2.700 doublons, dit le Franciscain Marcellin de Civezza (*op. cit.*, p. 23). Le doublon était une monnaie espagnole valant environ 26 francs-or.

5 Blaise Tarquet semble avoir été le premier titulaire du Consulat de Seyde, qu'il occupa de 1615 à 1617 et de 1620 à 1625, J. PILLAUT, *Les Consuls du Levant*, III, Paris 1909, p. 56.

et examiner les affaires des Cordeliers à Jérusalem, de mettre en exécution sa commission; ordonne aussi à celui qui commande dans Damas de relâcher le dit Lempereur et un chiaoux qu'ils avaient arrêté prisonniers audit Damas"<sup>1</sup>.

Après être demeuré à Damas d'Août à Octobre 1624<sup>2</sup>, et nonobstant ces ordres de la Porte, le Consul n'obtenait du pacha que l'autorisation de retourner à Jérusalem pour deux mois. Aussi, "je me suis résolu, poursuit-il, s'il ne vient du secours de Constantinople, avant ce terme, de m'en aller au Caire, extrêmement affligé de me trouver privé du bien de servir Votre Majesté dans la commission dont Elle m'a honoré, qui a fait éclat de sa piété et de son très auguste Nom par toutes les terres Chrétiennes. Et là j'attendrai son commandement, si Elle m'en daigne gratifier"<sup>3</sup>.

Le roi se montra fort irrité de l'injure faite à son consul, tout en se faisant moins d'illusions que Lempereur sur le rôle que les Vénitiens, et sans doute leurs protégés et alliés, avaient joué dans l'affaire. "J'ai grande joie du rétablissement du Consul Lempereur, écrit Louis XIII à son ambassadeur à Constantinople le 30 Janvier 1625. Je désirerais bien que le Pacha fut châtié, auquel toutefois je ne veux pas tant de mal qu'aux Vénitiens, dont je tirerai raison"<sup>4</sup>. Césy, lui aussi, voit plus clair: "Je dépêche un messenger ces jours-ci au Supérieur et religieux de Jérusalem pour leur ôter, s'il est possible, le soupçon qu'ils ont d'être chassés des Saints Lieux par les Jésuites ou les Capucins. Et se trouvant ici un ou deux Frères de Jérusalem, j'ai résolu de leur jurer sur les Evangiles ou sur la Croix qu'on n'a point le dessein qu'ils appréhendent. Je leur ferai sentir le mal qui leur pourrait arriver si l'on reconnaît qu'ils s'opposent directement ou indirectement à la dite résidence (du consul Lempereur à Jérusalem)"<sup>5</sup>.

En dépit des résolutions de l'ambassadeur, les intrigues re-

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1 Bibliothèque Nationale, Manuscrits français, No 16.160, f. 33. Aussi G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. V, 1396, p. 114. Ces commandements sont datés du 15 Novembre 1624.

2 Cf. G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 67, note 3.

3 Lempereur au roi, Jérusalem le 20 Novembre 1624, Archives Affaires Etrangères, Turquie, t. III, f. 112, d'après RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 344 ss.

4 *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 347.

5 RABBATH, *op. cit.*, p. 348. Nous verrons plus loin que, deux siècles plus tard, la même opposition contre le consul de France n'aura pas désarmé. L'allié Vénitien aura simplement été remplacé par le Sarde.

prirent de plus belle et Lempereur se vit contraint de quitter définitivement la Ville-Sainte. Il partit le 8 Janvier 1625<sup>1</sup> et s'embarqua à Jaffa pour Damiette et Le Caire, d'où il rejoignit enfin Constantinople<sup>2</sup>. Il devait y demeurer trente-cinq ans, en qualité de secrétaire de l'ambassade du roi<sup>3</sup>, emploi sans doute moins périlleux que celui de consul dans la Ville-Sainte.

Cette première expérience n'encouragea pas la Cour de France à pourvoir à la succession de Lempereur. Quant aux Cordeliers, le souvenir de ce premier consul en la Ville-Sainte devait les amener, quelques années plus tard, à empêcher la venue d'un autre consul, celui-ci pourtant Vénitien. Lempereur n'avait pas été bien encombrant, mais il leur avait, paraît-il, coûté fort cher<sup>4</sup>.

En 1631 pourtant, Louis XIII envoya un ambassadeur extraordinaire, "le sieur de la Picardière, son Maître d' Hôtel, tant en Jérusalem qu'aux autres lieux de la Terre-sainte, où les Religieux de l'Ordre de Saint François avaient été établis l'an 1629, pour savoir combien ils étaient et de quelle façon ils étaient traités par ces Nations barbares: afin que comme père et protecteur de la Terre-sainte, et des Religieux qui l'habitent, il usât de son autorité Royale pour remédier aux extorsions et tyrannies que ces Infidèles font souffrir à ces serviteurs de Dieu, qui ont en dépôt les Lieux-saints"<sup>5</sup>. De son côté, le nouvel ambassadeur à Constantinople, Henri de Gournay, comte de Marcheville, avait mission, la même année, de demander le renouvellement des capitulations et d'y inclure un article relatif au consulat de Jérusalem<sup>6</sup>.

Ce fut cependant à l'ambassade de Constantinople que revint la charge des Lieux-Saints. "Quand Sa Majesté, dit l'Ambassadeur

1 G. GOLUBOVICH, *op. cit.*, t. II, 1929, p. 67, note 4.

2 *Id.*, *op. cit.*, t. V, 1936, p. 114.

3 J. PILLAUT, *op. cit.*, p. 41. Il prit sa retraite en 1661.

4 "Ho inteso, dit le P. Cornelius à la Sacrée Congrégation en Janvier 1639, che il Soderino, mercante di Soria, habbi proposto a questa S.C., che vogliono tenere un console in Gierusalem per li Luoghi Santi, non mi pare expediente detto console, che a tempo del P. Polla ci ando un console francese, chiamato Imperador, c'hoggi è secretario dell'ambasciatore di Francia in Constantinopoli, è stato di danno più di 20.000 reali a S. Luoghi, oltre dell'usanze introdotte de pagare al Turco", L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, I, 1921, p. 132. Le real était une monnaie espagnole valant environ 23 centimes-or.

5 E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 24. Le comte de La Picardière Forget avait été chargé par Richelieu d'une mission d'inspection de toutes les Echelles, cf. GÉRARD TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 201.

6 Cf. GÉRARD TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, pp. 21 et 256.

marquis de Bonac, choisit un sujet pour cette Ambassade, elle lui confie en même temps le plus grand intérêt peut-être de son Etat au dehors, puisqu'elle le charge de la protection de la religion dans les Etats du Grand-Seigneur et des Lieux-saints de Jérusalem, de la direction du plus utile des commerces auxquels ses sujets s'appliquent, et qu'elle lui met pour ainsi dire entre les mains la balance la plus certaine de la puissance de la maison d'Autriche"<sup>1</sup>.

Dans la mesure d'ailleurs où les affaires n'étaient pas réglées directement entre la Custodie, l'ambassadeur du Roi et le gouvernement turc, c'était le consul de France à Seyde qui prenait soin des églises et des établissements latins de Palestine. Par une lettre du 28 Avril 1694<sup>2</sup>, Pontchartrin, Ministre Secrétaire d'Etat à la Marine, l'avait même chargé de faire les fonctions de consul à Jérusalem "en attendant que Sa Majesté y eût pourvu". Aussi, le consul de Seyde s'intitula-t-il "Consul pour la Palestine, Galilée, Samarie et Judée". Toujours sur les ordres de Pontchartrin, ce consul fit chaque année, jusqu'en 1699, le voyage de Jérusalem pour les fêtes de Pâques. A cette occasion, les honneurs liturgiques lui étaient rendus à Jérusalem; il avait à l'église prie-dieu et tapis<sup>3</sup>. Lors de son premier voyage, en 1694, après avoir visité les ruines de notre actuel sanctuaire national de Ste.-Anne, le consul de Seyde écrivait: "Il y a là une belle et magnifique église, toute dans son entier. C'est le lieu de la maison de Sainte Anne, et le lieu de la naissance de la Vierge... Sur cet endroit on pourrait avoir des vues pour loger le consul et les chapelains". Ce consul, qui n'était autre que Louis Lempereur<sup>4</sup>, le propre fils du premier titulaire du consulat de Jérusalem, avait sans doute quelque visée sur le poste que son père avait dû abandonner. Il ne se plaisait pas à Seyde et écrivait assez naïvement: "La plus mauvaise école du monde pour la jeunesse est le Levant, qui ne gâte que trop

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1 CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

2 Dès le 2 Novembre 1693 cependant le Consul de France à Seyde faisait savoir au custode de Terre-Sainte que le roi l'avait "honoré de la fonction de consul à Jérusalem, en même temps que le consulat de Seyde", mais avec obligation de se rendre dans la Ville-Sainte "seulement pour les 15 jours de Pâques", cf. L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, I, 1921, p. 287.

3 PAUL MASSON, *op. cit.*, p. 393, note 3. L. LEMMENS, *Collectanea Terrae Sanctae*, 1933, p. 53.

4 LOUIS LEMPEREUR, *Mémoire fait à Jérusalem, d'après N. VAN DER VLIET, "Sainte Marie où elle est née" et la Piscine probatique.* Jérusalem, 1938, p. 66. Il fut fait Chevalier du Saint-Sépulcre lors de ce premier voyage; F. PASINI-FRASSONI, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

souvent les vieilles gens, et plût à Dieu que je n'y eusse jamais été<sup>1</sup>.

En attendant la réalisation des si beaux projets, le consul, lorsqu'il venait à Jérusalem, logeait avec sa suite dans une maison appartenant aux Franciscains<sup>2</sup>.

Louis XIV cependant tenait à s'occuper personnellement des missions, Il fut pour elles, dit un auteur<sup>3</sup>, ce que les ministres furent pour le commerce. Parmi les nouveaux articles obtenus lors du renouvellement des capitulations en 1673, le premier stipulait une reconnaissance formelle du protectorat religieux de la France. Deux autres articles confirmaient la possession des Lieux-Saints, —reconnue aux moines latins notamment lors du renouvellement de 1604—, et garantissaient la sécurité des pèlerins.

#### SEBASTIEN DE BREMOND

(1699—1700)

La conséquence naturelle de ces actes était le rétablissement d'un consul dans la ville où se trouve le tombeau du Christ<sup>4</sup>. Il y fut procédé en 1699, en faveur de Sébastien de Bremond<sup>5</sup> et non point du pauvre Louis Lempereur, qui devait demeurer à Seyde jusqu'en 1702.

1 PAUL MASSON, *op. cit.*, p. 473. Lettre du 1er Août 1695.

2 L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 53.

3 F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

4 "Ce qui fait que les Religieux et Chrétiens Catholiques sont plus mal traités à Jérusalem qu'en aucun lieu de l'Empire du Turc est qu'il n'y a point de consul... Les Bachas et les Cadys qui ont été depuis (le départ de Lempereur) à Jérusalem, font tout leur possible pour empêcher son rétablissement, parce qu'il leur empêcherait d'emplir leur bourse, comme ils font quand n'y a point de consul. Tous les jours ils forgent de nouvelles inventions, sous prétexte de police, afin de nous consommer peu à peu. Si tôt que nous sommes sortis d'une affaire, ils nous en suscitent une autre pire que la première: ce qu'ils font non seulement pendant notre vie, mais après notre mort". E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

5 Au cours des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles on trouve dans le Levant divers personnages portant les noms de **Bermond**, **Brémond** ou de **Bremond**; il semble qu'ils appartiennent tous à une même famille, originaire de Marseille:

Jean de Bermond (ou de Bremond), consul au Caire, puis à Alep de 1636 à 1639,

Christophe de Bermond (ou de Bremond), consul au Caire en 1638, frère du précédent,

Philibert de Bermond, consul à Seyde de 1641 à 1645, frère probablement des deux précédents,

Honoré de Bermond (Brémond, ou de Bremond), consul au Caire vers 1658, Chevalier du St.-Sépulcre en 1668,

Philibert de Bremond, Chevalier du St.-Sépulcre en 1610,



A cette époque, les consuls avaient déjà pris le caractère de véritables fonctionnaires. "Nul ne pourra se dire Consul de la nation française sans avoir commission de Nous", dit l'ordonnance royale de la Marine de 1681. Ce caractère devint même exclusif de toute autre fonction, par l'interdiction faite désormais aux consuls de se livrer au commerce.

Bremond arriva à Seyde en Août 1699. Il devait y demeurer en attendant les Commandements de la Porte mais, en Janvier 1700<sup>1</sup>, ayant appris que le pacha de Jérusalem, rentrant de Constantinople, se trouvait à St.-Jean d'Acre, il se rendit dans cette ville, dans l'espoir d'entrer à Jérusalem à la suite du gouverneur sans avoir à attendre plus longtemps les ordres du Grand-Seigneur.

Le premier contact avec le pacha fut plein de promesses. Dans Acre, le dignitaire ottoman ne voulut d'autre demeure que le quartier des Français. "Il m'a fait l'honneur de me dire que c'était pour l'amour de moi, écrit le consul, et toute la nation est témoin des honneurs que j'ai reçus de lui. Jamais Pacha n'en a tant fait à un Consul. Je lui devais la première visite, mais il me l'a rendue... Je n'ai point été obligé de le prier que j'eusse l'honneur de l'accompagner à Jérusalem: il me l'a envoyé offrir avant que de me voir... Il ne s'est point passé de jour depuis son arrivée qu'il ne m'ait accablé d'honnêtetés. Si je lui ai fait des présents, j'en ai reçu de lui". Bremond en fut bientôt à l'aller voir "sans cérémonie et en ami" et ne se tint pas d'aise, aux détails d'une réception pleine de déférence: le pacha l'attendant debout, dans sa chambre, le priant de s'asseoir sur son divan, à la place d'honneur, "si le milieu le doit être", bref faisant "ce que les personnes de son caractère ne font guère qu'à leurs supérieurs, ou du moins à leurs égaux". Le confiant Bremond ne douta plus qu'un heureux hasard n'eût placé sur sa route un gouverneur turc dont nos affaires dussent tirer le plus grand profit. "Je viens, écrivit-il le 7 Février 1700, à ce qu'il y a de plus essentiel, qui est que ce Seigneur, porté de bonne volonté pour les Francs, est une personne à ménager, qui peut rendre des services considérables à la

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Jean-Antoine de Bremond, Chevalier du St.-Sépulcre en 1667,

André Brémond, Chevalier du St.-Sépulcre et consul au Caire (?) en 1661,

Claude Brémond, Chevalier du St.-Sépulcre en 1714,

Jean Brémond, Chevalier du St.-Sépulcre en 1724,

Enfin Sébastien de Bremond, consul à Jérusalem, dont il est question ici.

1 Cf. L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 39.

nation, non seulement à Jérusalem, mais dans tout ce pays et auprès des autres Pachas<sup>1</sup>.

Pacha et consul quittèrent donc Acre ensemble et à la mi-février firent étape à Lydda. Là, les choses commencèrent à se gâter: la députation de dignitaires venue à la rencontre du gouverneur s'opposa à la poursuite du voyage du consul, sous prétexte qu'il n'était pas porteur de commandements du Grand Seigneur. Le pacha cependant, qui avait donné à Bremond sa parole de le faire entrer à Jérusalem et qui au surplus "pensait recevoir de lui une grande somme d'argent", décida de passer outre et, le 16 Février, on se remit en route pour la Ville-Sainte.

Aux portes de Jérusalem, "le cadi, le mufti, les santons et tout le peuple sortirent de la ville pour recevoir le pacha". Mais, lorsque le cadi apprit que le consul venait, "il lui fit dire de descendre de cheval et de ne pas entrer dans la ville avant la nuit, parce que c'était inderdit par sa loi. Le mufti, ajoute le Chroniqueur franciscain, criait très fort, disant qu'il voulait s'en aller, et laisser la ville aux Fracs, étant donné qu'il n'y avait jamais eu de consul à Jérusalem, où il n'y a pas de marchands, et que celui-ci ne venait que comme espion"<sup>2</sup>. Après de longues palabres entre le pacha, le cadi et autres Turcs, on convint que le consul entrerait à Jérusalem, mais pour être conduit au sérail, où il devrait demeurer jusqu'à la nuit.

Ce ne fut donc que deux heures après la tombée du jour que Bremond arriva au Couvent latin, accompagné d'une escorte de trente soldats. Parvenu sur cette parcelle de "terre chrétienne", le consul était fondé à croire ses ennuis terminés. Hélas, ils n'avaient fait que commencer et après avoir eu affaire aux Turcs, il allait devoir maintenant affronter les Cordeliers.

L'annonce du rétablissement du Consulat de France avait suscité chez ces derniers les plus vives alarmes: sachant les Jésuites fort bien en cour auprès de Louis XIV, ils avaient craint, de même qu'aux temps de Lempereur, que le nouveau consul n'en amenât dans ses bagages. Le danger était d'autant plus grand que, dans toutes les Echelles, les consuls avaient leurs chapelains particuliers<sup>3</sup>, qui le plus souvent n'étaient pas ceux de la nation. On

1 F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 et 11.

2 L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 40. "Jérusalem, la prunelle des yeux des Fracs", souligna le cadi.

3 "Ce qui fait donner de continuelles louanges et bénédictions à nos

prenait même soin de les choisir, quand c'était possible, dans des ordres différents. Il fallait donc s'attendre à ce que le consul amenât le sien, — et le fait est que le roi avait désigné deux Jésuites en qualité de chapelains de Bremond, mais l'ordre avait été par la suite révoqué<sup>1</sup>.

Quoique rassurés sur ce dernier point depuis l'arrivée de Bremond à Seyde, les Cordeliers ne virent pas moins la réouverture du consulat de Jérusalem d'un fort mauvais oeil. Avant même que le consul ne se mit en route pour la Ville-Sainte, le procureur de la Custodie lui avait écrit pour lui déconseiller vivement de venir, du moins tant qu'il ne serait pas en possession des Commandements du Grand Turc<sup>2</sup>. A l'entrée même de Jérusalem, le rôle que jouèrent les drogmans du Couvent latin est loin d'être clair, en dépit des explications que donne le Chroniqueur franciscain de l'époque<sup>3</sup>.

Bremond fut néanmoins solennellement reçu par les Cordeliers qui, après lui avoir "lavé les pieds comme pèlerin", le conduisirent en procession à l'église, au chant du Te Deum, puis au réfectoire où il fut placé "à la droite du supérieur, comme on faisait avec le consul de Seyde ou avec les évêques" lorsqu'ils venaient à Jérusalem<sup>4</sup>.

Hélas, l'harmonie entre le Consul et les Cordeliers ne devait pas durer quarante-huit heures. Des questions de préséance, à table comme à l'église, mirent le feu aux poudres, Bremond sou-

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Roy est qu'en toutes les villes où il y a un Consul ou Vice-consul, il est permis d'y avoir une Chapelle, où il tient pour l'ordinaire deux ou trois de nos Religieux de la famille de Jérusalem, qui tous les jours célèbrent la sainte Messe pour notre Roy, à laquelle assiste le dit Consul avec les Marchands". E. ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 463. Par lettres patentes du 6 Septembre 1655, le roi avait invité ses consuls à choisir de préférence leurs aumôniers parmi les Capucins; GÉRARD TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 95.

1 "Il est vrai que le Roi avait fondé deux de nos missionnaires à Jérusalem en qualité de chapelains du consul qu'on envoie en cette ville-là, mais l'ordre a été révoqué, ainsi il n'y faut plus penser", écrivait le P. Verzean S.J., de Seyde, au P. Guilbert S.J., L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 42, note 1, cf. aussi p. 7. Quelques années plus tard, en 1714, le Custode de Terre-Sainte écrivait de "la soif qu'ont les Jésuites de s'introduire dans cette Ville-sainte et il y a près de cent ans, d'après nos registres, qu'ils ont travaillé pour s'y introduire... Ils essayèrent (entre autres) de s'introduire en qualité de Chapelains du Consul..." cf. EUTIMIO CASTELLANI, *Atti del Revmo. Padre Lorenzo Cozza, Custode di Terra Santa*, t. I, Quaracchi, 1924, p. 377.

2 L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933. p. 39.

3 ID., *ibid.*, p. 40.

4 ID., *ibid.*, p. 41.

tenant qu'il était "ambassadeur et envoyé de Sa Majesté Très Chrétienne et qu'il n'était pas comme les autres consuls, car ceux-ci étaient des marchands, mais que lui était le consul des consuls, et au-dessus de tous"<sup>1</sup>. Les discussions et les altercations atteignirent un tel point que le consul alla jusqu'à menacer un moine italien de "lui donner la bastonnade et de lui arracher les poils de la barbe" s'il le rencontrait de nouveau à l'église, où le consul prit désormais la précaution de se rendre muni d'une solide canne. Après vingt-quatre jours d'hostilités ouvertes, Bremond se décida à abandonner la table du couvent et à prendre ses repas dans la maison que les Cordeliers avaient mise à sa disposition, pour lui et les neuf personnes de sa suite. Malgré cet exode, se lamente le Chroniqueur franciscain, le consul "prenait chaque jour du pain, du vin, de l'huile, du sel, des légumes, des herbes, des chandelles; tout cela on le lui donnait pour avoir avec lui les bons rapports et la paix que nous désirions; mais lui, il était toujours plus hostile et plus furibond que jamais"<sup>2</sup>.

Bremond cependant entendait mieux employer son activité qu'à ces luttes stériles, mais la matière semblait manquer. "De tout le Levant, écrivait-il, je ne crois pas qu'il y ait un consul qui soit plus inutile que moi"<sup>3</sup>, et à la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille il mandait: "Je sais pour mon malheur que la ville de Jérusalem n'est pas un pays de grande relation pour vous: c'est la dévotion qui y mène les gens et non le commerce". Toutefois il ne renonçait point, car il ajoutait: "Mais il ne serait pas impossible d'y faire suivre la dévotion par le commerce; l'un n'est pas incompatible avec l'autre, et l'on a vu des choses plus difficiles s'établir avec moins de peine"<sup>4</sup>. Ce n'est pas que la mission du consul fût dénuée d'intérêt commercial: Pontchartrin avait fait dépendre du consulat de Jérusalem les Echelles de Rames et de Jaffa, où les marchands français faisaient un négoce non négligeable. Mais Bremond prétendait encore étendre son autorité à la ville de St.-Jean d'Acree<sup>5</sup>, ce qui le mit en conflit avec son collègue

1 Le fait est que de tout temps les consuls de France avaient, dans le Levant, la préséance sur leur collègues étrangers, cf. GÉRARD TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, p. 188.

2 L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, pp. 41—42. Cf. aussi L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1921, p. 299. Dès lors, les Franciscains écrivirent deux lettres au Pape pour lui demander la suppression du consulat (*ID.*, *ibid.*, p. 299, note 1).

3 PAUL MASSON, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

4 CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

5 *ID.*, *ibid.*, p. 11.

de Seyde, dont dépendait cette Echelle. Or, le consul de Seyde était toujours ce Louis Lempereur qui se jugeait frustré par Bremond du titre et du poste de consul dans la Ville-Sainte. Les rapports entre les deux collègues se gâtèrent et Lempereur se plaignit longuement, dans ses lettres à la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, des fautes et de "l'avarice" de M. de Bremond.

Nous ne savons si cette imputation d'avarice était fondée. Il semble bien que l'attention que Bremond portait au commerce ne fut pas entièrement désintéressée. Quoique nommés par le pouvoir central, les consuls des Echelles recevaient leurs appointements de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, et ces appointements étaient payés sur le produit d'un "droit de tonnage" que la Chambre percevait sur les navires venus du Levant<sup>1</sup>. Or, quels que fussent les ordres royaux, il est évident que la Chambre de Commerce se montrait plus large pour les consuls des Echelles commerçantes que pour celui qui, pour son malheur comme il le disait lui-même, n'avait à s'occuper que des gens de dévotion. Aussi M. de Bremond ne percevait-il par an qu'un traitement net de 3.600 livres<sup>2</sup>, alors que son collègue de Seyde, grâce à de belles indemnités, touchait la coquette somme de 12.213 livres<sup>3</sup>.

Il ne faut pas en déduire que Louis Lempereur fut heureux de son sort. Aucun consul de France ne l'a jamais été en fait d'appointements. Rien de plus constant, au contraire, que les lamentations relatives à leur situation financière. En 1693, notre représentant à Alep écrivait: "Le Consul d'Angleterre, lui, est défrayé tous les ans de 100 piastres pour le café et le sorbet et de 100 aussi pour le vin qu'il donne aux gens du pays, et je ne reçois pour le vin que cinquante piastres. Si on trouve des pipes et du tabac dans mes comptes, ce n'est pas pour moi, qui n'ai jamais fumé, par la grâce de Dieu, mais pour les visites que je reçois de gens du pays et pour les étrangers quand je les traite, auxquels je fais présenter la pipe après le repas"<sup>4</sup>.

Le consul de Jérusalem offrait-il le café, le sorbet, le vin et la pipe? On ne sait, mais on a connu jadis un consul de France

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1 CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

2 PAUL MASSON, *op. cit.*, p. XI. Il semble cependant que Bremond, comme Jean Lempereur, bénéficiât aussi d'une pension du roi, cf. L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 43.

3 ID., *ibid.*, p. 393.

4 PAUL MASSON, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

dans la Ville-Sainte qui, pour peu, se serait contenté d'offrir de l'eau bénite.

Les Cordeliers ne devaient pas être les seuls à donner du fil à retordre à notre consul. Le pacha lui aussi s'était mis de la partie, celui-là même qui avait accueilli Bremond à Acre de si charmante façon. Six mois à peine après son arrivée en Terre-Sainte, le consul avait à rendre compte d'un "grand changement de scène". Car le pacha lui avait avoué sans vergogne qu'il ne lui avait prodigué tous ces honneurs que "par esprit d'avarice". Cet aveu dépourvu d'artifices coûta d'abord au consul la perte de ses illusions: "il n'est aussi pas naturel à un Turc d'être si généreux, observa-t-il avec mélancolie; celui-ci ne vit pas plutôt que je me lassais de lui donner, qu'il se lassa d'être de mes amis"<sup>1</sup>. Le pacha réclamait au moins les frais que lui avait occasionnés le voyage du consul et de sa suite d'Acre à Jérusalem, c'est-à-dire deux mille piastres, tandis que Bremond, soulignait le pacha, ne lui avait donné en tout et pour tout "qu'une escopette, qu'il lui retournerait, si ce n'était honte"<sup>2</sup>. "On ne persuade point cette nation avec des paroles, mais avec des présents", constata le consul, qui refusa toutefois de mettre la main à la poche.

Aussi le pacha se souvint-il que Bremond n'avait pas reçu les Commandements de la Porte et il lui enjoignit de quitter la ville dans les trois jours<sup>3</sup>, lui signifiant que le peuple ne voulait pas de lui et qu'au surplus il y avait un très ancien décret qui interdisait aux consuls d'habiter Jérusalem<sup>4</sup>. Bremond, craignant l'émeute, se décida donc à quitter la Ville-Sainte et partit "à pied, écrit-il, ayant la fièvre, suivi pour toute escorte d'environ 13 à 14 personnes, tant religieux<sup>5</sup> que domestiques et paysans". Il se réfugia à Bethléem, "de tout temps refuge des persécutés"<sup>6</sup>.

Enfin, le 5 Juin 1700 le drogman du consul, Joseph Julin, arrivait à Jérusalem porteur des commandements tant attendus et qui furent peu après dûment enregistrés par le pacha et le cadî,

<sup>1</sup> F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> "M. le consul, mal conseillé par le Vicaire Nicolas Macé et par le P. Nicolas Poisson, son chapelain, tous deux de la province de France... partit avec ces Pères à Bethléem, sans que personne du Couvent ne le sût, car les dits Pères parlaient du Couvent sans la permission du T.R.P. Supérieur", L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 44, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> D'après F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Bremond refusa néanmoins de rentrer à Jérusalem. Bien lui en prit, car le 12 Juin éclatait dans la Ville-Sainte une de ces émeutes populaires dont le caractère "spontané" est si particulier à l'Orient. En moins de temps qu'il ne faut pour le dire, "plus de dix mille<sup>1</sup> personnes se réunirent sur la place du temple de Salomon, nous-dit la Chronique franciscaine, criant qu'on ne voulait pas de consul à Jérusalem, parceque c'était contre la loi de Mahomet et contre les règlements de leur Santon Omar Ben el Kettab, et du roi Saladin". Le consul étant à Bethléem, la fureur de la foule se tourna contre les Cordeliers: "En étant avisés, nous fermâmes les portes, et nous nous recommandions à Dieu, et allant tous à l'église on fit l'exposition du T. S. Sacrement, au devant de qui, à genoux, nous attendions la mort d'un moment à l'autre, car nous étions en danger d'être tous trucidés et tous nos couvents saccagés, Que Dieu pardonne celui qui en a la faute"<sup>2</sup>, conclut gravement le Chroniqueur, en lâchant la flèche du Parthe.

Le pacha se servit de la manifestation pour mettre le consul en demeure de quitter même les environs de Jérusalem. Une escorte militaire, dont il eut à faire les frais, conduisit donc Bremond à Rames. Là, les Arabes et le Muselem lui extorquèrent, qui de l'argent, qui des vêtements. S'étant évadé de nuit pour ne pas être rançonné davantage, il gagna Jaffa où, la tramontane le retenant, il fut encore mis à contribution par l'Aga du lieu et par un émir<sup>3</sup>. Enfin il arriva à Seyde, terme de son équipée, mais ce fut pour y trouver son collègue et ennemi Louis Lempereur...<sup>4</sup>

#### JEAN DE BLACAS

(1713—1714)

Découragé sans doute par l'insuccès de ces deux tentatives, ayant de plus graves soucis, tels ceux que lui créait la guerre de succession d'Espagne, le roi ne se hâta point de pourvoir au rem-

<sup>1</sup> On se souvient que Jérusalem ne comptait qu'une douzaine de mille habitants (p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> La Chronique franciscaine affirme que Bremond "partit à Seyde, pour y résider à la place de M. le Consul Lempereur, comme le dit le Commandement du Grand Seigneur, c'est-à-dire que le dit M. Lempereur fut privé et à sa place fut mis M. Bremond", L. LEMMENS, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 43. En fait, Lempereur demeura en fonctions à Seyde jusqu'en 1702. En supposant que Bremond eût eu la prétention de le remplacer, il est certain qu'il ne réussit pas.

placement de Bremond<sup>1</sup>. Très habilement, il laissa aux Cordeliers le soin de provoquer le rétablissement du consulat de Jérusalem.

En Octobre 1710, un accident survenu à une des galeries du St-Sépulcre avait révélé l'état de profond délabrement de la grande coupole. Le Discrétoire de Terre-Sainte avait décidé de demander à tous les Princes Chrétiens de l'aider à effectuer les réparations nécessaires, se bornant toutefois à ne solliciter que le souverain espagnol<sup>2</sup>. Ce fut cependant le Roi Très Chrétien qui vint une fois de plus au secours des religieux latins et, en Mai 1711, l'ambassadeur de France obtenait de la Porte le firman autorisant la réparation de la coupole<sup>3</sup>. Craignant cependant les intrigues des Grecs et la mauvaise volonté habituelle des autorités turques, le Custode avait demandé au comte des Alleurs l'envoi à Jérusalem de "quelqu'un" désigné par le Roi qui prendrait l'affaire en charge et l'ambassadeur avait trouvé la "proposition raisonnable"<sup>4</sup>.

Or, dès Janvier 1712, Pontchartrin avait expédié à Constantinople les instructions du roi pour la désignation d'un *consul*. Le ministre l'avait fait savoir à notre représentant au Caire, Lemaire<sup>5</sup>, et celui-ci en avait crûment écrit au Custode<sup>6</sup>. Le titre de "consul" fit réfléchir les Franciscains. Le Custode s'empressa de battre en retraite, disant à l'ambassadeur que sa suggestion avait été purement personnelle et qu'après consultation des "anciens de la maison" il devait préciser qu'on ne souhaitait la venue que de quelqu'un chargé de "surveiller" le travail de reconstruction de la coupole, et nullement d'un consul<sup>7</sup>. Les *anciens*, on le voit, n'a-

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1 Un auteur dit que "pendant l'Ambassade de M. Girardin (donc en 1689), le sieur d'Ortières, envoyé comme consul à Jérusalem, ne parvint pas à s'y maintenir"; FRANCIS REY, *La protection diplomatique et consulaire dans les Echelles du Levant et de Barbarie*, Paris, 1899, p. 326. Il ne semble pas que ce consul soit jamais arrivé à Jérusalem, en dépit des commandements qui furent, d'après l'auteur (p. 527), obtenus de la Porte en sa faveur. L'ouvrage de Francis Rey, quoique richement documenté, contient de nombreuses inexactitudes.

2 Cf. E. CASTELLANI, *op. cit.*, I, 1924, p. 94.

3 Texte dans ID., *ibid.*, p. 126. Voir aussi les chaleureux remerciements adressés par le Custode à Louis XIV, à ses ministres etc., pp. 145—146.

4 Lettre du 30 Avril 1712, in ID., *ibid.*, p. 173; des Alleurs au P. Cozza, 28 Mai 1712, p. 185.

5 Claude Lemaire, consul au Caire de 1711 à 1721.

6 Pontchartrin à Lemaire, 6 Janvier 1712, in ID., *ibid.*, p. 162. Lemaire au Custode, 9 Mai 1712, *op. cit.*, p. 184; cf. aussi p. 162.

7 Le Custode à l'ambassadeur, 24 et 30 Juillet 1712, in ID., *ibid.*, pp. 191 et 193. L'alerte fut telle que le P. Cozza en écrivait aussi le 30 Juillet à Pontchartrin.



vaient pas oublié Bremond... et le procureur de Terre-Sainte à Constantinople, le sieur Maunier, fut chargé de se renseigner, puis de rappeler à l'Ambassadeur toute l'amertume qu'avait laissée à la Custodie le souvenir de "Mr. Bremon"<sup>1</sup>.

Lemaire avait bien vendu la mèche. "J'entre, répondit des Alleurs au P. Cozza, dans toutes les raisons que vous avez d'appréhender que la présence d'un Consul n'excite quelque émotion dans cette Ville, et n'y attire des affaires fâcheuses; et vous devez croire que je me conformerai à ce que vous me mandez autant qu'il sera possible pour cet effet..."<sup>2</sup> Le 1er Février 1713, l'ambassadeur se décida à annoncer au Custode le départ pour la Palestine de "M. Blacas, qui est destiné pour demeurer et assister à Jérusalem de la part du Roy pendant la réédification de la grande voute", mais qui doit "ne se point faire connaître dans les lieux où il passera"... quoiqu'il soit porteur de Commandements de la Porte et qu'il doive les faire enregistrer à Jérusalem. "Il me paraît, poursuit avec ménagements l'ambassadeur, que vous serez satisfait du Commandement de la préséance dont le Sieur Blacas vous remettra une copie authentique... Le Sr. Blacas vous fera part des instructions que je lui ai données, il doit agir en tout de concert avec vous et aura pour vos sentiments toute la déférence due et nécessaire pour concourir au bien et à l'avantage des Saints Lieux. Je m'assure que vous et le Discrétoire dont vous êtes le chef, connaîtrez dans sa personne l'attention que j'ai eue à vous envoyer un sujet qui put correspondre au grand désir que le Roy a de voir ce grand ouvrage dans sa perfection. Je vous recommande le Sr. Blacas et j'espère que vous le considérerez et le regarderez comme une personne très propre à rendre service à la Terre-Sainte tant à Jérusalem que dans les autres postes qu'il pourrait occuper par la suite"<sup>3</sup>. Tout était dit, sauf le mot *consul*.

Blacas arriva à Jérusalem avec sa famille<sup>4</sup> le 27 Avril 1713<sup>5</sup>. Il devait ne "se point découvrir pour Consul" quoique le roi lui

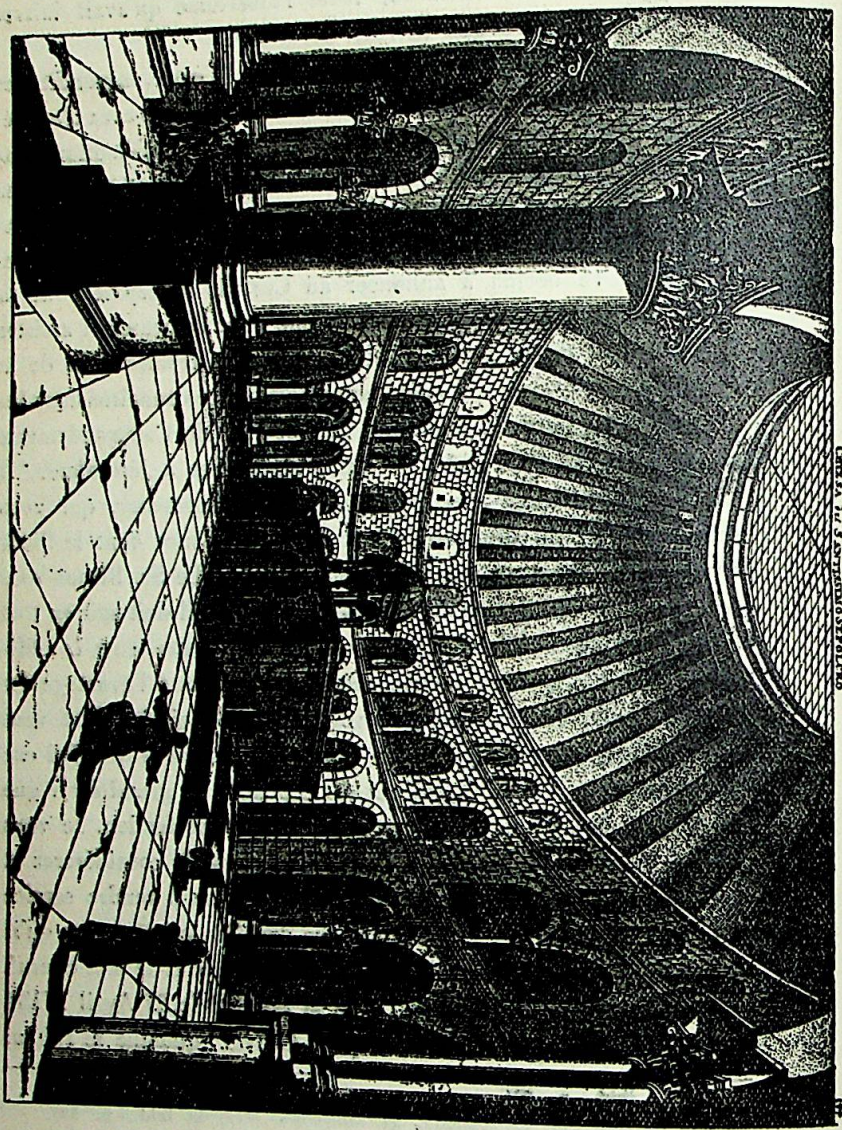
1 ID., *ibid.*, p. 204.

2 L'ambassadeur au Custode, 29 Septembre 1712, in *ibid.*, p. 205.

3 Des Alleurs au P. Cozza, 1er Février 1713, in *ibid.*, p. 229.

4 ID., *ibid.*, p. 336.

5 Le Discrétoire annonce son arrivée par lettre du 4 Mai 1713, E. CASTELLANI, *op. cit.*, p. 251 note 1. Le registre des pèlerins de la Custodie de Terre-Sainte, qui donne cette date du 27 Avril 1713, ajoute: "Sigr. Gio. Battista Blachas della Città di Marsilia. Questo venne per esser Consolo, ma li fù fatto una Avania et si ritirò in Saïda", *Navis Peregrinorum*, vol. II, f. 72 v.



PIRELLA GÖTTSCHE LOWE

# LA ROTONDE ET L'ÉDICULE DU SAINT-SEPULCHRE

à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,

d'après Le Bruyn, Voyage au Levant, 1<sup>re</sup> éd., 1714.

eut déjà donné des lettres patentes l'envoyant comme tel, mais "ne se donner à connaître que comme Inspecteur qui doit assister à la réédification de la voute... jusqu'à ce que l'on puisse disposer à Jérusalem les esprits à le reconnaître"<sup>1</sup>.

Tout d'abord, la personne de Blacas donna pleine satisfaction aux Franciscains<sup>2</sup>. Mais bientôt ceux-ci firent savoir à l'ambassadeur que le *cadi* ne voyait pas d'un bon oeil la présence de Blacas à Jérusalem et des Alleurs donna en Octobre ordre au consul de se retirer à Seyde, jusqu'à ce que fussent réglées toutes les questions relatives à l'autorisation de rebâtir la coupole<sup>3</sup>. Il semble donc que Blacas ne soit demeuré que quatre mois à Jérusalem<sup>4</sup>, puis se soit retiré à Rames d'abord, où il se trouvait en Janvier 1714, puis à Acre, enfin à Seyde, où il était en Avril<sup>5</sup>. Les Cordeliers ne purent dès lors cacher leur joie: "Par lettre de M. Blacas à l'Ambassadeur de France, écrit le 8 Avril 1714 au Custode le procureur de Constantinople, nous avons eu la nouvelle qu'il est hors de la Ville-Sainte; je m'en réjouis infiniment"<sup>6</sup>. Le mauvais vouloir du *cadi* n'était pas la seule raison qui avait amené les religieux à demander le départ du consul. Avec Blacas comme avec ses prédécesseurs, les Cordeliers avaient fait mauvais ménage; à Jérusalem, comme plus tard à Seyde, des contestations s'étaient élevées à propos entre autres de la nourriture et du logement du consul<sup>7</sup>. Les Cordeliers, il est vrai, avaient dû payer au *cadi* une *avanie*<sup>8</sup> de deux mille piastres imposée à Blacas pour être, *comme pèlerin*, demeuré trop longtemps dans la Ville-Sainte<sup>9</sup>. "Ces établissements, écrivait le consul, coûtent des dépenses, sur-

1 Des Alleurs au P. Cozza, 2 lettres du 6 Juillet 1713, in *ibid.*, p. 251.

2 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 257, lettre du Custode du 28 Juillet 1713. Il fut reçu le 17 Août Chevalier du Saint-Sépulcre et sa qualité de consul lui fut reconnue à cette occasion de manière non équivoque par les Franciscains: "Illus. Dominus Joannes Bâtta Blacas natione Gallus electû Consulê Hierosolymitanû pro Xpmo Rege ac Supraintendentem fabricæ Templi Sacratissmi. Sepulchrj", Archives de la Custodie, *Registrum Equitum Smi. Sepulcri*, f. 43 v.

3 E. CASTELLANI, *op. cit.*, pp. 271—274. Les Grecs s'étaient opposés auprès de la Porte à l'exécution du firman obtenu en 1711.

4 Cf. *ID.*, *ibid.*, p. 336.

5 Cf. *ID.*, *ibid.*, pp. 281, 283, 316 et 320.

6 Cf. E. CASTELLANI, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

7 *ID.*, *ibid.*, p. 336. Le 20 Mars 1715 le Custode écrivait à Pontchartrin pour le mettre en garde contre les bruits défavorables aux Cordeliers qui pourraient circuler à propos du séjour de Blacas à Jérusalem (in *ibid.*, pp. 407—408).

8 Les ambassadeurs eux-mêmes n'étaient pas à l'abri de cette imposition arbitraire, chère aux dignitaires ottomans; cf. GÉRARD TONGAS, *op. cit.*, 1942, pp. 144 ss.

9 *ID.*, *ibid.*, pp. 400—402.

tout dans un pays comme celui-ci, qui ne craint guère la Porte ottomane. On ne saurait donc s'y maintenir qu'en s'attirant l'amitié de tant de différentes puissances et devins appelés santons, qui sont les maîtres du pays, ce qui ne se peut faire que par moyen de petits présents<sup>1</sup>.

Un auteur pense que ce fut "à ces largesses que Blacas dut de tenir deux ans à Jérusalem"<sup>2</sup>. Il ne semble cependant pas que le consul soit demeuré beaucoup plus de quatre mois dans la Ville-Sainte, ni qu'il y soit revenu après son exil de Seyde<sup>3</sup>. On comprend qu'au cours de ce bref séjour, Blacas n'ait pu, comme il le disait lui-même, que se borner à "faire exécuter les pieuses intentions de notre Monarque"<sup>4</sup>.

De nouveau, Jérusalem dépendit du consul de Seyde dont le poste fut érigé, par ordonnance royale du 9 Décembre 1776, en Consulat Général pour la Syrie et la Palestine. Peu d'années après, l'ordonnance du 3 Mars 1781 réorganisant les postes du Levant établit que le département du consulat général de Seyde s'étendrait "depuis et compris Baruth jusqu'en Egypte et, dans les terres, Jérusalem et toute la Palestine".

Enfin, depuis 1701, des vice-consulats avaient été établis à Rames, à Jaffa et à St.-Jean d'Acre<sup>5</sup>.

Vint la Révolution, qui bouleversa de fond en comble les Echelles du Levant. Dès 1793, on les trouve dans une misère matérielle et une désorganisation administrative des plus graves. La succession ininterrompue des troubles, des insurrections populaires, des abus de force des pachas avaient transformé en un ingrat séjour, parfois en un véritable enfer, la "terre promise" des négociants et des navigateurs français. Le régime sous lequel ces établissements avaient prospéré s'effondrait sur les ruines de leur prospérité<sup>6</sup>.

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1 F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

2 F. CHALLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

3 "Une troisième tentative réussit mieux en 1713 et le Consulat resta définitivement établi", écrit pourtant PAUL MASSON (*op. cit.*, p. 393). De même, F. REY, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

4 CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 11 et PAUL MASSON, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

5 Rames en 1701 et St.-Jean d'Acre en 1723, dépendant de Seyde. Ce dernier poste fut érigé en consulat en 1782. Cf. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 et 170. D'après E. ROGER (cf. p. 2, note 6), le consulat de St.-Jean d'Acre et le vice-consulat de Rames existaient déjà vers 1630.

6 F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

Les persécutions de Djezzar pacha<sup>1</sup> obligèrent même certains consuls, tels ceux de Seyde et de St.-Jean d'Acrc, à fuir, le premier à Tripoli, le second à Jaffa. C'est en cette ville que l'avènement de la République surprend Renaudot, consul à St.-Jean d'Acrc. Ancien officier de cavalerie, ce fonctionnaire entre bravement dans la Révolution et adresse une enthousiaste harangue aux Français de Jaffa, que tant de civisme dut certes émouvoir: "Citoyens, je vous ai réunis pour vous apprendre que notre illustre nation vient de secouer le joug tyrannique que des Rois lui imposaient depuis une longue suite de siècles, et de briser des fers devenus insupportables". Après avoir appelé la juste admiration de ses auditeurs sur "les courageux citoyens dont la valeur recule les bornes de l'empire jusque dans les foyers des tyrans qui menaçaient de l'envahir", il s'écrie: "Je m'arrête ici, Citoyens, pour faire en votre présence le serment d'être fidèle à la nation, de maintenir de tout mon pouvoir la liberté et l'égalité, ou de mourir à mon poste"<sup>2</sup>.

La même époque marque une date mémorable pour nos consuls: leur rattachement définitif, par le décret du 14 Février 1793, au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

Il est à peine besoin de dire que ces temps troublés, où la dévotion d'ailleurs n'était guère de mise, se prêtaient moins que tous autres au rétablissement du consulat de Jérusalem. Au surplus, l'expédition d'Egypte provoqua la guerre avec la Turquie et, à défaut de consul, nous eûmes pendant quelques semaines un gouverneur français de la Palestine en la personne du général Menou, celui-là même qui, pour les yeux d'une belle alexandrine, devait sous peu embrasser l'Islamisme et troquer son prénom de Jacques contre celui d'Abdallah!

Après la tourmente, la France renoua dès 1802<sup>3</sup> les re-

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1 "Jusqu'en l'année 1791, les Français ont eu des comptoirs à Acrc, à Seïde et à Beïrout, mais, à cette époque, un ordre soudain les a expulsés de tous les pays soumis à la domination de Jezzar, avec injonction sous peine de mort, de quitter en trois jours leurs domiciles respectifs... Ce qui semble avoir suscité dans l'origine l'affaire, c'est qu'un interprète français ayant déplus au pacha, celui-ci le fit pendre sans aucune forme de procès... Depuis longtemps Jezzar était prévenu contre les français, et cette aversion avait été probablement augmentée par les soins de ceux qui étaient jaloux du commerce que faisait cette nation"; W.G. BROWNE, *Nouveau voyage dans la Haute et Basse Egypte, la Syrie, le Dar-Four...*, traduit de l'anglais par J. Castéra, Paris, an VIII, t. II, p. 184—187. Le voyageur anglais écrivait en 1797, deux ans avant que Sidney Smith se fut ouvertement allié à Djezzar...

2 F. CHARLES-ROUX, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

3 L'article 2 du traité franco-turc, signé à Paris le 24 Juin, stipulait la complète remise en vigueur des capitulations.

lations avec la Turquie et nos ambassadeurs à Constantinople, le général Brune et le marquis de Latour-Maubourg notamment, intervirent à diverses reprises avec succès auprès de la Porte en faveur des Franciscains de Terre-Sainte. Les consulats de Seyde et de St.-Jean d'Acre furent d'autre part rétablis; mais on ne vit toujours pas de représentant français à Jérusalem, sauf le consul de Seyde, Taitbout de Marigny qui, mis en inactivité en 1816 par le gouvernement de Louis XVIII, vint mourir l'année suivante dans la Ville-Sainte<sup>1</sup>.

Au cours des années qui suivirent, la tempête devait souffler sur la Palestine. La guerre de l'indépendance grecque d'abord, l'invasion d'Ibrahim pacha en 1832, la révolte consécutive des fellahin, la retraite précipitée de l'armée égyptienne fin 1840, jetèrent Jérusalem dans une anarchie que l'autorité fantasque des pachas n'avait que trop préparée. On ressentira encore les effets de cette désorganisation lorsque le quatrième consul de France à Jérusalem arrivera en Palestine en 1843.

(à suivre)

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<sup>1</sup> J. PILLAUT, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

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#### THE AUTHOR

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# THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE QUR'AN\*

A. JEFFERY

Wherever we find a religion that has a Scripture, that fact presents scholarship with the problem of the textual history of that Scripture. There are no exceptions to this among the historic religions. In the case of Buddhism, for example, we have the problem of the Pali Canon, the Sanskrit Canon, the Tibetan Canon, and the Chinese Canon. In the case of Zoroastrianism there is the liveliest dispute among Iranian scholars at this very moment as to the Avestan text, and, as is well known, the text of the Pahlavi books is an exceedingly complicated problem. Each generation of students for the last hundred years has found itself faced with new problems concerning the text of the Old Testament, and our own memories are still fresh with the excitement caused by the discovery of the Chester Beatty Papyri and the Ryland's Gospel Fragment, both of which raised lively discussions on matters related to the textual history of the New Testament. Whether we face the text of the *Book of the Dead*, coming from the ancient Egyptian religion, or the text of the Qur'ān coming from the youngest of the great historic religions, we have the problem of the history of the text.

In the case of none of the historic religions do we have the autographs of the original Scriptures. What we have in our hands are the documents that have come down in the various communities, and which have been more or less tampered with in transmission. This tampering does not mean tampering with evil intent; it may, indeed, have been with very good intent, but nevertheless it was tampering. The Avesta, for example, was written out in Sassanian times in a new alphabet based on the characters of Sassanian Pahlavi, and we have no knowledge whatever of what the original Avestan script was like. Similarly the Hebrew Scriptures as we know them are in the "square script", but this was not the script used when their originals were written. Moreover, the "pointing" that is in the text of all our copies is a relatively recent addition to the text, and at least three varieties of this "pointing" are known. When we come to the Qur'ān, we find

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that our early MSS are invariably without points or vowel signs, and are in a Kufic script very different from the script used in our modern copies. This modernizing of the script and the orthography, and the supplying the text with points and vowel signs, were, it is true, well-intentioned, but they did involve a tampering with the text. That precisely is our problem. We have a received text, a *textus receptus*, which is to be found in all the ordinary copies in popular use. It is not, however, a facsimile of the earliest Qur'ān, but a text which is the result of various processes of alteration as it passed down from generation to generation in transmission within the community. What do we know of the history of this process of textual transmission?

There is, of course, an orthodox theory as to this textual transmission. The Parsis of India have an orthodox theory as to the transmission of the text of the Avesta, and in Rabbinic literature we have an orthodox theory as to the transmission of the text of the Old Testament; and though scholarship cannot accept these orthodox theories, they have the interest of being the traditionally accepted account of the textual transmission within these communities. The orthodox Muslim theory can be stated quite simply. Before the creation of the world Allah created the Tablet and the Pen, and at His command the Pen wrote on the Tablet all that was to be. As each successive Prophet appeared the angel Gabriel revealed to him from the Tablet the message therefrom that he was to deliver. When the Prophet Muhammad came, and it was time for his ministry to commence, the angel Gabriel came to him also, and from time to time over some twenty years revealed to him those passages from the Tablet that he was to proclaim as the Word of Allah. Each year Gabriel used to collate with the Prophet the passages revealed that year to make sure that they had been recorded correctly. The last year of the Prophet's life they so collated the material twice. As the Prophet from time to time proclaimed his messages thus received from Gabriel to the people, he had his amanuenses copy them down, so that when he died all the material that had been given him as revelation was already written down and carefully collated, so that it was an exact transcript of what was written on the Preserved Tablet in the Heavens. In the Caliphate of Abu Bakr this material was put into Codex form as a first Recension, which served as the official text for his Caliphate and that of 'Umar his successor. During the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, however, it was found that this material was being recited by different groups of Muslims in different dialectal forms, so 'Uthmān sent to Hafsah, the daughter of 'Umar and widow of the Prophet, and had her bring out the copy that had been in her possession since her father's death. Then he appointed a Committee of men of the Quraish, and had them write out a new recension in the pure Quraish dialect.



When this was done he had four copies of it made and sent one to Kufa, one to Basrah, one to Damascus, and one to Mecca, and ordered all other copies in existence to be destroyed. All our modern copies are the direct descendants of this standard official text of 'Uthmān. Indeed, the Egyptian standard text of 1342 A.H. expressly says —

“Its consonantal text has been taken from what the Massoretes have transmitted as to the Codices which were sent by 'Uthmān to Basra, Kufa, Damascus, and Mecca, and the Codex which he made for the people of Madina, and that which he kept for himself, and the Codices which were copied from those.”

This is not, however, the history of the text as modern scholarship reads it.

To begin with, it is quite certain that when the Prophet died there was no collected, collated, arranged body of material of his revelations. What we have is what could be gathered together somewhat later by the leaders of the community when they began to feel the need of a collection of the Prophet's proclamations, and by that time much of it was lost, and other portions could only be recorded in fragmentary form. There is a quite definite and early Tradition, found in several sources, which says, “The Prophet of Allah was taken before any collection of the Qur'ān had been made”. Muslim orthodoxy holds that the Prophet himself could neither read nor write, but in our generation both Professor Torrey of Yale and Dr. Richard Bell of Edinburgh, working independently of each other, have concluded that the internal evidence in the Qur'ān itself points to the fact that he could write, and that for some time before his death he had been busy preparing material for a *Kiṭāb*, which he would leave to his people as their Scripture, to be to them what the Torah was to the Jews or the Injil to the Christians. There is, indeed, an uncanonical tradition current among the Shi'a, that the Prophet had made a collection of passages of his revelations written on leaves and silk and parchments, and just before his death told his son-in-law 'Ali where this material was kept hidden behind his couch, and bade him take it and publish it in Codex form. It is not impossible that there was such a beginning at a collection of revelation material by the Prophet himself, and it is also possible that Dr. Bell may be right in thinking that some at least of this material can be detected in our present Qur'ān. Nevertheless there was certainly no Qur'ān existing as a collected, arranged, edited book, when the Prophet died.

At first the leaders of the community, who had charge of the community affairs after the Prophet had gone, do not seem to have felt the need for any collection of the revelations. It was only after the community began to settle down to the new situ-

ation in which it found itself, that the need for a record of these revelations began to make itself felt. While the Prophet was alive, the fountain of revelation, so to speak, was still open. New injunctions might at any time come to abrogate earlier injunctions which were no longer adequate for the developing life of the community; or fresh revelations might be forthcoming to meet new situations that were arising. The rapidly developing community life in Madina had meant that the Muslim community was continually being faced with unexpected community problems, and they had grown accustomed to coming to the Prophet for instruction, and for the solution of their problems. The customary form for these instructions to take was that of revelations. With the death of the Prophet, however, the source of revelations automatically ceased to flow, and his immediate successors had perforce to direct community affairs in accordance with what was known of revelations that had been given.

But what revelation material was available to these early successors of the Prophet? There were some passages, particularly passages of a legalistic character, that the Prophet had himself ordered to be written down, and which were still in the possession of the community. There were also some passages of a liturgical nature which were used in the daily prayer services, and which, whether written down or not, would have been memorized by a goodly number of members of the community. There may have been passages in written form among the Prophet's own possessions. There certainly were many passages of revelation which individual members of the community had written down, not because the Prophet had ordered them to do so, but because they themselves were interested in having them so in written form. Then there was the memory of the community. That tradition is probably sound which says that the revelations proclaimed by the Prophet were with few exceptions relatively short, and there would have been many members of the community who could remember numbers of revelations given forth on various occasions. When the early leaders of the community needed to know if there were any injunctions extant regarding one matter or another, it was to these sources of information that they turned.

Perhaps even in the Prophet's own lifetime there were certain members of the community who took an interest in "collecting" the pronouncements of their Prophet. In this there is nothing unusual. It was precisely this that in the earliest Christian community provided those collections of "Sayings of Jesus", that we find among the basic material of the Gospels. Certainly after the Prophet's death we find certain members of the community interested in increasing their collections of the pronouncements of the Prophet, and these presently came to be known as the *Qurra'* — the Reciters, who became a kind of depository of revelations to

whom the civic leaders could turn for information, when such was needed, as to whether there was any revelation which might decide how they should deal with such and such a situation. Some of these Qurrā' might have chosen to memorize as much as they could discover of the various revelations, while others chose rather to commit their collections to written form. There has been a suggestion that the Prophet himself had begun to organise a body of Qurrā' who were to be the guardians of revelation, but the evidence adduced for this is extremely tenuous and the early history of the Qurrā' is still veiled in the greatest obscurity.

Here, however, we have our first stage in the history of the text of the Qur'ān. There could not be a definitive text while the Prophet was still alive, and abrogation of earlier material or accessions of fresh material were always possible. With his death, however, that situation ended, and we have what was preserved of the revelation material, partly in written form, partly in oral form, in the hands of the community, and tending to become the special care of a small body of specialists. Tradition says that it was the sudden danger of the loss of these specialists that led to the next stage in the history of the text. We read that at the Battle of Yemāmah in the year 12 A.H. so many of the Qurrā' were among the slain that 'Umar suddenly awoke to the fact that a few more battles like that of Yemāmah might mean that a great portion of the revelation material would be irretrievably lost, and so he came to the Caliph Abu Bakr and urged on him the necessity of getting this material that was in the possession of the Qurrā' assembled and written down in some fixed form, ere it was too late. As it is we find numerous references in tradition to verses which were "lost on the Day of Yemāmah". Abu Bakr, the story continues, demurred, asking who was he that he should do a thing which the Prophet himself had not done, and about which he had left no commandment. 'Umar, however, convinced him, and he summoned Zaid b. Thābit, who had been an amanuensis of the Prophet, and bade him assemble from the community all that any of them had of the revelations of the Prophet, and write them out in goodly form. Zaid, it is said, also demurred, asking what business they had undertaking to do a thing which the Prophet had not seen fit to do, and about which he had left no commandment. 'Umar, however, convinced him also of the urgency and necessity of the task, and Zaid, so the tradition records, set about assembling the material from leaves, from white stones, from the shoulder-blades of camels, and from the breasts of men. In other words, he assembled the material available, both oral and written, in an attempt at a first definitive text of the revelations.

The text thus obtained Tradition regards as officially promulgated by Abu Bakr, and so the first Recension of the text of the Qur'ān. Modern criticism is willing to accept the fact that

Abu Bakr had a collection of revelation material made for him and, may be, committed the making of it to Zaid b. Thābit. It is not willing to accept, however, the claim that this was an official recension of the text. All we can admit is that it was a private collection made for the first Caliph Abu Bakr. Some scholars deny even this, and maintain that Zaid's work was done for the third Caliph, 'Uthmān, but as 'Uthmān was *persona non grata* to the later Traditionists, they invented a first recension by Abu Bakr so that 'Uthmān might not have the honour of having made the first Recension. Someone, however, must have made the collection that Hafsa, the daughter of 'Umar, later produced to form part of the material used in 'Uthmān's recension, so that we must think of some private collection made either by Abu Bakr or 'Umar, and it may well have been by the first Caliph — but it was a private, not an official undertaking.

As a matter of fact, there were others besides Zaid b. Thābit who had busied themselves with this task of assembling in Codex form a complete collection of what still survived of the revelation material which now makes up the Qur'ān. Tradition knows the names of several of these, e.g. Sālim b. Mu'qib, who was killed at the battle of Yemāmah, and who, tradition says, was the first to make such an attempt at setting all his material down in Codex form; 'Ali b. Abi Tālib, who is said to have endeavoured to arrange the revelations in their chronological order; Anas b. Mālik, whose Codex may have been based on that of his uncle Abu Zaid, who was well known as one of the early collectors of revelation; Abu Musā al-Ash'ari, whose Codex was a large one, and was familiarly given the name of *Lubāb al-Qulub*; and various others, including the two famous Codices of Ubai b. Ka'b and of 'Abdallah b. Mas'ud, from both of which a great body of variant readings has survived. It is frequently asserted that the verb *jama'a* "to collect", as used in this connection, means only *hafaza* "to memorize". The verb, it is true, can have this meaning, but since 'Ali is said to have packed up what he "collected" on his camel and brought it along; since what Abu Musā had "collected" was something that had a nickname; and since the friends of Ibn Mas'ud at Kufa supported him in his refusal to give up what he had "collected" to be burned, it is quite clear that we are dealing with collections that were in written form. In the case of the Codices of 'Ali, Ubai and Ibn Mas'ud, indeed, we find tradition which professes to give the order in which the revelation material was arranged in their Codices, an order which differed considerably from that found in our present Qur'ān.

The most important fact that Tradition has preserved in connection with these early Codices, however, is the fact that certain of them came to attain the position of metropolitan Codices. Thus we read that the people of Kufa came to regard the Codex of Ibn

Mas'ud as in a sense their Recension of the Qur'an, the people of Basra the Codex of Abu Musā, the people of Damascus the Codex of one Miqdād b. al-Aswad, and the Syrians other than the folk of Damascus, the Codex of Ubai. This is exactly what might have been expected, and has a close parallel in the case of the New Testament, where the texts that go under the name of the Alexandrian text, the Neutral text, the Western text, the Caesarean text, were recensions of the text, differing slightly from one another, and favouring certain groups of variant readings, which had grown up and come into use in certain important centres of Church life. As Kufa, Basra, Damascus, and Homs began to develop into important centres of the Islamic community, it was quite natural that they, as well as Mecca and Madina, would want their own collection or revelation material, and the Tradition reflects the fact that different recensions of the material came into use at these different centres. Such recensions, while embracing in general the same body of material, always differ from one another in the inclusion or exclusion of certain material, and in their choice among a multitude of variant readings, and this holds of these early metropolitan Codices of Islam. Thus we know that the Codex of Ibn Mas'ud omitted Suras I, CXIII and CXIV, and that both the Codices of Ubai and Abu Musā included two short Suras, which are not in our present text, while a considerable body of variant readings from these Codices is to be gathered from the grammatical, lexical, exegetical and masoretic literature of later generations which still remembered and discussed them. There were once, indeed, a number of special works, under the name of *Kitāb al-Masāhif*, which specially discussed this stage of the Old Codices, and it was a fortunate accident which enabled the present writer to discover and publish the text of the sole surviving example of these, the *Codex Book* of Ibn Abi Dāwud.

It was the existence of these variants in the texts used in different centres that led to the next stage in the history of the text. The story in which the memory of this is enshrined is that Hudhaifah b. al-Yamān, on being sent to the armies that were fighting in Azarbaijān, was horrified to find the Kufans and Syrians disputing over the correct reading in passages that they were using in their devotional services, and in some cases even denying that what the others were using was really part of the Qur'an. In his distress he returned to the Caliph 'Uthmān at Madina and said — "Overtake this people before they differ over the Qur'an the way the Jews and Christians differ over their Scripture." 'Uthmān was persuaded, and sending for Zaid b. Thābit, laid on him the task of making this official recension. Tradition says that he did four things in this connection. First he made an announcement in the mosque calling on all who had any revelation material to bring it to Zaid b. Thābit. Second, he sent to Hafsah to get the

material that had come down to her from her father 'Umar. Haf-sah produced this from under her bed, and it was found that the worms had eaten it in places, but apparently its material was used for 'Uthmān's recension and then returned to Hafsah, for at her funeral the Governor Marwān, who had tried in vain to get it from her during her lifetime, demanded it of her brother and destroyed it, fearing, he said, that if it got abroad, the readings that 'Uthmān desired to repress would recommence. Third, he appointed a Committee to work with Zaid b. Thābit, to scrutinize all the material sent in, to accept only that for which two witnesses could be found, and to see that what was written was written out in the genuine Quraish dialect. Fourth, when the work was completed he had copies made and sent to the great metropolitan centres, with orders that all other Codices or portions of revelation material in circulation be destroyed. Some traditionists tell us that this was known as "the year of the destruction of the Codices", and for long afterwards we hear echoes of the bitter hostility of the Qur'ā to 'Uthmān because of his work in thus canonizing the Madinan text tradition and prohibiting the use of any other.

'Uthmān's official Recension gained rapid and almost universal acceptance. Only in Kufa do we hear of any considerable support for one of the earlier texts, for there the text of Ibn Mas'ud continued for some time to dispute the authority of the new canonical text, but even Kufa had finally to come into line with the rest of Islam, and accept the Madinan text. It is always arguable that as Madina was the Prophet's own city, and was the home of the majority of "Old Muslims" who had been closest to the Prophet, the Madinan text tradition had all the chances of being the best available type of text. It is worth emphasizing, however, that at the time it was only one of several types of text tradition in existence, and 'Uthmān's work in recording it in a definite and final form, closed a stage in the history of the text. Up till that time had been the period of the Old Codices, but from then on we trace the history of one Codex only, that which represents the official Recension of 'Uthmān. Attempts have been made to avoid this conclusion by claiming that all that 'Uthmān did was to remove dialectal peculiarities that had crept into the pronunciation of the Qur'ān as it was recited, and have a standardized type of text written out in the pure dialect of the Quraish. This matter of Quraish dialect is indeed mentioned in the traditions referring to this Recension, but to pretend that it was merely a matter of dialectal variations is to run counter to the whole purport of the accounts. The vast majority of dialectal variations would not have been represented in the written form at all, and so would not have necessitated a new text. The stories of Zaid and his colleagues working on the text make it perfectly

clear that they were regarded as recording a text *de novo*, for we read that at times when there was only one witness available for a certain passage they would wait till another witness who knew that passage had come back from the wars, or wherever he had been, and recite it to them; and there were discussions among them as to where certain passages belonged in the collection. Finally, the mass of variant readings that has survived to us from the Codices of Ubai and Ibn Mas'ud, shows that they were real textual variants and not mere dialectal peculiarities.

The text that 'Uthmān canonized, however, was a bare consonantal text, with marks to show verse endings, but with no points to distinguish consonants, no marks of vowels, and no orthographic signs of any kind. Unfortunately we do not know the precise kind of script in which it was written. The earliest fragments of Qur'ānic MSS which survive to us are all written in a kind of script that grew up in the city of Kufa as a special script for the writing of Qur'āns, and which we call the Kufic script. None of these fragments, however, can be dated earlier than the second century of the Hijrah, and it is, indeed, doubtful if any are really older than the third century. One often reads of there being still in existence Qur'āns written by the hands of 'Uthmān, or of 'Ali, or of 'Ali's sons al-Hasan and al-Husain, but such attributions are merely the fruit of pious imagination. The late Professor Bergsträsser collected some twenty references to claims made by different centres of Islam to possess the famous Codex of 'Uthmān himself, which he was reading when assassinated, and whose pages were discoloured by his blood.

Faced with a bare consonantal text the reader obviously had to interpret it. He had to decide whether a certain sign was a *shin* or a *sin*, a *sad* or a *dad*, a *fa* or a *qaf*, and so on; and when he had settled that he had further to decide whether to read a verbal form as an active or a passive, whether to treat a certain word as a verb or a noun, since it might be either, and so on. In the first generation this problem would not have been so serious for the Qur'ān, for memory of what the text should be would in many passages decide the matter of how it was to be pointed and vowelled, and where the pauses that governed the meaning should be. Theoretically one could suppose that this oral tradition as to how the text should be read could be transmitted carefully from generation to generation, as was the case with the old poetry, but actually the enormous body of variant readings that has been recorded proves that there was no consistent tradition on this matter transmitted. From the date of the publication of 'Uthmān's official text till the year 322 A.H. we are in the period of *ikhṭiyār* or "free choice", and it is very curious that though the 'Uthmānic text is now taken as the basis, many famous savants, even to the end of this period, were accustomed to state their preference in

certain passages for readings from one or other of the old non-'Uthmānic Codices. As we might have expected we find that the *ikhtiyār* of certain famous teachers tended to be perpetuated by their students and win acceptance in more or less extensive circles, so that before long we begin to hear of students studying the *riwāya* of So-and-so as to *huruf*, and the *riwāya* of So-and-so as to *qirā'a*, i.e. their scheme, first of pointing and then of vovelling the unpointed unvowelled text. This again tended to crystallize at the great centres where students congregated, so that soon we begin to hear of the tradition of the Kufans, or the traditions of the Basrans, or Syrians, etc. as to the correct way of pointing and vovelling the text, this meaning the tradition that had come to dominate in their Schools in which Qur'ānic learning was cultivated. At a fairly early date we hear of three principles emerging and being laid down to guide the *ikhtiyār*, viz. *mus'haf*, *'arabiyya*, and *isnād*. That is, the reading proposed must be one that will check with the consonantal text, will be in consonance with the laws of Arabic grammar, and be a reading that has come down from some reputable authority. There was, of course, dispute about these rules. Some claimed that so long as a reading was good Arabic and made good sense it did not matter whether it came from the 'Uthmānic Codex or one of the other Old Codices, since they also came from the time of the Prophet. Some were contemptuous of *isnād*, but that a reading must be sound Arabic diction was naturally accepted by all.

The next stage was to indicate these readings in the text itself. One did not *have* to mark them in the text, of course, for once they had been memorized properly the Reader could take up a copy of the consonantal text and read according to what he had memorized. Memory, however, is a very treacherous thing, and very soon the custom was introduced, based apparently on a practice in vogue among the Christians using Syriac Scriptures, of marking the readings by a system of dots, black and coloured. Tradition makes it clear that there was very considerable opposition to the introduction of these points into the Codices, this being regarded as "innovation" and so smacking of heresy. There is no unanimity as to who first introduced the systems of points, the favourite names in connection therewith being those of Yahyā b. Ya'mar and Nasr b. 'Asim. There was at first a period of fluidity, and we actually have some fragments of Codices in which by the use of vari-coloured dots different possibilities of pointing one and the same word are indicated, while the great majority of words have no points marked at all. This suggests that at first only those words would be pointed where there was some uncertainty as to what the correct reading should be. That the practice of pointing came to be generally accepted and consistently carried through the whole of a Codex is said to be due to the



activity of the famous official al-Hajjāj b. Yusif, who was perhaps the most remarkable figure in Islam during the Caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik. When we come to examine the accounts of the activity of al-Hajjāj in this matter, however, we discover to our surprise that the evidence points strongly to the fact that his work was not confined to fixing more precisely the text of the Qur'ān by a set of points showing how it was to be read, but he seems to have made an entirely new Recension of the Qur'ān, having copies of his new text sent to the great metropolitan centres, and ordering the destruction of earlier copies in existence there, much as 'Uthmān had done earlier. Moreover this new text promulgated by al-Hajjāj seems to have undergone more or less extensive alterations. The Christian writer al-Kindi in his polemical work known as the *Apology of al-Kindi*, makes a controversial point out of the alterations he claimed that al-Hajjāj, as everyone knew, had made in the text of the Qur'ān, but this was regarded by scholars as just a polemical exaggeration such as one might expect in a controversial writing. However, in the *Kitāb al-Māsahif* of Ibn Abi Dāwud, already mentioned, we have recorded in a special chapter a list of readings in our Qur'ān text which are due to alterations made by al-Hajjāj. If this is so, our *textus receptus* is not based on the Recension of 'Uthmān, but on that of al-Hajjāj b. Yusif.

The limitation of *ikhtiyār* came in the year 322 A.H., when the Wazirs Ibn Muqlah and Ibn 'Isā, guided by the great savant Ibn Mujāhid, settled on seven systems of reading the text, and decreed that these alone were canonical, permissible ways of pointing and vowelling the text. Their decision did not go unchallenged, but the severe punishment meted out to two famous scholars, Ibn Miqsam and Ibn Shanabudh, who persisted in their right to *ikhtiyār*, and to read, if they saw fit, readings from the Old Codices, soon convinced the Readers that the period of *ikhtiyār* was over, and they were faced with a limitation which marked a new stage in the history of the text.

The Seven Systems chosen by Ibn Mujāhid were those of Nāfi' of the Madinan School, Ibn Kathir of the Meccan School, Ibn 'Amr of the Syrian School, Abu 'Amr of the Basran School, and 'Asim' Hamza and Al-Kisā'i of the Kufan School. His choice was not unchallenged. Some seriously objected to the fact that there were three among the seven from the Kufan School, and 'desired one of them to be replaced by a reader from another School, some favouring Abu Ja'far of the Madinan School, and others Ya'qub of the Basran School. In particular the position of al-Kisā'i in the group was challenged, and the candidature of Khalaf of the Kufan School was for long vigorously pressed. Ibn Mujāhid's choice, however, held, and the systems of his seven are still the canonical Seven, though in many instances the ma-

soretic works continue, as e.g. in the famous work *an-Nashr* of Ibn al-Jazari, to record the variants of the Ten, i.e. the Seven with the three whose candidature was pressed. Some masoretic works, indeed, preserved fourteen systems, including besides the Ten the readings of four other Readers, Ibn Muhaisin of Mecca, al-Hasan of Basra, al-Yazidi of Basra, and al-A'mash of Kufa, whose systems had had some backing as more worthy to be included in the Seven and made canonical than some of those chosen by Ibn Mujāhid, but which had failed to find any very general acceptance. The famous work *al-Ithāf* of al-Bannā', for example, records the readings of all fourteen. Here and there yet other claimants were supported, but for reasons which are not at all clear, Ibn Mujāhid was able to gain official support for his seven, and within half a century they had gained very wide acceptance.

We do not have the systems of any of these seven in the form given it by its founder. These seven systems were transmitted in the Schools, and very shortly after their acceptance as canonical we find a great many *riwāyas* in existence as to how each of them read. In the case of one or two of them the *riwāyas* were very considerable in number. By the time that ad-Dāni, who died in 444 A.H. came to write his *Taisir*, two *riwāyas* from each of the seven had been chosen as canonical, and as alone having official sanction. As to how these were chosen we have no information whatever, and at present cannot even venture a guess. All we know is that the process of fixing the text *ne varietur* had gone this further stage, and as such had been recorded by ad-Dāni. For Nāfi' were chosen the *riwāyas* of Qālun and Warsh; for Ibn Kathir the *riwāyas* of Qunbul and al-Bazzi; for Ibn 'Amir the *riwāyas* of Ibn Dhakwān and Hishām; for Abu 'Amr the *riwāyas* of ad-Duri and as-Susi; for Hamza the *riwāyas* of Khalaf and Khallād; for 'Asim the *riwāyas* of Hafs and Abu Bakr; for al-Kisā'i the *riwāyas* of ad-Duri and Abu 'l-Hārith. Any reading from any of these *riwāyas* is canonical. No official decision that we know of was taken to establish these particular *riwāyas* as alone permissible, and so the use of the word "canonical" is not quite accurate, but these *riwāyas* did come to take a position of unique authority for which we have no more appropriate word than canonical. As such, one or other of them would be followed when scribes were writing new Codices and indicating therein the pointing and the vovelling.

These systems for marking the readings, however, were not the only signs now added to the text. Signs for verse endings appear in the very earliest fragments of Codices in our possession, though there was by no means universal agreement as to where these pausal marks fell, so that this now comes to be a matter to be settled in the Schools, and the masoretic record tables of Kufan verse endings, or Basran or Syrian or Madinan verse end-

ings, as the case may be, and at times signs to indicate where there was variant tradition as to the place where the ending should fall, were inserted in the text. The Suras had been marked off also from very early times, but without rubrics. Now begins the custom of setting at the head of each Sura its name. Different names were used in different localities, and even to the present day there is no complete agreement as to the names that appear at the head of certain Suras in Qur'āns lithographed in different centres. But besides Suras and verses, other divisions of the text began to be marked. Some scribes placed a mark at the end of each group of ten or five verses; some divided the text into sevenths and marked the end of each in the text; some used special marks for the beginnings and endings of halves, fourths, eighths, etc. A more popular practice was to divide the text into thirty parts so that one part might be read each day for the month, and these divisions, with the quarters and halves thereof, were carefully marked, and this division into *ajzā'* and *ahzāb* became so popular that to this day old style Muslim savants quote the Qur'ān by *juz'* and *hizb* rather than by Sura and verse. Of more practical importance was the introduction of pausal signs, which, like the similar set of pausal signs in the Hebrew Bible, are a guide to the sense and serve precisely the same function as our punctuation marks. The earliest set of such pausal signs to come into use was a very simple one to indicate "no pause", "optional pause", and "necessary pause", but in the Schools these developed into more elaborate systems by increase in the types of optional pause recognized, though there was also considerable difference among the Schools as to precisely where some of the "no pause" and "must pause" signs should be placed. The addition of these signs to the text, of course, represents a further step in the history of the process of fixing a type of received text, though it is not yet possible to write the whole story of the way in which these various systems of pause developed.

One other step in this process, which was a step of great importance, but whose origin is also at present veiled in obscurity, was the selection of a standard exemplar. Students of the Old Testament will remember that the consonantal text in our Hebrew Bibles is derived from MSS which represent one standard exemplar, which once chosen had to be followed by the scribes and reproduced with minute faithfulness, so that even its misspellings and peculiarities of orthography had to be reproduced in all copies. The same is true of the Qur'ān. By the time ad-Dāni was writing his *Muqni'* and *Taisir*, this standard exemplar had been chosen, for in his *Muqni'*, which is a book of instructions for the scribes who are copying exemplars of the Qur'ān, he gives them in detail the rules they must observe in the practice of their profession, and so carefully lists all the peculiar spellings and

oddities of orthography which they must be careful to reproduce in their copies, even though they may know that these are mistakes. Thus in XIX,1 رحمت must be written with final ت and not the normal رحمة : in XVIII,36 اكننا has to be written with a long ا at the end instead of the normal اكن : in XX,95 بينوم must be written instead of يا ابن أم : in XVIII,47 مال هذا must be written instead of the correct form ما لهذا : in XXXVII, 130 ال يامين has to be written instead of ال ياسين and so on. Who the scribe of this standard exemplar was, and how it was chosen, are questions we cannot as yet answer. The orthodox theory is that these peculiarities were already present in the *Imām*, the standard consonantal text prepared by the orders of 'Uthmān, but as these peculiarities do not always appear in the early fragments of Kufic Codices it is doubtful if this is so.

All the Seven systems mentioned above are equally canonical, and the Qur'ān may be recited according to either of the *riwāyas* chosen for each. No written text, however, can express in the text all the variants of all the seven. There are a few known examples of fragments of Kufic Codices where, by the use of differently coloured dots, variant readings in the case of individual words are recorded. There are also some MSS known with marginal annotations which give a selection of the variant readings from among the Seven, or even from among the Ten. The usual, and in fact the only feasible practice, however, is to have the text written according to one of the systems from among the Seven. No systematic survey of all Qur'ānic MSS with a view to determining their type of text, has ever been made, but so far as they have been examined the result is to show that only three of the possible fourteen *riwāyas* are known to have had any considerable vogue in the writing of Codices. In the Sudan up to a generation ago, there were apparently texts written according to the Basran system of ad-Duri. In North Africa, from Tripoli along to Morocco, the common form of text found in the MSS, and in many lithographed editions, is the Madinan tradition of Warsh. Everywhere else in the Muslim world the only type of text found in use is that of the Kufan Hafs the *rāwī* of 'Asim. This Hafs text has in recent years entirely superseded that of ad-Duri in the Sudan, and is rapidly superseding that of Warsh in North Africa. Thus we

reach the end of the history of the text of the Qur'ān with the practical dominance of the text tradition of Hafs as the *textus receptus* for all Islam. It was in view of this that the Egyptian standard edition of 1344 A.H. made an attempt to clear the text from modernizations of orthography and an overloading of masoretic markings, and restore as far as possible a pure type of Hafs text. Owing to the use by its editors of relatively later authorities instead of going back to the earliest sources of our information as to this Hafs text, they have not quite succeeded in producing a pure type of Hafs text, but it is better than anything else available, and very much superior to the Flügel text, which has been used almost exclusively by European savants since it first appeared in 1834.

The next stage will be that of a critical text. The ideal would be to print on one page a bare consonantal text in the Kufic script, based on the oldest MSS available to us, with a critically edited Hafs text facing it on the opposite page, and with a complete collection of all known variant readings given at the foot of the page. The present writer was collaborating with the late Professor Bergsträsser on such a project, and a beginning had been made on both the connected problems. The writer has gone through all the printed literature and a good deal of MSS material to collect all the variant readings. Bergsträsser established at Munich a Qur'ānic Archive in which he commenced to gather photographs of all early Qur'ānic MSS, and of all masoretic material connected therewith. After his untimely death this Archive was continued and developed by his successor Otto Pretzl, but Pretzl was killed outside Sebastopol during this late War, and the whole of the Archive at Munich was destroyed by bomb action and by fire, so that the whole of that gigantic task has to be started over again from the beginning. It is thus extremely doubtful if our generation will see the completion of a really critical edition of the text of the Qur'ān.

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# ABRAHAM'S RELIGION\*

H. VON DEN STEINEN

The greatest human achievement is the creation of plastic symbols by which superhuman powers are seen to act among men. For the Greeks, the place itself where a super-human power, a divinity, was supposed to dwell, had a visible connection with the nature of this power. The adherents of Apollo found a deep, lonesome gorge with broad walls of white clay which, under a bright sky, gave the impression of majestic wisdom in its triumph over the dark abyss of earthly confusion. Here they founded the sanctuary of Delphi, the centre of the Appollonian oracular power.

And in the same way the forefather of Israel felt a super-human inspiration when he had left his home on the borders of the broad Euphrates, passed across arid deserts and fruitful oases and entered this country. Here he saw the land promised by the divine voice of his clan, and here he erected new symbols of worship, opening a fresh way of action to superhuman powers among men. Is it possible, after nearly four thousand years, to find a connection between Abraham's new religious ideas and the land where he wished to bring them to real life? What were the characteristic features of Palestine which made it appear as the congenial field for the action of what Abraham believed to be his divine command? These questions ought to be answered in the strictly scientific way. We do not take the story of the Patriarchs as mere mythology. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to take it as a series of soberly transmitted facts. When under the protection of the Persian kings, the Jews were allowed to return to Palestine and to re-organise their common life on the strictest religious lines, their first aim was to collect their old traditions, the tales about the founders of their creed, which in ancient times had circulated in various poetical forms. Thus the corpus of holy scriptures was created as we still possess it today, and the facts of historical tradition were seen in the light of dogmatic truth. This dogmatic truth, of course, was the first fetter that had to be broken when European scholarship began to analyse the Biblical tradition and to seek in it for enlightenment on the past. But many scholars in their rational zeal went too far, destroying too much.

This purified rationalism has been enormously strengthened by the material progress of historical and archaeological dis-

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coveries. Even a century ago, Abraham, whom we consider the first real human being mentioned in the Old Testament, was lost in the mists of antiquity. After the achievements of oriental archaeology he has become to us rather a late personality, the heir to long and complicated developments of earlier thought. He lives within the frame of various highly civilised societies, that of the declining Sumerians in the east, the persevering Egyptians in the south, and the rising Hittites and Phoenicians in the north and west. The excavations at Ur in southern Mesopotamia, from which town, according to the biblical statement, his prophetic career took its origin, have given a background of surprising actuality to Abraham's development.

Encouraged by our increasing knowledge of the Sumerian history of about 2000 B.C., we come to accept most seriously as a fact the great inspiration with which the book of Genesis starts telling the saga of the great Patriarch:

*'Now the Lord said unto Abraham, get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred and from thy father's house, into the land that I will shew to thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great... and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed'.*

This brings something absolutely new to mankind. But we understand the new idea better when we remember against what old idea it arose. The family of Abraham used to live in or near Ur, the old Sumerian capital. The Bible refers to the departure of Abraham's father from Ur, without giving a reason for it. The family goes to Haran, far in the north, near the border of the upper Euphrates; and in this town only is the great appeal heard by Abraham. If we put these events into the beginning of the second millenium B.C., we find two great historical facts throwing light on them; first, the tragic decay of Sumerian culture in general and the political decline of the town Ur in particular. Shortly afterwards this latter city was forever destroyed by the great Semitic king Hammurabi of Babylon. Secondly, in the same epoch, we learn about big movements of nomadic tribes, which we may call Arameans or Syrians, in the desert, separating the Mesopotamian civilisation from the west. Among them 'Habirus' are already mentioned. These two facts help considerably in assigning quite natural causes to the migration of Abraham and his clan. Thousands of nomadic tribes, however, have roved through deserts in search of better commerce and greener pastures — but only once in all our history has the soul-experience of a great nomad chief meant that a change of dwelling had to be a change of his whole being. That is what happened to Abraham. His inner voice told him to leave not only his country, but also his family, and to found a new family in a new land.

Never before, as far as we know, had a man been impelled

by his personal conscience (or to call it by its old name, by his 'God') to change his whole existence and to build his future entirely on the ground of this personal inspiration. In previous times, in the great Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilisations, gods had always been distinct powers within a distinct order which, taken as a whole, was the unchangeable universe, infinitely more relevant than any single divine power. The unheard of audacity of Abraham's conscience is its total surrender to the superhuman command. His god is more than any universe. This view can rightly be called the evocation of monotheism.

This most revolutionary act of human history which, after a long underground growth in Israel, was to change completely, through the Prophets, Christianity and Islam, the whole face of the Western Hemisphere from India to America, and has not yet come to its fulfilment, has a double aspect when seen in its relation to the then existing culture; it is both a spiritual and a political upheaval.

One may object, perhaps, to this high appreciation of Abraham's revolutionary act. As a nomad he would be naturally opposed to the Babylonian city culture and state. But he did not choose another nomad life. His voice told him to seek a country where he would definitely stay, where the time of his continuous migration would come to an end. So he does not just express the nomad's hatred of the townsman, but manifests his will for a wholesale alteration of his social existence.

He followed the voice of his conscience, he left the land of the two rivers, he crossed the desert and came to the dwelling-places of the Canaanites. If we accept the description of his journey, we see him enter his promised country near Sichem, and erect at once an altar to his divine guide in a grove nearby. Then he went farther to the south along the same mountain ridge, down to Bethel, where he proclaimed with great solemnity the presence of the Lord. His holy procession led him still farther to the south, until he reached the border of the most powerful state of his time, Egypt. After some strange diplomatic transactions which emphasised his deep hostility to the spirit of Pharaoh, he went back to his sacred hills, severed himself from his nephew Lot, who succumbed to the temptation of the luxurious Jordan Valley, and settled definitely near Hebron in the grove of Mamre. He hears again the voice of his all-governing master:

*'Lift up now thine eyes and look from the place where thou art northward and southward and eastward and westward. For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it and to thy seed forever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered. Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and the breadth of it, for unto thee will I give it.'*



What is the value of this land to this man, inspired by the voice of eternity? Perhaps it should first be remembered what kind of lands Abraham did not choose. He fled, as we have seen, from the great double stream and its cities, and he recoiled as positively from the Nile and its cruelly governed masses. Yet he did not choose a convenient nomad area, some desert margin with pasture and trees. At the southern entrance of his chosen home he reserved for himself a small section of desert hills near the wells of Beersheba. He rejected fertile agricultural valleys like the Jordan Valley, not wanting luxury or easy abundance. He totally ignored the sea, which means shores and harbours with commercial movement, noise and voluptuousness. The name of the Mediterranean is not even mentioned in the story of the Patriarchs, an omission explained by conscious aversion of Phoenicia.

For Abraham, the friend of God, this country was nothing but a vast sanctuary; even his travels through it were ritual processions of the most genuine Semitic religious character. So, with great ceremony, Abraham bought the cave of Makhpelah near Hebron, as an eternal abode for his wife and himself and his family. This motive of community with the ancestors was intentionally struck out of the Hebrew religion by Moses, because it recalled too dangerously the Egyptian glorification of the cosmos legend. For the patriarchs and their rather worldly Sumerian memories this danger did not exist.

Abraham and his descendants down to Joseph and the emigration to Egypt represent for us the first period of the Israelitic religion. We call it the patriarchal religion. Though we lay great stress on the fact that this creed had originated in the inspiration of a founder genius, we should at the same time be totally incredulous of the account in Genesis of the exterior course of events.

Quite a new period begins with Moses. He is the second inspired founder genius of Israel. His vision of the thorn bush is the second experience of the eternal power which first manifested itself in Abraham's soul. Moses undertook to fulfil the command of the flaming bush by organising a new nation through the Sacred Law. The narrow circle of patriarchal life, animated always by relationships of kin, widened under Moses' direction to a tribal community practising new public customs, feasts and rules of work, with an iron system of promising and threatening regulations: Moses never offered the name of a new god. But the new aims of Moses' holy people, its intermittent infidelity to its own genius, its need to fight, to conquer, to found towns and organise some system of power, in general caused the patriarchal period and its particular way of feeling to sink into oblivion.

We saw Abraham finding his great sanctuary, his promised land, and we came to the question: how could he guarantee a holy life in it and secure a rising force of inspired vitality in his child-

ren and grandchildren? Here, his own time gave him the great means: the power of secret magics. As an inheritance from the remotest antiquity, magic knowledge and practice were the essential weapons in the hand of the ruling kings and priests. A great nomad chief would have possessed many charms in order to direct his family, dependants and slaves, and to ensure the thriving of his flocks. Beyond this common technique, however, quite a new task arose for Abraham; the magic eternisation of his own blood, totally independent of all political systems and only responsible to the idea of sanctification in the eyes of his divine friend. I should venture to state as a heuristic hypothesis for the interpretation of the tales about the patriarchs: they all deal with secret impregnation magic, they all show symbols of magically strengthened sexuality. A few examples may be given.

There is at first the command of circumcision. As a custom it is worldwide. Its significance may vary greatly according to the society practising it. For Abraham it is the mark of alliance between God and his friend. In the same way we try to understand the enormous pains taken to bring Abraham to become the father of his two sons, Ishmael and Isaac. He is very old. Old age in this context is merely a symbol of mythical existence — common to many traditions of the world. Superhumanly extended life belonged to the heroic ancestor as well as other qualities vanished since his decease. But Abraham's arrival at an old age in order to engender has quite another significance. His wife Sarah is also old. For the first son, Ishmael, the bearing power is represented by a second woman, a young one, called Hagar. Sarah brings her to Abraham and afterwards drives her out.

The coming to life of the second son, Isaac, is connected with even more mysterious proceedings. Here we must remember the strange fact that in the Patriarchs' age the younger son is always the more perfect one, and it is he and not his elder who continues the religious leadership and most intimate connection with the family god. Jacob is ceremoniously born after his twin Esau, Joseph is the younger and favourite son of Jacob, and Ephraim, though the younger son of Joseph, is also designated first heir by his grandfather Jacob with impressive signs. As a tribal custom this preferring of the younger son is called ultimogeniture. For the patriarchs the value of the second son was another way of expressing their belief in the all-governing and procreating divine nature by magic symbols. The first-born opened the womb of the mother, and some impurity remained in him, leading to a wilder life like that of Ishmael, Esau or Reuben. The second and younger son was the result of the more concentrated and practised religious intensity of his parents. This appears with impressive clarity in the marvellous tale of the mystical begetting of Isaac.

This is the character of the 18th chapter of Genesis, where

the Lord's visit to Abraham in the grove of Mamre is related. Three men come in the hottest part of the day. Abraham bows low and invites them to cool their feet in fresh water and to lean against the famous sacred terebinth, Sarah bakes cakes for them. Then they call the name of Sarah and promise her a son. Hearing this, Sarah laughs. This laughter is the manifestation of the engendering moment as accepted by the womanly body. It is known in many mysterious performances. Isis, the queen of Egyptian mysteries, knows this laugh of creating tremors and shows a corresponding hilarity in many moments of her function. This parallel is not far fetched. We must remember that the 2nd millenium B.C., into which we put the beginning of the patriarchal area, saw a flood of these mystic cults, probably starting from Egypt and spreading over Phoenicia, Asia Minor, and Crete and sharing in the later foundation of the Greek mysteries. Why should Palestine have remained free of this influence? The three-fold appearance of the angels in Mamre underlines the procreative demonism of the divine message. The sacred tree, be it an oak or a terebinth, is probably felt to be a vessel of growing mystical powers too. This is not the usual paganism or tree-worship, no magic world-picture in the Gentile way. The religious core is beyond all magics.

In this way also do we see the only possibility of understanding the further destiny of Abraham's mystically begotten son Isaac. I refer to the famous story of his sacrifice. After the mystic sacrifice of the ram, the angelic voice repeats its most solemn promise: 'I shall bless thy seed and multiply it like the stars in the sky.' So we come to our last question in trying to understand the patriarch's faith. This prophecy which spans not only the near future of children and grandchildren, but the growth of a great nation and even the blessed union of the whole of mankind—does it really belong to the horizon of our nomad chief? The style of the sentences is of undoubted affinity with the great prophets of the seventh and sixth centuries. Is not the meaning, too, transferred from the post-Mosaic epoch to the pre-Mosaic one? As long as no contemporary evidence concerning the life of the Patriarchs comes to light, no certain answer can be given. There is no reason, however, why, during that period of over-ripeness in the Sumerian and Egyptian civilisations, inspired opposition to their state-worshipping violence should not have led to its total anti-thesis in the idea of a human commonwealth without limits of sacred fraternity.

In his prophetic role Abraham was not only revered by the great prophets of Israel, but also by a great prophet of another country with which, however, he was connected by various bonds of creed, relationship and language. More than two thousand years after Abraham's revolt, a new prophet in the desert heard the voice of beyond, and founded in his conscience a total devotion

to the all-creating power which revealed itself in the miracle of the universe and in the actions of holy men. Surrounded by the dogmatism and degenerate scholasticism of orthodox Byzantium, monophysite Abyssinia and Zoroastrian Persia, Mohammed of Arabia overthrew with the vigour of his believing soul all intellectual superstitions, and put in their place the majestic certitude of the man whose thoughts are justified and sanctified by his deeds. His fiery words, poetic as well as religious, awakened new hopes, new dreams, new cultures in all countries from Spain to India, which knew the triumph of his enthusiastic adepts. He loved and revered Abraham as the most venerable prophet of Antiquity, praising him not only by traditions of the Bible, but also by many wonderful legends. From where did Mohammed draw his intimate knowledge of Abraham? Undoubtedly his near connection with the powerful Jewish communities in Arabia gave him plenty of details about the Patriarch. But he pretended that Abraham and his son Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabian nation, had always been venerated among Ishmael's descendants, quite independently of the Israelitic tradition which formed only another branch of the same creed. Did this direct tradition of Ishmael, besides that of Isaac and Moses, really exist?

In certain parts of the Arabian desert a vital, not dogmatic, radiation of the patriarchal conception of a holy humanity was never extinguished. The venerable sheikh, abhorring pagan idolatry and living in measure and justice, may have strode with dignity through long centuries, always keeping high the tradition of a sanctified life among his conservative tribesmen. This ethical undercurrent probably did much to encourage Mohammed in his daring proclamation of a renewed prophethood. So his gratitude to Abraham was deeply justified.

I cannot end without expressing my admiration for the splendid task which reveals itself just in our time and just in this country, as a duty of this double posterity, in which Abraham is being revered as the oldest ancestor, as the father of both Ishmael and Isaac. After a long and tragic wandering the descendants of Abraham's younger son are coming back to the old promised land. At the same time the descendants of the elder son, who centuries ago rose to cultural splendour, are experiencing a new enthusiasm for deliverance from exterior and interior bondage. There is the danger that these two groups may clash, paralysing each other. But there is also a justified hope that after some new trials they will unite to common activity.

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# A MINISTRY OF PROPAGANDA UNDER THE FATIMIDS

OMAR SALEH BARGHUTHY

During the last few decades, propaganda has developed into a powerful and efficient weapon. But its childhood lasted for almost two thousand years. Historians have traced many instances in the pattern of civilisation when propaganda, similar in many respects to the methods we know today, was used to the fullest extent.

The area, which is now described as the Middle East, saw a mature form of governmental propaganda as long ago as the tenth century.

A Fatimid Caliph, Almuiz, then ruling in Cairo, was the first Moslem ruler to create an efficient Propaganda Department under a "Minister of Propaganda" (داعي الدعاء). The existence of this post was not revealed to the people until the Fatimids were firmly esconced as rulers. The reasons for this were obvious. The activities of this Minister were kept secret in order to facilitate the dissemination of Shi'ite principles in a Sunni Egypt. He also combatted the intrigues of the Opposition by means of clever organisation and secret agents.

Thus the Fatimid Shi'ite rulers directed political, religious, and educational affairs. The post of Minister was only filled by men of exceptional ability. The Ministry was independent of other Government Departments and wielded a wide authority. The Minister of Propaganda was next in importance to the Chief Justice, and was dressed like him. He had to be well versed in the dogmas of his school of thought, so as to help others to understand them, and to encourage new converts.

He had twelve Secrétaries, each of whom was in charge of an office, and had full powers to administer his own realm. Periodical meetings were held, at which the Secrétaries made full reports to the Minister and discussed future policy. Each Secretary employed several Inspectors, whose number varied according to conditions existing in the area under his control.

These Inspectors performed the duties of envoys. Their main functions were:—

- (1) to convey messages to the Propagandists residing in different districts;
  - (2) to investigate the political and religious conditions;
  - (3) to advise Propagandists;
  - (4) to submit reports and information to the Secretaries
- who, in turn, conveyed these intelligences to the Minister.

The learned jurists of the domain held meetings in the Department of the Minister. At these meetings, the jurists proposed new laws. Once or twice a week, these laws were submitted as bills in "The Book of Wisdom". Those bills which were acceptable to the Minister were submitted by him to the Caliph. If the Caliph approved, they became laws.

When the Minister had read the whole law, listeners approached and kissed his hand. He blessed them by passing over their heads the paper on which the law was written. He then took from them the titles, which were three and a half dirhams for the common people, and 33 dinars for the rich. Affluent persons were distinguished from the others by receiving a Royal Certificate worded:— "God bless you, your son, your wealth".

The large sums of money thus collected were taken by the Minister to the Caliph, who would then allot a certain amount to the Department of Propaganda.

At all times the Minister strove for accuracy in his news. He instructed his employees to be honest and faithful. It was an important rule of their profession that they never announced news unless it was based on confirmed facts. The Minister's staff worked to gain the confidence of the people, because the common man would only believe those whom he trusted. Bad behaviour or dishonesty meant instant dismissal for any employee.

Channels for spreading propaganda in the tenth century were limited, in comparison with the means at our disposal today. But the Minister successfully issued his principles through the following mediums:—

- (1) In mosques, at the time of prayer.
- (2) In libraries, where the people met. The Department used a cunning device to put over its ideas: Two of the Minister's men would start an argument, which, as previously arranged, ended in the victory of the man whose point of view was favourable to the Fatamids.
- (3) On the minarets, from which speakers eulogised the Fatimids and defamed the Opposition.
- (4) By means of Governmental statements and communiques, which were engraved on stone and placed at wells and market-places, or written on paper and distributed throughout the country.
- (5) Poets, hired by the Propaganda Ministry, extolled the

many merits of the Fatimids, and these odes were chanted to the populace by Ministry employees.

(6) A familiar piece of graft, whereby adherents were encouraged to cling to the Fatimid principles by being presented with gifts and donations.

(7) The shrewd device of appointing influential persons to Government posts, thus restraining their freedom of speech, and putting them under a moral obligation to support the Government.

Those who held the post of Minister were carefully chosen for their loyalty to the Caliph, his Government, and his ideals. The careful planning and forethought, which was evident in the work of the Ministry, was almost anachronistic. The propaganda methods of the tenth century were modern in their conception, and for their day, as efficient as any we know now.

For further reference cf.:

- (1) KHITAT al-MUKRIZI,
- (2) ASSUYUTI,
- (3) AL KALKASHANDI.

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# THE STERLING BALANCES AND PALESTINE

E. BROMBERGER

A preliminary observation to the question under discussion is that it is not one of abstract theoretical interest, but one of eminently practical and political importance, and the manager of the whole problem, so to speak, is Great Britain—the nation most experienced in financial affairs. It will be useful, therefore, to bear in mind that in practical politics not all facts and figures given are always absolutely truthful. Financial statistics are more tricky than other statistics, and not all British statistics connected with sterling balances reflect the whole truth. The figures used herein are those which I believe to be true.

## Origin and Growth of Sterling Balances

Before embarking on this question, one should try to define precisely what sterling balances are. Such a definition is by no means easy and, as far as I know, no official definition for that term has as yet been published. From a financial point of view, one could, perhaps, term all debts owed by the United Kingdom to other countries "sterling balances". But such a definition would be open to grave objections. In the first place, not all British debts to other countries come within this category, as, for instance, the debts recently incurred by the United Kingdom through the loans taken from the U.S.A. and Canada. Furthermore, it is a characteristic feature of the sterling balance that such money is held in the United Kingdom in the name or under the control of the owner of that sterling balance. It follows that voluntary investments by foreigners in British industries and other assets that are not quickly realisable are foreign investments in Great Britain and should not be included under this heading. Thus, one might define sterling balances as money held in Great Britain by foreign countries, whether central banks, banks, companies or individuals, for purposes other than long-term investment. Consequently, sterling balances are liquid money or capital resources intended to be liquid.

How do these sterling balances accumulate? There are various ways, of which the most important are: — Army expenditure, the Dollar Pool, British monetary agreements, the Annual Deficit in the British balance of trade, British Foreign Investments, etc.

The case of army expenditure can be illustrated by using



a Palestinian example. The Army in Palestine uses local labour for the erection of a military camp. The Army must pay the workers in Palestinian money and it obtains this money by buying Palestinian pounds from the Palestine Currency Board against British pounds. For every Palestinian pound expended by the Army in Palestine one British pound is handed over to the Palestine Currency Board, and thereby Palestine's holdings of British pounds in Great Britain are increased. If Palestine were in a position to utilise these British pounds obtained through Army expenditure in Palestine for the payment of goods and services to be supplied to Palestine by other countries, then no sterling balances would accumulate. In actual fact, Palestine could not utilise such British pounds for payments during the war, and this holds true, to some extent, even today. Sterling balances are, however, not created by Army expenditure alone. British purchases of goods are often paid not in goods and services, but in British pounds as, for example, citrus exports to Great Britain. In this connection, it must be remembered that imports into Great Britain still exceed by far British exports, and that the income of British services earned abroad can as yet not cover this deficit.

The main task of the Dollar Pool consists in the supply of hard currencies to Great Britain. The technique is simple enough: Palestine exports diamonds to the United States, and the dollars so earned are handed over to the Dollar Pool, whilst diamond exporters in Palestine are credited with the equivalent in British pounds. We know the conditions as they exist in Palestine; they are similar in most other countries possessing sterling balances. India, for example, from 1942 to 1945 sold to the United States goods and services exceeding by 421 million dollars Indian purchases of goods and services in the United States. It is, therefore, not surprising to find a statement by Mr. Dalton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the rise in British foreign exchange reserves "was due partly to proceeds of sterling area exports and partly to the fact that American troops in the sterling area were paid in sterling and other local currencies, which the American Government bought with dollars; and these dollars came back into our reserves".

Bound up with the Dollar Pool is the question of the British monetary agreements, which the United Kingdom has concluded with a considerable number of countries since 1944. These agreements are often designed to facilitate the purchase of foreign goods for Great Britain, and such purchases are paid for by sterling area exports. Thus, to quote an example, Britain needs Swedish timber and Sweden needs citrus. Palestine therefore sells citrus to Sweden, Great Britain buys Swedish timber with the Swedish kroner so obtained, and the result of this three-cornered financial transaction is that Sweden obtains citrus, Great Britain

timber and Palestine—sterling balances. In actual practice such a policy is pursued in not quite so blunt a fashion.

A similar result is obtained by new British foreign investments, such as the construction of the additional pipe-line from Kirkuk to Haifa. All local expenditure connected with such new investments is paid in local currencies purchased against the surrender of British pounds.

Summarising, one can state that sterling balances are created as long as Great Britain is not in a position to pay for the use of foreign goods and services and new British investments abroad by the export of British goods and services and new foreign investments in Great Britain. To this definition two further considerations have to be added: (a) As long as the deficit in the British balance of payments is covered solely by the use of the American and Canadian loans, no new sterling balances will be created. In effect, one could regard these loans to Great Britain as foreign investments in Great Britain, so that they would be covered by the above definition. (b) The deficit might be lowered, in addition, by the disposal of British foreign assets, or by the sale of German and other reparations accruing to the United Kingdom.

#### **Britain's Trade Balance**

What is the total amount of existing sterling balances? At the end of 1945, Mr. Dalton stated that these balances amounted to £3,500 million. Since then they have undoubtedly increased, though no exact figures are available. It is possible that the figure of the sterling balances is in effect higher, as not even the Bank of England knows the exact amount. This is due, in the first place, to the absence of an exact definition of the term "sterling balances" and, in the second place, to the practice of requesting only the London branches of the overseas monetary institutions to furnish the amount of British pounds they are holding. How difficult it is to determine exactly the amount of the existing sterling balances can be seen in the case of Palestine, where no exact data are available, or in the case of Egypt where the Government, about a year ago, undertook a census of all sterling balances in order to obtain reliable figures. It should be mentioned, in this connection, that the Egyptian census was by no means successful.

It would not be far wrong to assume the sterling balances to be in the neighbourhood of £4,000 million. This is a huge sum indeed, nearly three times the debts to the United States of America incurred by Great Britain during the First World War. It will be remembered that the United Kingdom stopped repaying these war debts in 1931, and of late these debts have officially been waived. In order to evaluate the tremendous burden of these balances for British economy, a few facts concerning the British balance of payments before the war must be recalled. During the

average of the three years 1936—1938, British imports of goods amounted to £891 million and British exports of goods to £496 million, thus leaving an adverse trade balance of £395 million. This adverse trade balance was covered by net income from shipping in the amount of £105 million, net income from overseas investments—£203 million, net income from commissions, insurance etc.—£37 million, and net receipts from other sources £7 million. In addition, £43 million of British overseas investments had to be realised in order to close the gap still remaining in the adverse balance of trade.

If Great Britain again reached its pre-war standing, it could not repay the sterling balances; it could not even pay the annual interest on such sterling balances without increasing the sale of British overseas assets. But Great Britain is as yet far from having attained its pre-war standing. Income from shipping, overseas investments and the commissions and insurance business have declined considerably, and in the opinion of many experts Great Britain is not likely to regain her pre-war income from services and overseas investments. This gloomy outlook is the reason why already during the war the necessity for increasing British exports was stressed. The export drive is now in full swing, and though British exports in 1946 have regained, and even slightly exceeded, peacetime standards, a rise by 75 per cent in British exports is needed, provided imports do not rise above the pre-war level and provided further, that income from services and overseas investments is maintained at its pre-war level; all this is necessary in order to enable Great Britain to pay interest on her sterling balances, and to commence repaying these debts. It is true that the grant of the American and the Canadian loans has somewhat alleviated the immediate stress; but then the American and British experts at the Washington negotiations prior to the grant of the American loan, estimated that the United Kingdom would have a deficit in its balance of payments of £750 million in 1946 and £500 million each in 1947 and 1948, and modest deficiencies in 1949 and 1950. They believe that not before 1951 will Great Britain be on her feet again, but in the same year she will have to commence repaying the American and Canadian loans, to the tune of £50 million pounds a year. The final figures for the balance of payments of Great Britain during 1946 will be published only in April, but provisional figures show a deficit of £450 million. Here it must be added, as the "Economic Survey for 1947", the latest British White Paper points out, "Our balance of payments in 1946 has been more favourable than expected. But this is largely because we have been unable to obtain all the food and raw materials that we need". This question in itself is perhaps not so decisive, as during 1946 Great Britain restricted considerably her imports with a resultant depletion of her stocks.

A further pointer to the difficult position in which Great Britain finds herself is the recent White Paper with its strong wording regarding the dangers implied in the balance of payments position of Great Britain. The immediate outlook, therefore, and perhaps also the long-term outlook, for Britain's ability to repay her sterling balances are not encouraging. It is also doubtful whether Great Britain really intends to repay all her sterling balances, because they can be repaid not only by British goods and services but equally by the disposal of British overseas assets as well as by reparations exacted from Germany, Italy, and Japan. The present mood in Great Britain is, however, opposed to a radical lowering of the German standard of life. Great Britain is even going to the length of subsidising British-controlled Germany, but it regards with equanimity—and some circles even demand—a default in the repayment of the sterling balances to India, which would lead to a lowering of that country's standard of living. It must be borne in mind that the living standard of India is still lower than that of Germany! Great Britain's moral obligation towards her creditors requires her to insist on maximum payment of reparations being made by the ex-enemy countries.

The second source that might be available for repayment of sterling balances are British overseas investments. True, the total of overseas investments was depleted during the war as a result of repatriation and other measures, but the remaining assets must still be appreciable on account of the war-time investments by the British Army and the rising value of British oil concessions. It is significant that no official estimates for British overseas investments were submitted at the time of the Washington negotiations, and no such estimates have been published since. If a rough guess is permitted, the value of such British overseas investments may be stated to be in the neighbourhood of £2,500 million. Though this is a considerable amount, it must not be forgotten that the United Kingdom will probably be unwilling to part with the bulk of its overseas assets in exchange for the cancellation of sterling balances.

For all practical purposes, therefore, one has to assume that money is available for the repayment of sterling balances from one source only, namely British goods and services. Here it must be added that the Anglo-American Financial Agreement prohibits, (Article 8), the use of the American loan for the repayment of sterling balances; and the same holds true with regard to the Canadian Loan Agreement. Furthermore, the credits, which Great Britain will obtain from the International Monetary Fund, can likewise not be used for the settlement of sterling balances, as the Bretton Woods Agreement expressly prohibits the use of the resources of the International Monetary Fund for the settlement of war debts.

## Anglo-American Financial Agreement

How, then, can the question of the sterling balances be solved? The only official answer we have so far is contained in the Anglo-American Financial Agreement of December, 1945. Article 10 of this Agreement divides the owners of sterling balances into two categories, namely (1) sterling area countries, and (2) other countries. In the case of (1), the United Kingdom is allowed to make agreements, "varying according to the circumstances of each case". With regard to sterling area countries, however, "the settlements will be on the basis of dividing these accumulated balances into three categories:

- (a) balances to be released at once and convertible into any currency for current transactions;
- (b) balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning in 1951; and
- (c) balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of the benefits which the countries concerned might be expected to gain from such a settlement."

Furthermore, the Anglo-American Financial Agreement lays down that the settlement of the sterling balances shall be concluded not later than one year after the effective date of the signature of the Agreement, i.e. July 15th, 1947. This is indeed necessary, as Great Britain undertook to abolish the Dollar Pool and the restrictions on the payment for current transactions on the same date. Finally, the International Monetary Fund cannot really start its operations until the question of the sterling balances is settled and the Dollar Pool is abolished.

The above demonstrates the immense importance of a settlement of sterling balances for the restoration of international financial transactions and institutions.

The proposed solution of the question is, of course, unacceptable to the majority of the owners of the sterling balances, and India and Egypt, the biggest creditors of Great Britain, have made this point quite clear. Nevertheless, a British Financial Mission went to India at the end of January of this year, and this Mission had the task of negotiating a settlement of India's sterling balances. The same Mission has also been charged with negotiating a settlement with Egypt and Iraq. The talks with Egypt in this connection have already ended without result.

On the basis of the information so far available, the division of sterling balances into three categories would amount to a release of between 8 and 10 per cent, of such balances, to a blocking of some 40 to 50 per cent., and a writing-off of one-third to one-half of all the balances. The gold and hard-currency reserves at present in the hands of the Bank of England amount to between 500 and 600 million pounds, so that whoever cuts the

cake cannot cut a piece exceeding approximately 10 per cent. in immediately realisable sterling balances.

### **Sterling Balance Agreements**

Hitherto only four sterling balance agreements have been concluded. The first one was with Portugal and was duly kept secret, as, according to "The Times" and "The Economist", Britain undertook in this agreement to repay all the sterling balances of Portugal by the delivery of British capital goods to that country within a few years. Only after the signature of this agreement did Portugal consent to conclude a monetary agreement with the United Kingdom. It cannot be ascertained whether Portugal has made any concessions in the political field, or otherwise, in exchange for this agreement. The second agreement is that concluded with the Argentine. The negotiations concerning Argentine's sterling balances were bound up with negotiations regarding the long-term purchase of Argentine's exportable meat and the position of British railway assets in that country. Here, too, Great Britain acceded to all claims with regard to Argentine's sterling balances. The main points of this latter agreement are:— From 17th September, 1946, all sterling to be received by Argentine shall be freely convertible into any currency. Thus Argentine need not accumulate any further sterling balances. Of the existing sterling balances, estimated at some £ 80 to £ 120 million, £ 5 million shall be repaid during each of the next four years, and the remainder shall bear interest at  $\frac{1}{2}\%$  and shall enjoy the existing gold guarantee. After four years the position shall be reviewed again, but in the meantime the Argentine is entitled to use £ 10 million of her sterling balances for the repayment of debts to Brazil and for the repatriation of outstanding sterling debts, whether public, national, provincial or municipal, or for the purchase of British railways in the Argentine. Finally, the sterling balances shall also be available to cover any deficit which may exist in any year in Argentine's balance of payments with the sterling area. Thus, if in any year the Argentine should buy, say, £ 100 million worth of goods and should herself sell to the sterling area goods and services valued at, say, £ 80 million, then the deficit of £ 20 million can be paid out of the Argentine's remaining sterling balances. By this last proviso, the Argentine is in a position to shift her sterling balances on to sterling area countries whenever she desires, as her sterling balances remain freely disposable within the sterling area. This proviso not only works out to the disadvantage of the sterling area countries but also clearly infringes on Article 10 of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, which lays down that after July, 1947, there shall exist either freely convertible pounds or totally blocked pounds, but not pounds convertible only into sterling area currencies. The United States have duly protested against this infringement of the

Anglo-American Financial Agreement, and the United Kingdom has promised not to do it again. In the meantime Great Britain has sold its railways in Argentine and thus the problem has been solved by the repayment in full of the Argentine's sterling balances.

An agreement for the delivery by Great Britain of capital goods has also been concluded with Brazil and Uruguay, such goods to be paid for from the sterling balances possessed by these countries. Brazil and Uruguay have, of course, made concessions to Great Britain in other fields, such as in the supply of foodstuffs, civil aviation, etc.

It is obvious that the British resources available for the repayment of the sterling balances to sterling area countries will be smaller to the extent to which Great Britain undertakes to repay in full the sterling balances owned by countries outside the sterling area.

### **Shifting of Sterling Balances**

Equal in importance to the question of the final solution of these balances is the sterling balance policy. The foregoing has already mentioned a few examples of such a policy, and one can now define sterling balance policy as the interplay between the measures adopted by countries possessing sterling balances to get rid of them and the opposite course pursued by Great Britain for the purpose of increasing her sterling debts.

Extensive use has been made by a number of countries to decrease their sterling assets by way of repatriation. India, for instance, has diminished her sterling balances by repaying to Great Britain long-term sterling loans granted to the Indian Government out of her sterling assets. India has in this way been able to decrease her sterling assets by 300 to 400 million pounds. Most of such repatriation has taken place in conjunction with the British Treasury, and British owners of some foreign securities were compelled to surrender them to the British Treasury, which sold them to foreign countries against sterling balances. Extensive use has been made of such vesting orders in the case of the United States of America and South Africa. It is mainly for this reason that the British Dominions, except Eire, possess practically no sterling balances; but also every other independent country has resorted to this method of repatriation where possible. Egypt, for instance, has repatriated British-owned loans to Egypt for the sum of approximately £ 30 million.

India has even attempted to repay British loans granted to Australia by the United Kingdom in order to make use of India's sterling balance. By repaying Australian debts to the United Kingdom, India decreases her sterling balances and Australia becomes indebted to India instead of to the United Kingdom. Finally, India

undertook to purchase Australian goods in settlement of such Australian debts to India. Only in a few cases has Great Britain permitted such three-cornered repatriation transactions. In this way and in various other ways all countries blessed with sterling balances are pursuing an active policy to shift them on to some one else or back to the United Kingdom. This explains why there is a continuous change of hands as regards ownership of the sterling balances and why the latter are liquidated and newly created at one and the same time.

Not only do most of the countries holding sterling balances pursue a sterling balance policy, but Great Britain herself likewise utilises the sterling balances for her economic policy. We have mentioned the cases of Portugal and Argentine. We can add that Great Britain has repaid all her sterling balances to Belgium. Great Britain further released all French sterling balances against the French surrendering all British property held in France. The influence of the sterling balances can also be seen in the various monetary agreements concluded by Great Britain since 1944. Sweden, for instance, has had to agree to the accumulation of £41 million of sterling balances until the middle of 1947, and a similar policy was pursued in the case of Switzerland. The distribution of foreign exchange by the Dollar Pool likewise has a bearing on the question of the sterling balance, inasmuch as most countries in the sterling area purchase their foreign exchange from the Pool against sterling.

It is obvious that in all policies around the sterling balances independent countries can take care of their own interests, whereas dependent territories have but little possibility of ridding themselves of their balances. The position can now be summarised as follows:—

Sterling balances have already reached the sum of £4000 million and are likely to grow still further for some time to come. No material part of the sterling balances can be repaid in the near future out of the national income of the United Kingdom; and the use of German and other reparations as well as of British overseas investments for the settlement of sterling balances will be allowed by the United Kingdom only to a very limited extent. Great Britain is under an obligation to find a long-term solution for the question of sterling balances by July, 1947. As long as this question is not settled, the Dollar Pool cannot be abolished and payments for current transactions cannot be freed from all restrictions and the International Monetary Fund cannot start its operations. The solution suggested in the Anglo-American Financial Agreement is unacceptable to most sterling area countries. In the meantime, every country possessing sterling balances is trying to get rid of them, and Great Britain repays sterling balances whenever this is in her own



interests. Thus Great Britain's sterling balance policy is not based on the merits of each case but on British interests.

### **Palestine**

Take the case of Palestine. Palestine's sterling balances are estimated at between 130 and 150 million pounds. This is a very large sum for such a small country and represents an approximate value of two years' pre-war national income in Palestine. This comparison alone already indicates that in the case of Palestine a larger part of her total resources is formed by her sterling balances than in any other country owning sterling balances. We can demonstrate this fact in a different way: Palestine's sterling balances amount to about £80 per head of the population, as against £3 to £4 in the case of India and about £25 in that of Egypt. These comparisons demonstrate the great importance of sterling balances for Palestine and her economic future.

The case of Palestine, however, is somewhat different from the problem of the sterling balances of nearly all other countries on account of the following considerations:

- (a) Palestine is not an independent country and is compelled to accumulate sterling balances owing to the foreign exchange and other controls introduced by the British Administration. In the case of independent countries, sterling balances were accumulated by agreement, some countries obtaining gold guarantees for their sterling balances, some countries other promises. But the accumulation of the sterling balances was not, and indeed could not, take place without the consent of the countries concerned.
- (b) In the case of Palestine, as well as in the case of the British colonies, there is no necessity for finding a solution of the sterling balances by July, 1947. The reason is that these territories are included in the British quota of the International Monetary Fund and will continue to form, together with the United Kingdom, one currency area with pooling of foreign exchange and free capital transfer within its confines. There is no necessity for the release of one part of Palestine's sterling balances, as Palestine has no independent foreign exchange control. If a part of Palestine's sterling balances were released in foreign exchange, Palestine would still have to surrender this foreign exchange immediately to the Bank of England by virtue of the Bretton Woods Agreement, which Great Britain accepted also on behalf of Palestine. One might argue that a settlement of the problem of the sterling balances of Palestine might still be required from the point of view of British interests, as the restrictions on the payments for current transactions must be lifted by July, 1947, also then, payments for current transactions should reach a volume, on account of large imports, foreign travels, foreign insur-

ance, etc., that would compel Britain to allow the use of sterling balances as payment for such current transactions, it might also be in the interests of Great Britain to settle Palestine's sterling balances. In reality, however, such a contingency is not very likely to arise, as Palestine will in all probability earn more foreign exchange than she will be allowed to expend, and the chances are that Palestine will be compelled, as hitherto, to hand over part of her foreign exchange earnings to the United Kingdom. Moreover, Britain is entitled, on the basis of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, to declare that all sterling expenditure arising out of military expenditure by the Government of the United Kingdom shall not be interchangeable into foreign exchange prior to December 31st, 1948. Thus in Palestine, where British military expenditure is still relatively heavy, various kinds of Palestinian pounds would have to be created, if Palestine's sterling balances were settled before July, 1947, and British military expenditure should continue in this country after that date.

Here it must be added that a careful reading of the financial agreement between the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom will reveal that a different treatment of the territories included in the British quota was apparently already envisaged during the Washington negotiations. Article 4 of the agreement in question provides that if Great Britain requests a waiver of interest on the American loan, the payments on account of the blocked sterling balances must be reduced proportionately, "except in the case of colonial dependencies". This special treatment of colonial dependencies is, of course, due to the fact that these territories are included in the British quota, and payments to such territories do not involve foreign exchange. As the status of Palestine in respect of financial affairs is exactly the same as that of colonial dependencies, it can be assumed that Palestine is likewise covered by this paragraph.

These considerations show that there is neither a financial nor a legal necessity for the United Kingdom to find or to impose a solution for the problem of the sterling balances of Palestine. It remains legal, however, for the United Kingdom to impose a solution of Palestine's sterling balances on the lines of the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, though the practical difficulties are so great that such a course appears unlikely.

If, therefore, the question of the sterling balances in Palestine should remain unsolved, we might expect a continuation of the present system, with foreign exchange and foreign trade controls and, under certain circumstances, a further accumulation of sterling balances. It is obvious that this alternative to a solution of Palestine's problem of sterling balances is far from desirable, especially in view of the need for import of foreign capital with a view to the economic expansion of this country.

A third possibility, namely, a solution which would combine a settlement of the sterling balances with the abolition of British financial control, is not realisable for Palestine in her present political status.

The best solution for Palestine would, of course, follow the Argentine example, whereby Palestine's sterling balances would remain usable within the sterling area, further accumulation of sterling balances would be stopped, and the remaining sterling balances earmarked for certain financial transactions, or for repayment over a number of years. It is evident, however, that such a course is impossible in the case of Palestine on account of the fact that Palestine is included in the British quota of the International Monetary Fund.

Hence, only two ways appear to be open:—

- (a) A continuation of the present system of controls and no solution of the sterling balances, and
- (b) a continuation of the present system of controls combined with a blocking and/or writing-off of parts of Palestine's sterling balances, but no part of such sterling balances to be released or earmarked in foreign exchange for the use of Palestine only.

It is likely that the first course will be followed, as the second is neither legally nor financially necessary for the United Kingdom. For the future, it can be foreseen that the present system of financial controls will remain, and the halcyon days before the war, when the movement of capital and goods in and out of Palestine was unrestricted, must be relegated to the past.

When, a few weeks ago, the new Foreign Exchange Bill was debated in the House of Commons, the Conservative Opposition tried to limit the validity of this new law to between three and five years. The Labour Party refused this amendment, and when Mr. Dalton was asked for how long he intended to keep this law in force, he answered: "eternity". It is hoped that British financial controls in Palestine will be of shorter duration.

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# OIL AND ARAB NATIONALISM

JON KIMCHE

Within a matter of months after the end of the second world war the interest of the three victorious world powers — Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States — was once more focussed on the Middle East. It was not the first time that they were interested. They had been involved before — but previously their actual motive had been outside; the Middle East, from Cairo to Teheran, was a means to an end; it had never been the political objective itself.

The British have been interested for two centuries in the shorter route to India; first by land, then by the Suez Canal, and finally by air. Napoleon saw Egypt as a stepping stone to the conquest of India, and Hitler as one on the road to the Caucasus. Later British interest in the Arab revolt was roused because it was a means to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, and British support for the Balfour Declaration was largely based on the hope that it would swing American Jewry fully to support the Allies. Even throughout the second world war the Middle East remained what it had been — a useful bridge between Continents, a strategic road-house for the protection of imperial communications.

Russian concern was concentrated on the Dardanelles and, more remotely, on the Persian Gulf. Insofar as Soviet policy played any part in the Middle East, it was mainly to obstruct the consolidation of British influence.

## **International Oil Interests**

But already the first sign of the great change came in November 1943 at the Teheran Conference between Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill, and President Roosevelt. Marshall Stalin proposed that the post-war development and distribution of petroleum should be discussed; he had particularly the Middle East in mind. Stalin had impressive information about the oil reserves reported to be available in Persia, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia; he had also received indications of the great drop in the currently available oil supplies within the Soviet Union. Middle East oil was discussed; but the Big Three reached no agreement.

The Teheran Conference passed, but the interest Marshal Stalin had shown in the oil riches of the Middle East had deeply affected President Roosevelt; Mr. Churchill needed no impressing. As far back as July 1913, Churchill had proposed that the British Government take over control of the then Anglo-Persian Oil

Company; "we must become the owners", he told Parliament, "or at any rate the controllers at the source, of at least a proportion of the supply of natural oil which we require". Now, after the Teheran discussion, two momentous issues stood out like mountains in a desert: the one, that Russia and the United States could no longer rely on their own reserves of oil to supply their commercial needs under peace conditions; the other, that the richest and most easily tapped oil reserves in the world were situated in the Middle East.

The Russian oil crisis was already an established fact. Russian Oil production in 1945 was authoritatively estimated at 20 million tons; the target figure in the Five Year Plan is 35 million tons by 1950—but the output increase during 1946 was officially stated to have been disappointing.

The American Oil crisis is not expected for another decade or two, but it is already casting its shadow over United States policy in the Middle East. The essence of this oil crisis in the States is simple enough. On October 30, 1946, the U.S. Information Service issued a statement by Mr. Charles Rayner, Petroleum Adviser to the U.S. Department of State. Mr. Rayner made two main points:<sup>1</sup>

1. *United States consumption of Petroleum in twenty years is estimated at 6,500,000 barrels per day;*
2. *United States production of Petroleum in 1965 would be at the most 4,000,000 barrels per day.*

By 1965 the United States would have to import petroleum at the rate of 400,000 tons of oil daily to meet current needs; that is at the rate of 150 million tons per year, or 200 million tons if military requirements are included.

It is a formidable spectre, this, that haunts every facet of American industrial development, terrifying beyond anything the coal shortage could do to British industry. Furthermore, the time lag before crisis supervened appears uncommonly short; by 1965 the gap between supply and need will have become acute; by 1955 shortage of domestic petroleum may become noticeable—unless alternative oil supplies are discovered. Where, then, is the United States to look for this life-blood of oil, and where can it be tapped within the short time available?

The most reliable estimate of world Oil Resources<sup>2</sup> gives the following picture:

1 Petroleum Press Service, London.

2 Made in Yale Review, Summer 1946, by Joseph E. Poynes, Oil Economist of the Chase National Bank.

WORLD OIL RESOURCES (in million tons)		
	Proved Reserves	Estimate of future Discoveries
U. S. A.	3,000	7,000
Caribbean	1,300	9,000
Rest of Western Hemisphere	100	4,000
<b>Total Western Hemisphere</b>	<b>4,400</b>	<b>20,000</b>
U. S. S. R.	900	15,000
Rest of Europe	100	1,000
<b>Total under U. S. S. R. influence</b>	<b>1,000</b>	<b>16,000</b>
Middle East	4,000	21,000
Far East	200	8,000
Rest Eastern Hemisphere	100	4,000
<b>Total Eastern Hemisphere excluding U. S. S. R. "zone"</b>	<b>4,300</b>	<b>33,000</b>
<b>Total World</b>	<b>9,700</b>	<b>69,000</b>

From this estimate emerged the salutary lesson that of the World's proved reserves of oil outside the United States, two-thirds (about 62%) were to be found in the Middle East; if the oil under direct Russian control was excluded, the Middle East accounted for 75 per cent of the world's proved reserves of oil which can be drawn upon to close the gap in American oil supplies.

Again, of the estimates of future discoveries outside the United States and Russia, the Middle East accounts for 45 per cent of the total. But as the American oil crisis is, in the first instance, a short-term crisis, the easily exploited sources of oil would have to be the mainstay of the new American orientation.

#### **American Oil Expansion**

Certain features of oil exploitation in the Middle East lend

themselves particularly well to the exigencies of American need. The search for oil in the Middle East is much more economical in cash and effort than elsewhere. Up to 1929 the American oil industry had drilled 50,398 exploratory wells in the United States; of these 47,939 — 95 per cent — brought no results; this proportion has, if anything, increased since then. In Saudi Arabia only 150 exploratory wells were drilled before the oil resources there were fully tapped.

A further illustration of this particular advantage of Middle East oil is gained from a comparison of the daily output of oilwells in different parts of the world. This shows output to be as follows:

Average output of oilwells in:

Poland	$\frac{1}{2}$ ton	per day	
U.S.A	$1\frac{1}{2}$ tons	„	„
Rumania	$7\frac{1}{2}$	„	„
Venezuela	25	„	„
Persia	400	„	„

The World Average being about 3 tons per well daily.

All in all, therefore, once the reality of the United States oil crisis was recognised, there was indeed only one effective source of help — the Middle East.

It has been said that these American oil crises are proclaimed at given intervals and have never been justified by later experience. But this time, American action followed with iron, or more accurately, petroleum logic. It is necessary only to rehearse the essential dates to see that this was no artificially created panic, but that Americans treated it with deadly seriousness.

In February 1943, a U.S. Senate Committee presided over by the, then, Senator Harry Truman published its Report on the oil situation. It recommended “large-scale expansion of holdings in foreign oil reserves by U.S. nationals”. It proposed that “full diplomatic backing” and protection should be given to these oil companies operating outside the U.S.

About the same time, on his way back from the Teheran Conference, President Roosevelt met King Ibn Saud and a few months after this meeting, American exploitation of Saudi Arabian oil began in earnest. The so-called “Red Line Agreement” concluded in 1928 was declared void. It had stipulated that if one of the British, American, or French companies associated in the Iraq Petroleum Company extended its concessions in the Middle East, the other two should be entitled to a share equal to  $23\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. It was the last limiting factor on American oil expansion in the Middle East. It was declared void by common consent of the British and American Governments — and from that moment, the shackles came off American oil expansion in Arabia.

### Oil Impact on Middle East

Few basic industries have expanded as rapidly as oil. World production has increased from under one million tons of crude oil in 1870 to these levels:

1900		21 million tons
1938	} excluding Middle East	285 " "
1946		340 " "
1950 estimate		370 " "

This in itself is impressive. But when one considers the Middle East output figures and estimates against the rate of world progress, their full portent becomes increasingly self-evident. The same set of figures for the Middle East reads as follows:

1938	16 million tons
1946	32 " "
1950 estimate	77 " "

The comparative rate of expansion of the oil industry in the Middle East and the Rest of the World can be illustrated by this index of increase in production:

	Middle East	Rest of World
1938	100	100
1946	200	121
1950 estimate	480	135

Another way of putting this is that in 1938 the Middle East accounted for 6 per cent of the world's oil output; the estimated share for 1950 is 22 per cent. In every way, therefore, the Middle East is becoming an integral part of increasing importance in the race for oil; indeed, it is for the coming decade probably more in the nature of a source of national security for the powers who control this oil and less a matter of old-fashioned competitive trading.



## **Economic and Political Repercussions**

This then is the economic impact that has hit the Middle East from Meshed to Mecca and continues to hit it all the time. It conditions increasingly the economics and politics as well as the power politics of the region. It has invaded Zionism and the Arab League; it becomes the most potent concomitant of Arab Nationalism.

This economic impact is something unique in the history of economic expansion. Capital has, it is true, always colonised, exploited, and developed backward areas but it has always been, by comparison with today, a somewhat primitive capitalism. One has to compare the first steps of the D'Arcy oil concession in Persia at the beginning of the century with the first steps of the American-Arabian Company during the past five years. Today the economic penetration of the Middle East is conducted by the most powerful group of the most powerful capitalism backed by the most powerful state in the world. Furthermore, it is not moving into a political vacuum but into a region potent with awakened and intense nationalism. The effects of this combination of dynamic Anglo-American capital and dynamic Arab nationalism are various and far-reaching; it will intensify the power and influence of Arab nationalism beyond anything imagined by its own protagonists.

But this Anglo-American re-entry will bring with it two distinct and often contradictory consequences. In the first instance it will increase and strengthen American influence in the ruling councils of some Middle Eastern states. It has already happened in Iran where American advisers virtually control the Finance Department, the Ministry of Health, the Army and the Gendarmerie, and where American engineers survey and prospect the country. In Saudi Arabia the Americans are more circumspect, but their growing influence is hardly less real. In one way or another, Anglo-American influence will increase materially in the countries most closely affected by the oil expansion: Persia, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, and the terminal stations of the Pipelines, Palestine and the Lebanon.

The second consequence of this expansion is that something like £200 millions or about 1,000 million dollars will flow in one way or another into the coffers of Persia, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait and, to a much lesser extent, to the Levantine countries by the end of 1950—a far larger sum than that proposed by the Anglo-American Expert Committee for development work in the Arab states.

Of these £200 millions about £50 millions will be paid in Royalties to the Governments concerned—mainly Persia, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, phenomenal increases in their national revenue. Possibly another £50 millions will be paid out by the oil com-

panies in wages and other local expenditure, and loans to these countries will during the next four years amount to at least another £100 millions. Already Persia—with American support—has applied to the Export-Import Bank for a £50 million loan and an application from Saudi Arabia is expected shortly.

All this must deeply affect the social structure and political outlook of the people concerned—and the transformation will probably be drastic and rapid. Underpaid land workers and poor peasants will be drawn into employment in the oil production centres, on the pipe-line construction, and into trading with these newly forming townships and better paid workers. It heralds in fact the final break-up of the remaining feudalism in the Middle East and the creation of a new pattern of society more on Western European lines than anywhere else outside Europe and North America.

The process may take some time—but it has begun. On the level of international politics it marks also a new phase of relations within the Arab League, and of the League with the Great Powers.

### Arab League

The Arab League States will find by the iron course of events that their interests tend to link with one or the other Great Power. Saudi Arabia will be able to rely on American support and the reverse—if not important—is also true. British interest will continue to be concentrated on the Levant sea-board and the Persian Gulf. The French sole interest now is its share in the Iraqi oil, and the French and Iraqi Governments have now the common interest in seeing the Iraqi oil production expanded because the British and Americans are evidently more interested in the output of Persia, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait where they do not have to share the oil produced with France.

On the available evidence, therefore, it is possible to draw some conclusions from the oil position of the Middle East:

1. *That neither Britain nor America will seriously seek to disinterest herself in the Middle East. On the contrary, the pull of oil compels ever increasing commitments.*
2. *The economic and social impact of this will act as a strong impulse to the growth of Arab nationalism—and make it far more formidable than it is today.*
3. *That conflicting differences among the Powers interested in the Middle East will find reflection in the Arab League. That a British-backed, and American-backed, and possible French-backed bloc may develop within the League.*

4. *Because Egypt is outside the immediate oil interest she may become the first genuinely independent Arab state and play a considerable moral role in the leadership of the League.*
  5. *That any solution proposed for Palestine must take into account this transformation wrought by oil, and its concomitants, in the Arab States.*
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#### THE AUTHOR

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# ISLES OF THE BLESSED THE OASES OF KHARAGA AND DAKHLA

LEWIS G. BURNAND

*THE men sent to attack the Ammonians started from Thebes, having guides with them, and may be clearly traced as far as the City Oasis, which is inhabited by Samians, said to be of the tribe of Aeschrionia. The place is distant from Thebes seven days' journey across the sand and is called in our tongue "the Island of the Blessed". Thus far the army is known to have made its way, but thenceforth nothing is to be heard of them except what the Ammonians and those who get their knowledge from them report. It is certain they neither reached the Ammonians, nor even came back to Egypt. Further than this, the Ammonians relate as follows:— That the Persians set forth from the Oases across the sand and had reached about half way between that place and themselves, when, as they were at their mid-day meal, a wind arose from the south, strong and deadly, bringing with it vast columns of whirling sand which entirely covered up the troops and caused them wholly to disappear...<sup>1</sup>*

The fate of Cambyses' army, sent to destroy the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon at Siwa Oasis, thus described by Herodotus, can be vividly visualised by anyone who has travelled west from Luxor to the Island of the Blessed, which is the Oasis of Kharaga; and then on to the oasis of Dakhla, which was probably the last inhabited place visited by the expedition before it vanished into the terrifying arms of the great sand wastes that lie between Dakhla and Siwa. Although modern methods of transport have succeeded in linking up the distant extremities of the vast Southern Libyan desert, the great sand sea still defies the powers of man, and to-day as yesterday, the great oases of Kharaga and Dakhla are the islands which make possible and reasonably safe the journey westward from the valley of the Nile into the interior of Libya.

These oases provide a fascinating study for the student of modern social and economic affairs, no less than for the student of history and archaeology. Today, when the future of Egypt depends so much upon an expanding internal economy and an equitable distribution of population, this southernmost desert administration assumes an added importance. Its potential has not

<sup>1</sup> History of Herodotus, (Tr. E.H. BLAKENEY), Vol. I, Bk. 3, Ch. 26.

been fully exploited, yet in the history of these parts there is ample precedent to warrant belief that it could become a rich fruit and cereal producing area, supporting a vastly larger population than it does at present.

The glories of the past are preserved in the magnificent ruins of the Persian Temple of Ilibis, a few miles north of Kharaga village, built in the reign of Darius I (521—486 B.C.); and in the temple of Cycis near the small village of Dosh in the southern extremity of the oasis, which dates back to the first century A.D. These and many other remains, some early Christian, such as the Necropolis north of Kharaga village, reminiscent of the Nestorian community started by the heretic Bishop who was exiled to Kharaga in the 5th century A.D., testify to an age of greater prosperity, which fell into decline with the advent of the Arab invasion in the seventh century, and only began to recover after the first World War.

As recently as 1920 Dakhla and Kharaga formed part of a single administration with the more northerly oases of Baharia and Farafra. It was in that year that Major C.S. Jarvis was appointed to the area as District Commander. Today the area of the Great Oases is divided, and Kharaga and Dakhla have become a single administration under an Egyptian Governor who is directly responsible to the central Government in Cairo. Readers of Jarvis' "Three Deserts" who visit Kharaga and Dakhla, will have their illusions sadly shaken. The maladministered, malaria-ridden swamps that once upon a time attracted the delinquents of the Egyptian Government have been transformed into well governed, practically free from malaria, and by no means unattractive, desert "states". There is little doubt that Jarvis himself contributed a great deal to the present state of affairs by ruthlessly cutting at the root of the economic evil and graft. He initiated the construction of proper irrigation and a somewhat orderly system of education. His successors have faithfully carried on the good work, not always perhaps with the same enthusiasm, but today this area is probably one of the best administered in Egypt. Even a short stay there is sufficient to dispel the traditional idea that the Egyptian cannot conduct his own affairs equitably and fairly.

Situated approximately 360 miles S.W. of Cairo, Kharaga and Dakhla are both large oases; the former over 100 miles long from North to South and from 12 to 15 miles in width; the latter running East and West about 60 miles, having a width of 15 miles at most. Kharaga is bounded on the East and North by a huge escarpment, and for the most part lies at sea level. It is separated from Dakhla by 80 miles of barren rocky desert distinguished only by the magnificent Abu Tartur plateau to the North, and the many and variously shaped hills through which runs the main route, the Harb el Ghabari. Dakhla is really more attractive, and

this is probably due to the nearness of the high northern escarpment which seems to dominate the scene and soften the otherwise monotonous landscape. Its villages are closer together and the extent of cultivation is greater and more continuous. Both oases are made up of a number of villages widely dispersed and having little communication with each other. Kharuga village is the seat of Government for both oases, while Mut is the centre of Dakhla administration; and to all intents and purposes the Mamour there rules independently, administering justice through the district and Shari courts. He is, however, responsible to the Governor, and is subject to a common system of taxation which is levied solely on the consumption of water.

The natives of both oases are certainly of mixed types. Their physical appearance is on the whole unattractive, varying from the negroid, through the black, scraggy Berber to the almost white lower Egyptian type. The chequered past of these oases, which among others have seen Persian, Roman, and Turkish domination, is exemplified in the appearance of the inhabitants. The legacy of disease — for generations endemic malaria had been the scourge of both places — has produced a very poor physical specimen, and this combined with poverty and a most enervating climate, has developed a dullness and laziness of character that is conspicuous to a degree, exceeding that found anywhere else in Egypt. Doubtless the “degenerate and despondent community”, which Jarvis found there twenty five years ago, was even more remarkable before the recent anti-malarial and other health experiments which have transformed these oases into comparatively healthy places. However, the people are not only impressive by reason of their degenerate appearance. In spite of what we would term his “miserable” life, the native has preserved a very definite sense of humour, which is crude and primitive, but nevertheless readily displayed at village gatherings and annual events, such as the anniversary of the Egyptian King’s accession. A feature of the people is their docility; it is almost a slave-like submission to authority which is found hardly anywhere else in the country. This apparent subservience is a legacy of former Turkish administration which was harsh and unrelenting. It facilitates the task of the Administration and contributes to the remarkably good security of the oases. The Governor’s Court is rarely used, and the central prison is more often than not empty. The family “fassad” is practically unheard of, having died out with the absorption of the tribe into the village community. It is a feature of the life in these oases that there is no police force beyond a very small detachment of the Egyptian Frontier Corps.

The social problem in these parts is indistinguishable from that obtaining in other parts of Egypt outside the towns. The people are entirely agricultural, which means that they must live

by what they can produce from the land; and this in most cases means what their energy will let them produce. By their very nature and poverty they are unenterprising, mostly unimaginative, and, in the remoter parts, entirely ignorant of the outside world. In one village, Ain Ghazel, in the south of Kharaga Oasis, of a population of 40 only one had ever left the place, and the head man, who had only recently heard of the "war in London", voiced a most definite opposition to his young son's ambition to go to Cairo. The fellah has for the most part retained his prejudices, and although efforts have been made to improve his ideas of land cultivation, he has in fact only emerged a very small way from the ancient methods of his ancestors. His existence is unedifying, and unlike his poorest brother in Europe he has no intellectual detachments, for his inherited Islamic faith provides no mental stimulus whatever. It is doubtful if many of the natives outside the capitals of the oases know the first thing about Islam beyond the fact that all their misfortunes are the will of Allah, whose existence is exemplified in the little colourless heap of mud bricks, perched in the highest position in the village. It is difficult to distinguish between the daily routine of the fellah and that of his beasts of burden. Nature drives both to work, to sleep, and to breed. Admittedly, the bull or cow does more work, but it also gets more food. Again, the dwelling places of man and animal have little to distinguish them. There are often more human beings to a tiny hovel than cows to a stable. None of this is startling; it is the criterion of distinction between rich and poor in Egypt. Nevertheless it is a fundamental factor in the problem of the relationship between education and economics in the development of new standards of life. There is one consoling point: the poverty of the oasis dweller does not, today at any rate, appear to be caused by the rapacity of a few fortune makers. The fellah in Dakhla and Kharaga is poor because in the modern sense he is economically starved: there is no market for his produce, there is no industrial counterbalance to his agricultural state.

Unrestricted trading with the Nile Valley is disallowed by the Egyptian Government since the fellahin would inevitably suffer at the hands of the unscrupulous merchant. At the present time the oasis dwellers may trade dates, the main product of the oases, for certain essential materials; and cattle, too, from Dakhla may be exported, but only when they are six years old and over. With few exceptions, and these are probably the Omdahs, all trade with the Nile Valley is by barter. Jarvis spoke harshly of the way in which the fellahin were exploited by Omdahs. There is no doubt that their inherited authority is still to a large extent unchallenged, and, therefore, it is safe to assume that where there are "rackets" going, the Omdahs, or some of them, are involved. However the individual can hardly escape the economy imposed upon the oases.

Up to 1946 at any rate there appeared to be a sad lack of enterprise on the part of the Central Government to encourage and expand trade with Kharaga and Dakhla.

The poverty of the oases is more endurable because it is not contrasted with any neighbouring prosperity. Modern communications, on the other hand, enable more people to migrate to the cities of the Delta, and yearly quite a large number take holidays in the Nile Valley. In consequence there is bound to be a gradual building up of comparison between life in Dakhla and life in Alexandria, for example. Yet the conditions of life in the towns have sorely disappointed some of the more adventurous of the oasis dwellers; and they have returned gratefully to the simplicity of their own unprosperous soil. It is noteworthy, too, that many of the Government officials prefer their "exiled", poorly paid existence to the uncertain life of the big towns, not from any motive of profit, because there is precious little profit to be had in either oasis, but partly because of the better economic security, and partly from the satisfaction which the pioneering life of the oases offers them. In Egypt there are doctors, educationalists, and other types of officials with a pioneering spirit, despite popular belief to the contrary.

There are two distinct societies in Kharaga and Dakhla: the Government officials and the inhabitants of the oases. The former are by no means numerous. Posts in these parts call for men who are prepared to give up a great number of the ordinary things of which the Egyptian is so very fond; there is consequently no great attraction to over-staff.

The Government officials whose jobs offer little prospect of advancement have their own modernised compounds which in the case of both oases are separated from the main village. At Kharaga this area is well set out with large, sturdily built bungalows in spacious gardens with running water and electric lighting. Jarvis was responsible for the development of the bungalow which is now used as the main government Rest House; and the Englishman's idea of relaxation in such regions is exemplified by a swimming bath, which has sadly deteriorated through disuse. Though there is much to improve in the general living conditions of the officials, the Egyptian Government is well on the way to providing its servants with good living which will enhance their position. This is an important contribution to the efficiency of the Administration.

The native villages are ill planned, overcrowded, and generally unsanitary. In both Kharaga and Mut there is evidence of "town" planning on modern lines. In both cases the Mosque, the Shari Courts, and the Hospital are well built, admirably situated, and surrounded by gardens. The amount of money allotted to the Administration is wholly inadequate for all purposes, and con-



sequently building is suffering at the expense of medical, educational, and agricultural undertakings.

The relations between Government and the people are maintained at the level of the Omdah, the mayor of the village, and the Sheikhs of the Mosque. There is no pretence at democracy such as we in the West understand it, yet the people through their elders have regular and ample access to the Omdah, and consequently to the Governor. The power of the Omdah is undisputed; but since in general the welfare and good management of his village is to his own benefit, his benevolent despotism is tolerated by the central Administration and suffered complacently by the fellahin, in whose dim eyes Authority belongs by right to the ruling few, and who is content to labour for the privilege of mere existence. There is talk of drastic reforms in this respect to curtail the "rule" of the Omdah and introduce some more representative system of village administration. In the long run this may well be to the advantage of the fellahin, but at the moment the feudal idifice is firmly established, and its sudden fall would without doubt throw the whole life of the oases into confusion. It is to be hoped that any reform will be wisely and gradually introduced so that existing order is not rooted out and replaced by a half baked, westernised anarchy.

There are three main divisions of Egyptian administration in Kharaga and Dakhla that deserve special mention; they are medical supervision, education, and irrigation.

Hygiene and education are complementary, and together form the corner stone for the future construction of a sound social system in Egypt. Poverty of mind and body are ills most seriously affecting the country as a whole. Kharaga and Dakhla are no exception. But here the difficulties of overcrowding, unemployment, and industrialisation are not present in any serious degree. The road is clear for bold experiment; and already there are pioneers on this road making excellent progress.

Medical supervision is divided into two parts; that which provides the inhabitants with clinical treatment, and that which is exclusively concerned with the eradication of malaria. The former is the sole responsibility of the Government doctor, a general practitioner, of which there is one in each oasis. He is hopelessly overworked, having to supervise the central Oasis Hospital, tour the whole area, and attend at the village medical room as well. The insufficiency of doctors is a real shortcoming. Nevertheless the progress made in hygiene education is quite remarkable. The people are "hospital conscious" and have faith in the work of their doctors. They are even providing men and women for training as nursing orderlies. At Dakhla, for instance, the head orderly is an expert anaesthetist having "put under" over a thousand patients. The response to medical treatment is universal, and the customary

prejudice which women once had to treatment by a male doctor no longer exists. Specialists are non-existent, but it is planned soon to have at least one gynaecologist and one ophthalmologist in Kharaga. In spite of the untiring work of the medical teams, flies and trachoma continue as the faithful companions of these long suffering people. The eye disease, universal in Egypt, is apparently not entirely destructive. According to the doctor in Kharaga: "The attractive dreamy look in Egyptian women's eyes is a stage in the course of the disease. We admire it very much..."

The malarial specialists work separately with their teams of D.D.T. and Flit sprayers. A systematic attack on the malarial mosquito has been going on now for two years, and is well on the way to completion. The dreaded disease is well nigh under complete control. The Gambia species is already extinct, and Bilharzia is a disease of the past. A very important step has been taken towards the new life which will be less subjected to the rigours of destructive disease. Herodotus, when visiting Egypt, recorded that the Egyptians were *the healthiest people in the World* next to the Libyans, *an effect of their climate, in my opinion, which has no sudden change...*<sup>2</sup> There is no reason why in time the dwellers of these oases should not draw near to this high standard. It remains, however, for the native to turn to his own home, to benefit by the example of his doctors, and establish a new code of personal hygiene.

Education is bound to help in this latter direction. Already there are Primary and Elementary schools in the oases. Education is popular and prominent in the life of the people. The headmaster at Kharaga stated that 60% of the population was literate. This is no doubt an exaggeration, but at any rate it means that a big proportion can read and write. Schooling is popular because children receive free clothing and one free meal a day. The schools are clean, though not always well lit or furnished, and the staffs are keen and conscientious. Most of them are from the Delta or from Assiut, to which town pupils must go beyond the elementary stage. A fair percentage of boys go to Assiut, and the Government contributes to their education and upkeep there. In Kharaga there is a technical school for boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen, where weaving, carpet-making, and shoe-making are taught. The main object of this school is not to produce a class of industrialists, but to provide mental development and a chance for boys to find their occupation in life. Products of the school are sold in the Nile Valley and the proceeds devoted to the provision of materials and the general maintenance of the school. There is a high degree of skill among the masters, and a general enthusiasm for the school which receives its pupils from the furthest ends of the oasis, and from Dakhla, too.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (Tr. E.H. BLAKENEY), Vol. I, Book 2, Ch. 77.

Most of the villages have their own schools, but where the community is too small to warrant this, children are sent to the nearest big village and are accommodated with other families during the term period. Education is compulsory. There are cases where parents stand by tradition and refuse to send their children to school. The Government deals with these cases on their merits rather than by rigid imposition of the law. After the Omdah's guest-house, the school is the most prominent edifice in the village, and the master a pillar of local society as befits the importance of his calling.

Water is the most valuable commodity in these areas. Rain has not fallen in Kharaga and Dakhla, which enjoy the hottest climate in Egypt, for more than 25 years, yet beneath the surface of these great arid wastes there is an enormous quantity of water, probably inexhaustible, which can be amply utilised by the boring of wells. The artesian wells in these oases which were probably sunk by the Persians five centuries before Christ, were most fully exploited during the Roman occupation which lasted up to the seventh century. According to reliable sources, quoted by Beadnell, both Kharaga and Dakhla supported vastly larger populations during the Roman times than they do today. Evidence of this is to be seen in the large number of wells which are extant over the whole length of the oases, particularly in Kharaga. In Dakhla there are fewer artesian wells, and in many cases water has still to be drawn to the surface artificially. Subterranean canalisation in Kharaga indicates clearly the extent to which the Romans used the well water for irrigation. In both oases there are signs that in earlier periods cultivation was much more extensive. With the Mohammedan conquest the oases fell into neglect, the land degenerated into huge swamps, and the drift of nature obliterated the engineering feats of the Romans. It was only within the last twenty or thirty years, and mainly at the instigation of Jarvis, that large-scale efforts were made to conserve and distribute the water by modern methods of well-boring and irrigation. Incidentally, the efforts of modern engineers have reduced the swamp areas which were the result of bad conservation and unrestricted boring, and accordingly became the breeding grounds for mosquitoes.

Given adequate water supply the land in both cases is very fertile and productive of good cereal crops, as well as vegetables and fruits of practically every kind. Moreover, both regions, but Dakhla in particular, can be made to support reasonable numbers of cattle and sheep. The Government of Egypt is spending considerable sums of money on land improvement. In addition to providing well-boring plants, the Government permits private enterprise in this respect. Digging wells by other than mechanical means is a laborious task lasting anything up to four years. Wells, which in the past were rarely more than three to four hundred

feet deep, are today between 1200 and 1700 feet. Well-boring, whether by Government or private enterprise, is strictly controlled to ensure the most efficient and economic use of the water and to avoid flooding and consequent swamps. Survey of the oases for water is not complete. Most of the work has hitherto been confined to the areas of the oases themselves. There is, however, a wide area of untouched land with good surface soil some 70 kilometres from Kharaga on the track to Dakhla, which given the water would without doubt be extremely fertile. Against the possibility of development there is the problem of cost which at the moment is apparently prohibitive. Still, the future belongs to these cases and in time engineering development may make it possible to extend the areas of cultivation.

At the present time, if the productivity of the oases is to be increased, there must be a corresponding improvement in the means of communications. Air, land, and rail routes exist, but to nothing like the extent necessary to cope with an expanding market linked to the economy of the Nile Valley. The railway is too small and too slow, and it ends any way at Kharaga; the roads are too rough. In this respect there has been little advancement since the end of the first World War. The same carriages with the same blue glass that so horrified Jarvis on his initial journey to Kharaga, scramble up the rocky Rufuf pass to the Nile beyond. The same desert tracks cripple the vehicles that negotiate them. Communications must keep pace with other developments, otherwise the life of the oases will drift again into sterility.

What of the political life of Kharaga and Dakhla? Egyptian men are weaned on politics. Not so the poor inhabitants of the oases. Political life is non-existent. Even the officials seem undesirous of going beyond a sort of half hearted nationalism. Perhaps it is because there are so rarely any newspapers. Poverty in these parts shows no signs of turning into communism. There is a glorious detachment from the low café politics of Cairo, and a healthy contempt for the Nile Valley dweller.

Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the life in these oases is its detachment from the struggling existence of the rest of Egypt. Living together in a small world of their own the oasis dweller and the Delta official, both surprisingly ordinary human beings, find common ground in their desire for a chance to live their own lives. Their detachment makes them unconcerned with political theory, even though the small official has an inevitable infusion of political ideas which, unbecoming though they are to his nature, are necessary for his material advancement in an age of synthetic culture. The ugliness of political belief manifests itself in the contrast between the naiveté of the fellah and the mildly bombastic boasting of the educated official.

In the towns political education is complementary to the noise

and ugliness of urban life: it provides a challenging diversion. But in the remote desert oases it is foreign and commands little respect. Nature provides sufficient topics to talk and fight and worry about; and modern science can help its development without enslaving its people. The danger is that the rationalised life too often develops into a life of servitude, which may well become a tyranny worse than the feudal tyranny of man, because it is a tyranny of Society.

Any future development of Kharaga and Dakhla must endeavour to preserve the individuality of the Oases.

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# THE WARRIOR PEOPLE OF DJEBEL DRUZE

## A MILITANT MINORITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

N. N. NIMRI

### PART TWO\*

#### CHARACTERISTICS AND CUSTOMS

During the Druze revolt in 1925, a certain Druze leader stood on a bridge in Wadi Taym, preparing his men for an assault against the French troops. Standing before his warriors, he declared that sixty years before he had been killed fighting on the same bridge.

This is an interesting example of the practical application of Druze tenets — a piece of shrewd propaganda, based on their religious doctrines, the transmigration of souls, which bolstered the fighters' morale.

That such a statement on the eve of battle could fire the Druze fighting-man is easily understood when one is acquainted with his character. Druzes may generally be described as brave, sturdy, fierce, self-reliant, prudent, and insular. They are proverbially famous as warriors. A study of their environment will prove how much it has contributed to the moulding of their character.

In the whole of the Middle East there are at present about 140,000 Druzes, distributed over the Lebanon, Syria, Djebel Druze, and Palestine<sup>1</sup>). Two main factors have influenced the formation of their highly organised community. First, their immensely strong will to exist. Second, their comparatively small numbers. Their

\* PART ONE: *Origin and History* was published in No. 1 (Oct.-Dec. 1946) of the *Journal of the Middle East Society*.

1) Lebanon — about 56,000 in the districts of Matn, Aley, Shouf, Marjayoun, Rashaya, and Klim.

Syria — about 4,000 in Djebel 'Ala near Aleppo and about 2,000 in Damascus and environs (Ashrafiya, Sahnaya, and Jaramana).

Djebel Druze — about 67,000.

Palestine — about 12,000 in 16 villages in Upper Galilee and the Carmel Range.

It is estimated that about a thousand Druzes have migrated overseas, mostly to U.S.A. and Latin America.

character as a permanent minority — there is nothing to indicate that they were more numerous in the past — has led them to gather chiefly in hill districts, such as the Lebanon Mountains, the slopes of Mt. Hermon, Djebel Druze, Djebel 'Ala near Aleppo, Upper Galilee and the Carmel Range. Their insular traits are well illustrated when it is realised that the habitat of their choice, invariably mountainous, is easy to defend and difficult to approach. Through their isolation in the hills, they have preserved a form of patriarchy in a feudal system.

### General Policy

The Druze policy towards strangers can be described as essentially opportunist. Self-benefit is the principle. Practically, they derive benefits from whoever is ready to offer them. Whether the traditional circumstance of having representatives on both sides of a dispute between two powers is intentional or accidental, there is no doubt that the practice has ensured Druze survival and in particular has been responsible for any measure of independence which they have been able to extract from their suzerains.

In the course of the last century some traditional lines of policy can be traced. In spite of Druze leanings towards Britain, it is hard to say whether their feelings for the British are spontaneous, being directly attributable to acts such as that of the redoubtable Mr. Wood, a British Consul in Damascus during the last century<sup>2)</sup>, or whether they have something to do with the fact that they had always been the beneficiaries of British intervention, and have never been under direct British rule for any length of time. In any case, as can be seen from their history, both Turkish and French suzerainty provoked violent reactions from the Druzes.

In all the political conflicts of the Druzes with external factors, three parties always appear in the game: pro, contra, and neutral. The tactics are: "avoir les mains dans chaque pâté!" Thus, no matter who has the upper hand, there will always be Druzes on the winning side. It is difficult to decide whether these trilateral tactics are a natural outcome of their highly developed political instinct, or whether it is a premeditated policy in an extremely disciplined politico-religious organisation. Common sense dictates the consideration of the first answer, but various facts indicate that there is much in the second supposition.

In the course of their history the Druzes have succeeded in establishing for themselves a reputation of indomitable, fanatical and fearless warriors. They have been relentless and pitiless in their revenge. No attempt on the life of a Druze, be it a notable or a commoner, has remained unavenged; and no inroad into Druze domains was tolerated without immediate retaliatory action. The Beduins of Djebel Druze, numbering about 20,000 souls, are in

<sup>2)</sup> See *Journal of the Middle East Society*, No. 1, p. 57.

the position of shepherds to their settled neighbours, and their relations may be described as those existing between vassals and overlords. The Beduins east and west of Djebel Druze very rarely dare to encroach on Druze territory, and the "Masters of the Desert" keep a respectful distance from the Druzes. A similar attitude of servitude and fear is maintained by the Houranis on the west, who have paid dearly to learn the lesson, and by the odd 7,000 Christians, mostly Greek-Orthodox, who inhabit the Djebel. Prior to the settlement of the Druzes, this hilly buffer district on the fringe of the desert, was inhabited by Bedu and Hourani tribes. They have been gradually driven out by successive waves of invaders until complete mastery of the Druze has been established.

### Belief and Custom

Druze bellicose habits, together with their secret religion, have created in the minds of their primitive neighbours an attitude of awe and respect. Their fear of Druze violence and their ignorance of Druze religious practices have given rise to many tales, most of which bear no relation to fact.

Most widely circulated are libels concerning Druze idolatrous worship and licentious practices. Whilst it is asserted that in one of the Druze places of worship, known as *khilwa*, in the Lebanon, a golden image of a calf is used to symbolise divinity, it is known that references to the calf are made in their holy writings. There is, however, no proof that such symbolic allusions represent actual calf-worship, and they probably resemble similar references to the lamb in other religions, as for instance in the Christian scriptures. It is also possible, that the calf, which is an ancient object of worship, was originally only used symbolically, but later became an object of worship among certain Druze congregations in Lebanon. The author has never found any trace or allusion to it in Djebel Druze.

Equally far-fetched are charges of licentious practices and nocturnal orgies, which are probably more justified against the Nusariyeh, inhabiting the mountains north of Lebanon<sup>3)</sup>. When Darazi, the reckless missionary of Hakim-bi-Amr-Allah, arrived in Syria at the beginning of the 11th century, he may have propagated certain libertine and licentious principles in order to attract converts to the new cult. But when he was deposed by Hamza and discredited, a number of the practices sanctioned by him also fell into disrepute. It is possible that some of the liberties introduced by Darazi took root and were not entirely abandoned by certain sections of the community; they were later made the

<sup>3)</sup> There are also three solitary Nusariyeh villages in Wadi Taym: Ain Fit, Zaura, and Ghajaz.



object of derision by the humiliated and weaker neighbours of the Druze.

Although strictly "unitarian", there are many relics of the pre-Islamic era, which have continued to form part of the Druze folklore. Foremost among these are the belief in the evil eye and the cult of the dead or *wali*. Belief in magic is also widespread.

The Druzes believe that the number of their souls is fixed. No converts are accepted, neither can a Druze become a renegade. According to their reincarnational theory, when during a war more Druzes are killed than babies are born, the remaining souls are reborn in China, whence they will come one day to help the Druzes conquer Arabia. This belief is universally accepted by the Druzes, but its origin is unknown.

Dreams of Druze grandeur are also common to many, and have probably contributed to that feeling of superiority, which has made the Druzes one of the proudest and fiercest little unconquerable aristocracies existing to-day. At the same time their unbounded hospitality is proverbial even in the Orient; and no one who has the privilege of enjoying that lavish hospitality, can fail to succumb to their charm and kindness.

It is a pleasant surprise for a traveller in this part of the world to find in contrast to the drabness and squalor prevailing among the other tribal communities, a comparative tidiness and cleanliness in Djebel Druze. The gay colours of the robes worn both by men and by women in Djebel Druze are impressive after the grey-brown to which one's eyes become accustomed in this area. Equally striking are Druze love- and war-songs, which do not sound so melancholy and monotonous as Hourani or Bedu songs, in spite of repeated stanzas. Druze festival displays are also among the most colourful to be encountered in the Middle East. The imagination of Druze poets is rather fanciful. Next to bloody war-songs extolling the exploits of their war lords, like Sultan Pasha al-Atrash and others, one can hear lyrical love-chants comparing the eyes of the beloved one to the... electricity of Haifa<sup>4</sup>).

### Men and Women

Among the strictest laws observed are those concerning the purity and sanctity of the family. Only inter-racial marriage is practised and monogamy is obligatory. The law of marriage is particularly enforced uncompromisingly in the case of women, who may not marry outside their own race. Men are allowed to enjoy marital pleasures with non-Druze women; but Druze women caught in adultery with a non-Druze are mercilessly put to

4) A probable reference to the Palestine Electric Corporation's flood-lit power station as seen from Mt. Carmel overlooking Haifa Bay.

death by their nearest relatives, thus preserving the purity of the race. The girls, who reach physical maturity at an early age, are married when 12—14 years old, and marriage contracts are often concluded for 10 year old girls. The men marry at the age of 16—17 and have the right to divorce unceremoniously by repeating three times "I divorce thee"! The dowry in Djebel Druze is by comparison much higher than among the other tribal communities in the Middle East. Divorces are fairly frequent and may have been responsible for the widespread secret promiscuity of the women in spite of the severe punishment.

The Druzes are a handsome race. Upright and well proportioned, the majority of the males are splendid specimens of manhood. They are blessed with good teeth, clear eyes, and fair skin. The bearded Druze is invariably a dignified looking patriarch. Although veiled to their nose in public, the women-folk appear extremely attractive to the observer. They have a slender carriage and perfect deportment, fully enhanced by the special "cut" of their colourful robes. In spite of their complete subservience to their men-folk in matters of marriage, sex, and family honour, Druze women often exercise great influence on family affairs. They are also frequently found on important councils of elders, where clan and community matters are discussed. The prominent part played by the women in Druze society is due to their active participation in the Druze hierarchial theocracy, which term best describes their form of communal organisation.

### **Community Organisation**

The great majority of the Druzes live by agriculture. Free professions have only been adopted by a few Lebanese Druzes, whose standard of education is generally higher than that in Djebel Druze. The number of Druze merchants is negligible, and there are no industrialists and very few artisans.

The following of occupations other than the traditional one leads in all religious hierarchies to the weakening of the central authority and the binding spirit of the group. It is probably the fanatical insularity of the Druze, who considers himself superior to all others, which has precluded the possibility of any large-scale movement to change their essential vocational character.

In spite of the feudal character of their community, they have created a highly organised political society. The religious framework of secrecy and mystery has served to increase their comparative strength despite the fact that they have always been a permanent minority surrounded by an overwhelming and generally hostile majority. On close study one can reach the conclusion that the secrecy with which they guard their religion is the outcome of political necessities, which govern their customs, habits, and traditions. The secret religious precepts serve to camouflage

shrewd and cunning political moves, which under the veil of secrecy and in an atmosphere of mystery appear to the stranger and the uninitiated as awe-inspiring and holy.

The "closed corporation" of the Druzes consists of two main categories, into which all Druzes of both sexes are divided: the adepts and the ignorants. The adepts, commonly known as *'uqqal* or *ajawid* (singular: *'aqil*, *jwayyid*) are those initiated into the secrets of the religion. They are the intelligent, spiritual, respectable, and dignified members of the community. They are distinguished by the white turban around their fezes, their dignified deportment and reserve. They must have a moustache, abstain from drinks, cigarettes, and gaudy colours, and do not use obscene language. They have to undergo a long process of trial and probation to prove their character of trustworthiness, capability to preserve extreme secrecy and ability to withstand the temptations of hunger, thirst and flesh. There are several grades of initiation and some of the adepts lead the life of hermits and ascetes, never showing any emotion. The initiated take part in special religious gatherings from which the uninitiated are excluded.

The ignorant or wordly, commonly known as *juhhal* (singular: *jahil*) are the uninitiated into the secrets of the religion, and often know as little about it as the strangers. Amongst them there are also grades of "ignorance".

Crowning the top of the hierarchy are the religious sheikhs, whose head, the *Sheikh el mashayikh*, is the supreme religious authority, who possesses arbitrary powers in all disputes, whether religious or secular, the right of excommunication and other prerogatives. A sheikh in each village is directly responsible to him, for his respective village, where he usually exercises considerable power and influence.

The Druzes maintain very close relations among themselves, although each congregation is independent of the other and has its own council of sheikhs to guide its policy. The decisions of a council of sheikhs are respected throughout Druze communities. In recent years the weight and importance of Djebel Druze have grown considerably, and in case of serious dispute in any Druze area, the intervention of Djebel Druze is sought and accepted.

Although giving at first sight the impression of a community subject to perpetual internal strife, the Druzes in reality have great solidarity, and their clan-spirit is best expressed in a popular slogan: "I with my brother against my cousin; my cousin with me against the stranger!"

The place of worship is the *khilwa*, usually situated in a secluded spot outside the town or village. It is not a spectacular building like a mosque: it has neither a minaret nor a dome. It is usually a square hall with a partition for the women, without any special adornment. The *khilwa* is the "club" of the initiated.

Regular meetings of the adepts take place on Thursday night, and Friday is considered a holy day, although it is not observed in the Moslem fashion. The only religious feast is celebrated once a year, during the last ten days before the Moslem *'Id al Adha*.

In the *khilwa* the initiated forgather, and after reciting their religious writings, indulge in elaborate discussion on political, economic, and social subjects concerning the community. It is there that most of the decisions are taken that affect the welfare of the entire community.

For one who has had the privilege of enjoying the confidence and lasting friendship of the Druzes, it would be impossible to reveal what has been closely and jealously kept from the outside world for many centuries. Part of the impenetrable veil covering the *Beni Ma'aruf*, as the Druzes are sometimes referred to, will continue to attach to a community which has for so long been a puzzle to the student of the East.

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#### THE AUTHOR

*MR. N. N. NIMRI, who has travelled extensively in the Arab East, is a keen student of Middle Eastern affairs. He lived for a considerable time among Druzes, Beduins and other tribal communities in various Middle East countries and was attached to the British Forces in the Middle East during the years 1938—42. One of the founders of the Middle East Society, he is also its Honorary Secretary.*

# DOCUMENTS

I. TEXT OF THE PACT OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES.

II. ANGLO-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS.

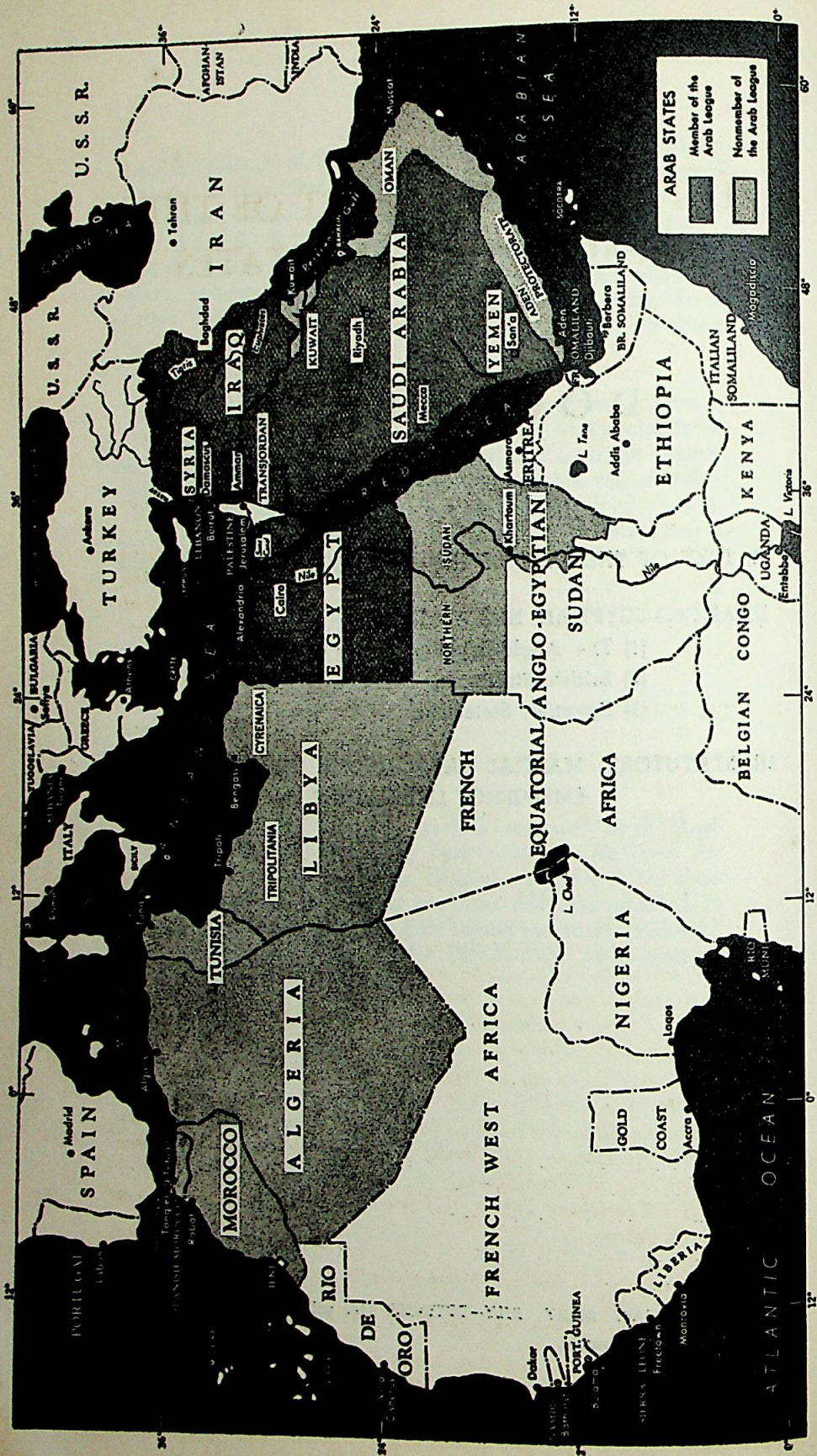
(1) The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936.

(2) British Statement.

(3) Egyptian Statement.

III. STATUTORY MARTIAL LAW UNDER THE PALESTINE  
EMERGENCY LEGISLATION.

The MIDDLE EAST DIARY: JULY—DECEMBER 1946 will be published in the  
next issue of the Journal.



# I. TEXT OF THE PACT OF THE LEAGUE OF ARAB STATES<sup>1</sup>

*His Excellency the President of the Syrian Republic;*<sup>2</sup>

*His Royal Highness the Emir of Transjordan;*

*His Majesty the King of Iraq;*

*His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia;*

*His Excellency the President of the Lebanese Republic;*

*His Majesty the King of Egypt;*

*His Majesty the King of the Yemen;*

*Desirous of strengthening the close relations and numerous ties which link the Arab States;*

*And anxious to support and stabilise those ties upon a basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of those States, and to direct their efforts toward the common good of all the Arab countries, the improvement of their status, the security of their future, the realisation of their aspirations and hopes;*

*And responding to the wishes of Arab public opinion in all Arab lands;*

*Have agreed to conclude a Pact to that end and have appointed as their representatives the persons whose names are listed hereinafter:*

*The President of the Syrian Republic; who has appointed as representatives for Syria:*

*His Excellency Faris al-Khuri, Prime Minister;*

*His Excellency Jamil Mardam Bey, Minister of Foreign Affairs;*

*His Royal Highness the Emir of Transjordan; who has appointed as representatives for Transjordan:*

*His Excellency Samir al-Rafa'i Pasha, Prime Minister;*

*His Excellency Sa'id al-Mufti Pasha, Minister of the Interior;*

*Suleiman al-Nabulsi Bey, Secretary of the Cabinet;*

*His Majesty the King of Iraq; who has appointed as representatives for Iraq:*

*His Excellency Arshad al-'Omari, Minister of Foreign Affairs;*

*His Excellency 'Ali Jawdat al-Ayyubi, Minister Plenipotentiary of Iraq in Washington;*

*His Excellency Tahsin al-Askari, Minister Plenipotentiary of Iraq in Cairo;*

<sup>1</sup> Translation of the full Arabic text published by Al-matba'at al-amiriyah, Cairo, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> The listing follows the order of the Arabic alphabet.

*His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia; who has appointed as representatives for Saudi-Arabia:*

*His Excellency the Sheikh Yusef Yasin, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs;*

*His Excellency Kheireddin al-Zarikli, Counsellor of the Saudi Arabian Legation in Cairo;*

*His Excellency the President of the Lebanese Republic; who has appointed as representatives for Lebanon:*

*His Excellency 'Abdul-Hamid Karami, Prime Minister;*

*His Excellency Yusef Salem, Minister Plenipotentiary of Lebanon in Cairo;*

*His Majesty the King of Egypt; who has appointed as representatives for Egypt:*

*His Excellency Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi Pasha, Prime Minister;*

*His Excellency Mohammad Husein Heikal Pasha, President of the Senate;*

*His Excellency 'Abdul Hamid Badawi Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs;*

*His Excellency Makram 'Obeid Pasha, Minister of Finance;*

*His Excellency Mohammad Hafez Ramadan Pasha, Minister of Justice;*

*His Excellency 'Abdul Razzaq Ahmad al-Sanhuri Bey, Minister of Education;*

*'Abdul Rahman 'Azzam Bey, Minister Plenipotentiary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;*

*His Majesty the King of the Yemen; has appointed as representatives for the Yemen:<sup>3</sup>*

*who after having exchanged their plenary powers which were found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:*

ARTICLE 1.—The League of Arab States<sup>4</sup> is composed of the independent Arab States which have signed this Pact.

Any independent Arab State has the right to become a member of the League. If it desires to do so, it shall submit a request which will be deposited with the Permanent Secretariat General and submitted to the Council at the first meeting held after submission of the request.

ARTICLE 2.—The League has as its purpose the strengthening of the relations between the member States; the coordination of their policies in order to achieve cooperation between them and

<sup>3</sup> Left blank owing to the absence of the Yemeni delegation from the Pact-signing ceremony. His Excellency al-Sayyid Husein al-Kibsi was subsequently appointed representative of the Yemen.

<sup>4</sup> جامعة الدول العربية



to safeguard their independence and sovereignty; and a general concern with the affairs and interests of the Arab countries. It has also as its purpose the close cooperation of the member States, with due regard to the organisation and circumstances of each State, on the following matters:

A. Economic and financial affairs, including commercial relations, customs, currency and questions of agriculture and industry.

B. Communications; this includes railroads, roads, aviation, navigation, telegraphs and posts.

C. Cultural affairs.

D. Nationality, passports, visas, execution of judgements and extradition of criminals.

E. Social affairs.

F. Health problems.

ARTICLE 3.—The League shall possess a Council<sup>5</sup> composed of the member States of the League; each State shall have a single vote, irrespective of the number of its representatives.

It shall be the task of the Council to achieve the realisation of the objectives of the League and to supervise the execution of agreements which the member States have concluded on the questions enumerated in the preceding article, or on any other questions.

It likewise shall be the Council's task to decide upon the means by which the League is to cooperate with the international bodies to be created in the future in order to guarantee security and peace and regulate economic and social relations.

ARTICLE 4.—For each of the questions listed in Article 2 there shall be set up a special committee<sup>6</sup> in which the member States of the League shall be represented. These committees shall be charged with the task of laying down the principles and extent of cooperation. Such principles shall be formulated as draft agreements, to be presented to the Council for examination preparatory to their submission to the aforesaid States.

Representatives of the other Arab countries may take part in the work of the aforesaid committees. The Council shall determine the conditions under which these representatives may be permitted to participate and the rules governing such representation.

ARTICLE 5.—Any resort to force in order to resolve disputes arising between two or more member States of the League is prohibited. If there should arise among them a difference which does not concern a State's independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity, and if the parties to the dispute have recourse to the Council for the settlement of this difference, the decision of the

Council shall then be enforceable and obligatory.

In such a case, the States between whom the difference has arisen shall not participate in the deliberations and decisions of the Council.

The Council shall mediate in all differences which threaten to lead to war between two member States, or a member State and a third State, with a view to bringing about their reconciliation.

Decisions of arbitration and mediation shall be taken by majority vote.

ARTICLE 6.—In case of aggression or threat of aggression by one State against a member State, the State which has been attacked or threatened with aggression may demand the immediate convocation of the Council.

The Council shall by unanimous decision determine the measures necessary to repulse the aggression. If the aggressor is a member State, his vote shall not be counted in determining unanimity.

If, as a result of the attack, the government of the State attacked finds itself unable to communicate with the Council, that state's representative in the Council shall have the right to request the convocation of the Council for the purpose indicated in the foregoing paragraph. In the event that this representative is unable to communicate with the Council, any member State of the League shall have the right to request the convocation of the Council.

ARTICLE 7.—Unanimous decisions of the Council shall be binding upon all member States of the League; majority decisions shall be binding only upon those states which have accepted them.

In either case the decisions of the Council shall be enforced in each member State according to its respective basic laws.<sup>7</sup>

ARTICLE 8.—Each member State shall respect the systems of government established in the other member States and regard them as exclusive concerns of those States. Each shall pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government.

ARTICLE 9.—States of the League which desire to establish closer cooperation and stronger bonds than are provided by this Pact may conclude agreements to that end.

Treaties and agreements already concluded or to be concluded in the future between a member State and another State shall not be binding or restrictive upon other members.

ARTICLE 10.—The permanent seat of the League of Arab States is established in Cairo. The Council may, however, assemble at any other place it may designate.

ARTICLE 11.—The Council of the League shall convene in or

dinary session twice a year, in March and in October. It shall convene in extraordinary session upon the request of two member States of the League whenever the need arises.

ARTICLE 12.—The League shall have a permanent Secretariat General<sup>8</sup> which shall consist of a Secretary General<sup>9</sup>, Assistant Secretaries and an appropriate number of officials.

The Council of the League shall appoint the Secretary General by a majority of two-thirds of the States of the League. The Secretary General, with the approval of the Council shall appoint the Assistant Secretaries and the principal officials of the League.

The Council of the League shall establish an administrative regulation<sup>10</sup> for the functions of the Secretariat General and matters relating to the Staff.

The Secretary General shall have the rank of Ambassador and the Assistant Secretaries that of Ministers Plenipotentiary.

The first Secretary General of the League is named in an Annex to this Pact.

ARTICLE 13.—The Secretary General shall prepare the draft of the budget of the League and shall submit it to the Council for approval before the beginning of each fiscal year.

The Council shall fix the share of the expenses to be borne by each State of the League. This share may be reconsidered if necessary.

ARTICLE 14.—The members of the Council of the League as well as the members of the committees and the officials who are to be designated in the administrative regulation shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunity when engaged in the exercise of their functions.

The buildings occupied by the organs of the League shall be inviolable.

ARTICLE 15.—The first meeting of the Council shall be convened at the invitation of the head of the Egyptian Government. Thereafter it shall be convened at the invitation of the Secretary General.

The representatives of the member States of the League shall alternately assume the presidency of the Council at each of its ordinary sessions.

ARTICLE 16.—Except in cases specifically indicated in this Pact, a majority vote of the Council shall be sufficient to make enforceable decisions on the following matters:

- A. Matters relating to personnel.
- B. Adoption of the budget of the League.
- C. Establishment of the administrative regulations for the Council, the committees and the Secretariat General.

D. Decisions to adjourn the sessions.

ARTICLE 17.—Each member State of the League shall deposit with the Secretariat General one copy of every treaty or agreement concluded or to be concluded in the future between itself and another member of the League or a third State.

ARTICLE 18.—If a member State contemplates withdrawal from the League, it shall inform the Council of its intention one year before such withdrawal is to go into effect.

The Council of the League may consider any State which fails to fulfill its obligations under this Pact as having become separated from the League, this to go into effect upon a unanimous decision of the States, not counting the State concerned.

ARTICLE 19.—This Pact may be amended with the consent of two-thirds of the States belonging to the League, especially in order to make firmer and stronger the ties between the member states, to create an Arab Tribunal of Arbitration, and to regulate the relations of the League with any international bodies to be created in the future to guarantee security and peace.

Final action on an amendment cannot be taken prior to the session following the session in which the motion was initiated.

If a State does not accept such amendment it may withdraw at such time as the amendment goes into effect, without being bound by the provisions of the preceding article.

ARTICLE 20.—This Pact and its Annexes shall be ratified according to the basic laws in force among the High Contracting Parties.

The instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretariat General of the Council and the Pact shall become operative as regards each ratifying State fifteen days after the Secretary General has received the instruments of ratification from four States.

This Pact has been drawn up in Cairo in the Arabic language on this 8th day of Rabi' II, 1346 (March 22, 1945), in one copy which shall be deposited in the safe keeping of the Secretariat General.

An identical copy shall be delivered to each State of the League.

#### (1) ANNEX REGARDING PALESTINE

Since the termination of the last great war the rule of the Ottoman Empire over the Arab countries, among them Palestine, which had become detached from that Empire, has come to an end. She<sup>11</sup> has come to be autonomous<sup>12</sup>, not subordinate to any

<sup>11</sup> Referring to Palestine, the phraseology of the Arabic text is ambiguous, perhaps intentionally, but the context would seem to bear out this interpretation.

<sup>12</sup> مستقلة could also be rendered "independent in itself".

other state. The Treaty of Lausanne proclaimed that her future was to be settled by the parties concerned. However, even though she was as yet unable to control her own affairs, the Covenant of the League (of Nations) in 1919 made provision for a regime based upon recognition of her independence. Her international existence and independence in the legal sense cannot, therefore, be questioned, any more than could be the independence of the other Arab countries. Although the outward manifestations of this independence have remained obscured for reasons beyond her control, this should not be allowed to interfere with her participation in the work of the Council of the League.

The nations signatory to the Pact of the Arab League are therefore of the opinion that, considering the special circumstances of Palestine, and until that country can effectively exercise its independence, the Council of the League should take charge of the selection of an Arab representative from Palestine to take part in its work.

## (2) ANNEX REGARDING COOPERATION WITH COUNTRIES WHICH ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL OF THE LEAGUE

Whereas the member States of the League will have to deal in the Council as well as in the committees with matters which will benefit and affect the Arab world at large; and whereas the Council has to take into account the aspirations of the Arab countries which are not members of the Council and has to work toward their realisation;

Now therefore, it particularly behoves the States signatory to the Pact of the Arab League to enjoin the Council of the League, when considering the admission of those countries to participation in the committees referred to in the Pact, that it should do its utmost to cooperate with them; and furthermore, that it should spare no effort to learn their needs and understand their aspirations and hopes; and that it should work thenceforth for their best interests and the safeguarding of their future with all the political means at its disposal.

## (3) ANNEX REGARDING THE APPOINTMENT OF A SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE

The States signatory to this Pact have agreed to appoint His Excellency Abd-al-Rahman 'Azzam Bey to be Secretary General of the League of Arab States.

This appointment is made for two years. The Council of the League shall hereafter determine the new regulations for the Secretariat General.

## II. ANGLO-EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATIONS

### (1) THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN TREATY OF 1936

The text of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance, which was signed on August 26, 1936, consists of 17 Articles, several of which are followed by long annexes and various appendices. A preamble states the object of the treaty. Their Majesties the King of Great Britain and the King of Egypt—

*Being anxious to consolidate the friendship and the relations of good understanding between them and to cooperate in the execution of their international obligations in preserving the peace of the world;*

*And considering that these objects will best be achieved by the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and alliance, which in their common interest will provide for effective cooperation in preserving peace and ensuring the defence of their respective territories and shall govern their mutual relations in the future;*

*Have agreed to conclude a treaty for this purpose.*

Some of these articles in the following text have been shortened by divesting them of the verbiage common to all such documents:—

ARTICLE 1.—*The military occupation of Egypt by the forces of His Majesty the King and Emperor is terminated.*

ARTICLE 2.—Provides for exchange of ambassadors.

ARTICLE 3.—Britain undertakes to support Egypt's application for membership of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 4.—Provides for an alliance of friendship.

ARTICLE 5.—*Each of the High Contracting Parties undertakes not to adopt in relation to foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance, nor to conclude political treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty.*

ARTICLE 6.—*Should any dispute with a third State produce a situation which involves a risk of a rupture with that State, the High Contracting Parties will consult each other with a view to the settlement of the said dispute by peaceful means, in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations and of any other international obligations which may be applicable to the case.*

ARTICLE 7.—*Should, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 6 above, either of the High Contracting Parties become engaged in*

war, the other High Contracting Party will, subject always to the provisions of Article 10 below, immediately come to his aid in the capacity of an ally.

The aid to be rendered by Egypt in the event of an emergency is defined and consists mainly in administrative and legislative measures, necessary to place all Egyptian facilities at the disposal of Britain.

ARTICLE 8.—Egypt authorises Britain to station forces in a specified Canal zone with a view to ensuring, in cooperation with the Egyptian forces, the defence of the Canal, until such time as both Parties agree that the Egyptian Army is in a position to ensure the entire security of the Canal by its own resources. *The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt.*

At the end of a period of 20 years the question whether British forces are no longer necessary is to come under review, and should any dispute arise in this connection, this is to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.

The number and composition of British forces maintained in the vicinity of the Canal is specified. Technical details are set out covering such matters as lands, accommodation, water supply, reasonable amenities, and road and rail construction.

*Arrangements are made for the ultimate withdrawal of British troops from parts of Egypt other than the Canal Zone, and for differences of opinion between the two Governments as to the execution of these and other provisions to be submitted to an arbitral board.*

Reciprocal arrangements are outlined with regard to aviation facilities.

*The King of Egypt authorises the King and Emperor to maintain units of his forces at or near Alexandria for a period not exceeding eight years from the date of the coming into force of the treaty, this being the approximate period considered necessary for the completion of the barrack accommodation in the Canal Zone, improvement of the roads and railway facilities.*

ARTICLE 9.—Immunities and privileges in jurisdictional and fiscal matters enjoyed by British forces are determined in a separate convention.

ARTICLE 10.—The covenant of the League of Nations and the Treaty for the Renunciation of War remain binding on both parties.

ARTICLE 11.—*While reserving liberty to conclude new conventions in future, modifying the agreements of January 19 and July 10, 1899, the High Contracting Parties agree that the administration of the Sudan shall continue to be that resulting from the said agreements. The Governor-General shall continue to exercise*

on the joint behalf of the High Contracting Parties the powers conferred upon him by the said agreements. The High Contracting Parties agree that the primary aim of their administration in the Sudan must be the welfare of the Sudanese. Nothing in this article prejudices the question of sovereignty over the Sudan.

...International conventions shall only become applicable to the Sudan by the joint action of the Governments of the United Kingdom and Egypt...

ARTICLE 12.—Egypt accepts responsibility for the lives and property of foreigners in Egypt.

ARTICLE 13.—Egypt desires the abolition of the existing capitulatory regime in Egypt as being no longer in accordance with the spirit of the times and the state of the country.

Progressive steps are agreed to by both parties with a view to bringing about speedily the abolition of the Capitulations in Egypt and removing restrictions on Egyptian sovereignty. Britain agrees to collaborate actively with Egypt towards this end.

ARTICLE 14.—The present treaty abrogates any existing agreements or other instruments whose continued existence is inconsistent with its provisions.

ARTICLE 15.—The High Contracting Parties agree that any difference on the subject of the application or interpretation of the provisions of the present treaty which they are unable to settle by direct negotiation shall be dealt with in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 16.—At any time after the expiration of a period of 20 years from the coming into force of the treaty the High Contracting Parties will, at the request of either of them, enter into negotiations with a view to such revision of its terms by agreement between them as may be appropriate in the circumstances as they then exist... It is agreed that any revision of this treaty will provide for the continuation of the Alliance between the High Contracting Parties in accordance with principles contained in Articles 4, 5, 6, and 7. Nevertheless, with the consent of both High Contracting Parties, negotiations may be entered into at any time after the expiration of a period of ten years after the coming into force of the treaty, with a view to such revision as aforesaid.

ARTICLE 17.—The present treaty is subject to ratification. (The treaty was duly ratified).

#### APPENDICES TO THE TREATY

Various points are further clarified in a number of Appendices which take the form of an Agreed Minute. In the main, purely technical matters are dealt with, such as provision for reinforcements in the event of war, tele-communications, the siting of convalescent camps, sanitary measures, and so on.



Sudan Appointments receive special mention.

*The promotion and advancement of members of the Sudan Service shall be irrespective of nationality up to any rank by selection in accordance with individual merits.*

*It is understood that, as the Egyptian Government are willing to send troops to the Sudan, the Governor-General will give immediate consideration to the question of the number of Egyptian troops required for service in the Sudan, the precise places where they will be stationed, and the accomodation necessary for them, and that the Egyptian Government will send forthwith, on the coming into force of the treaty, an Egyptian military officer of high rank, whom the Governor-General can consult with regard to these matters.*

*It has been arranged between the Egyptian Government and His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom that the question of the indebtedness of the Sudan to Egypt and other financial questions affecting the Sudan shall be discussed between the Egyptian Ministry of Finance and the Treasury of the United Kingdom*

Attached to the treaty is correspondence between the Foreign Secretary and the President of the Egyptian Council of Ministers which deals with military staff matters, military training, and the supply of arms and equipment. The seniority of the British Ambassador and the employment of European Police Officials are briefly referred to.

## (2) BRITISH STATEMENT

Extracts from the Statement by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Ernest Bevin) in the House of Commons on January 27th, 1947.

*I have been informed by the Egyptian Government that they have broken off negotiations for a revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. The House will be aware that when the Egyptian Government requested His Majesty's Government to enter into negotiations for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, His Majesty's Government although they were not bound to do so by the terms of the Treaty, willingly acceded to that request.*

*In May last, His Majesty's Government proposed the withdrawal of all British forces from Egypt, and to settle by negotiation the stages of the evacuation and the arrangements for mutual defence to take the place of those embodied in the 1936 Treaty, at the same time making it clear that in default of the negotiation of a new treaty, the provisions of the Treaty of 1936 would stand. Negotiations in Cairo proceeded slowly, until the then Egyptian Prime Minister visited this country in an endeavour to settle the major differences which had hitherto stood in the way of agree-*

ment... As a result of the conversation which I had with Sidky Pasha, we were able to reach, on a personal basis and subject to the approval of our respective constitutional organs, full agreement on the texts of a treaty of mutual assistance, an evacuation protocol, and a Sudan protocol. Sidky Pasha undertook to recommend the texts to his Government, and I, for my part, undertook to recommend them to the Cabinet, if they were endorsed and put forward to me officially by Egypt.

Of the questions in dispute, by far the most difficult was that of the Sudan. My own position in the matter was that I had given a pledge in this House, on March 26th last, that no change should be made in the status of the Sudan as a result of the treaty revision until the Sudanese had been consulted through constitutional channels. After taking, however, the highest legal advice, I felt that for the sake of an agreement, which would have been as much in the interests of the Sudanese as of either of the other parties, I should be justified in alluding in the Sudan Protocol to the existence of a symbolic dynastic union between Egypt and the Sudan, provided always that no change was introduced into the existing system of administration, whereby the Sudan is administered by the Governor-General under the powers conferred on him by the 1899 Agreements, as confirmed and interpreted by the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936; and provided that no change took place in the arrangements under which the defence of the Sudan is assured...

...I, for my part, made it clear that nothing must be done, and that I must be able to assure the British people that nothing was being done, to prejudice the right of the Sudanese after they had obtained self-government ultimately to exercise their choice—a development which it would take some time to realise. Sidky Pasha subscribed to the view that nothing on paper could prejudice the right of independence, nor could it bind a people in search of liberty... I assumed, therefore, and I had good reason to assume, that agreement existed between us that the Sudanese, when the time came for them to make the choice of their future status, would not be debarred from choosing complete independence, just as they would be free to choose some form of association with Egypt, or even complete union with Egypt.

Scarcely, however, had Sidky Pasha left this country than reports appeared, and appeared without contradiction, that His Majesty's Government had conceded the unity of Egypt and the Sudan without the ultimate right of self-determination... It was succeeded by other disclosures, and, at later dates, by official utterances, which made it clear that in Egyptian eyes the political evolution of the Sudanese must stop short at self-Government under the Egyptian crown, and that the status of independence in Sudan was un-

thinkable. Nokrashi Pasha, in fact, on assuming office stated in the Chamber of Deputies that:

*"When I say unity of Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown, I mean a permanent unity."*

The first effect of these statements was to create a situation of extreme tension in the Sudan...

*...I could not, after what had passed, recommend the Sudan protocol to the Cabinet and to Parliament without securing an agreed interpretation of its terms, which would not run counter to what the people of this country regard as the natural order of things, viz., that peoples having achieved self-government shall have the ultimate right to self-determination, including a right to independence if they want it. I regret that all my efforts have failed to reach anything in the nature of an agreed interpretation... I have offered every guarantee for the safeguard of Egyptian interests in the Sudan—for no one realises more clearly than His Majesty's Government how vital, for instance, is Egyptian interest in the waters of the Nile—I have offered to sign the treaty of mutual assistance and the evacuation protocol, and thus realise one of Egypt's most eager aspirations—and to discuss the Sudan question de novo at a conference with ourselves, the Egyptians and the Sudanese. To all these proposals I have received either an uncompromising negative, or proposals which would involve my re-entering negotiations committed to the thesis that the right of the Sudanese to self-determination must be subject to permanent union between Egypt and the Sudan...*

*My hope is that broader and less stubborn counsels may come to prevail in Cairo, for it is evident that the interests of both countries call for a fresh treaty... If... we can deal with a more fully representative Egyptian Government, and if our negotiations can thereby avoid being the subject of Egyptian party politics, there will be a much better chance of carrying them through to a successful conclusion in the right spirit. Meanwhile, the Treaty of 1936 will be adhered to.*

In reply to a question by Mr. Churchill, the Foreign Secretary stated that there was no doubt that the Treaty of 1936 was a solemn and valid international instrument, and added that the Egyptians were quite within their rights in asking for a revision, special procedure having been set forth to deal with this contingency.

### (3) EGYPTIAN STATEMENT

Statement by the Egyptian Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi El-Nokrashi Pasha at a press conference in Cairo on March 3rd, 1947 (read in English and in Arabic):

*The negotiations between Egypt and Great Britain began in April, 1946, and lasted ten months, during which the Egyptian*

side earnestly tried in every way to come to an agreement. This was clearly demonstrated by the journey undertaken by the Egyptian Prime Minister to London for the purpose of personally contacting Mr. Bevin.

The final breaking-off of these arduous negotiations may be attributed only to the inability of Egypt to obtain satisfaction on the two essential points which are unanimously claimed by the Egyptian people. These two points are the following:—

1.—Evacuation of British troops from Egypt. This evacuation must be immediate, complete, and not conditioned by a treaty.

2.—Maintenance of the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, self-government for the Sudanese and restoration to Egypt of her rights in the administration of the Sudan in order to further the preparation of the Sudanese for self-government.

The unity of Egypt and the Sudan is the will of both Egyptians and Sudanese alike, whereas the British policy is directed towards inciting the Sudanese to secede from Egypt.

As for self-government, had Egypt not been forcibly deprived of her rights in the administration of the Sudan, the preparation of the Sudanese for self-government would not be so delayed. Egypt is in a better position and is more anxious than Great Britain to prepare for self-government a people of the same race, the same language, the same religion and dependent for their very existence on the same Nile.

Egypt wants the Sudanese to be able as soon as possible to express their views freely which can be accomplished only when British troops have evacuated the Sudan.

The two preceding points are fair application of the principles of the UNO Charter.

For that reason, after exceptionally prolonged negotiations the Egyptian Government, regretfully convinced that direct discussions held no hope of success, decided to appeal to the Security Council. This decision has received the enthusiastic endorsement of the entire Egyptian public.

Egypt has abiding faith in the United Nations Organisation, and is absolutely confident that justice will be accorded to a small nation which has always firmly upheld the principles of the supremacy of International Law.

### III. STATUTORY MARTIAL LAW UNDER THE PALESTINE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION

On March 2nd, 1947, the High Commissioner for Palestine by Order<sup>1</sup> imposed what was officially termed *Statutory Martial Law* over certain specified areas of Palestine. The Order was made under the Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945<sup>2</sup>. These Regulations represent in the main consolidating legislation, bringing numerous Emergency Regulations made by the High Commissioner under Powers given him in the Palestine (Defence) Orders in Council, 1931—1937, into ascertainable and up-to-date form. These were Orders in Council of an enabling character, designed to make possible the enactment of immediate emergency measures coping with what have been recurring periods of disorder, lawlessness, and revolt in Palestine. Normally, the High Commissioner legislates for Palestine with the advice of an Advisory Council of officials, after such legislation has been duly published in the form of a Bill in the Gazette.

The Defence (Emergency) Regulations of September 1945 were substantially amended in January 1946<sup>3</sup>. It is this Amendment which contains most, and by definition almost all, the wide powers—by which the Executive in Palestine has been enabled to control the liberties of the citizen—exercisable and exercised in practice under the most searching scrutiny and strictest interpretation of the Judiciary.

On March 2nd, 1947, when Statutory Martial Law was applied in Palestine, all that was necessary to bring it into force was the addition of an applying Order specifying details of application, which by the addition of a Part XV<sup>4</sup> to the Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, was duly given effect.

Statutory Martial Law was in some measure detailed and specifically applied in parts of Palestine on March 2nd, 1947. Since January 1946, however, the Executive had had enabling legislation for this step by virtue of the Amendment to the Regulations. A brief summary of the provisions follows.

REGULATIONS 1. and 2 consolidate the Amendment with the

1 Pal. Gaz. No. 1558 (Suppl. No. 2) of 2.3.47., p. 343.

2 Pal. Gaz. No. 1442 (Suppl. No. 2) of 25.9.45., p. 1055 ff.

3 Pal. Gaz. No. 1470 (Suppl. No. 2) of 28.1.46., p. 148 ff.

4 Pal. Gaz. No. 1558 (Suppl. No. 2) of 2.3.47., p. 359 ff.

Principal Regulations of 1945, and recast the definition of "Military Court offence".

REGULATION 3 vests jurisdiction over all offences against any Emergency Regulation either exclusively or concurrently in the Military Courts with powers of punishment equalling those of the Civil Courts in similar circumstances.

REGULATION 4 empowers the General Officer Commanding to establish "Summary Military Courts" consisting of a single commissioned officer with powers of jurisdiction coinciding with those of the full Military Courts, but with punishment limited to a maximum of one year or fine of one hundred pounds. No confirmation of conviction or sentence of such Military Court in summary procedure by the G.O.C. is required, and a report on its proceedings is to be made only when called for by authority. Terms of imprisonment, additional to sentence, may be imposed by the officer for non-payment of fines.

REGULATION 5 makes pronouncable by Military Courts the death penalty or lesser punishment for the discharge or carriage of firearms or incendiary articles, or for membership in any "group" or "body of persons" anyone of whom may have committed an offence of that kind while a member. It also provides the death penalty by Military Court or lesser punishment for unlicensed possession of any incendiary or explosive article, or for the possession of anything designed or adapted to cause serious injury or worse, or for the interference with any public or military transport or general utility installation, or for being a member of "any group" or "body of persons" anyone of whom may have committed any such offence while a member. It, furthermore, provides life imprisonment or lesser punishment for the wearing of any military or police uniform without authority, or for the wearing of any article or clothing which may be mistaken for such uniform, unless the wearer can prove lack of intention of causing such mistake. It imposes a maximum of seven years' imprisonment for military drilling or for presence at such drilling. A maximum penalty of three years is provided for using any disguise likely to become prejudicial to public safety or order. It then punishes with a maximum of seven years anyone guilty of harbouring or providing any comfort whatever to anyone engaged once or being engaged in any activity prejudicial to public order and safety, or anyone who once committed or is committing any offence under the particular Regulation.

REGULATION 6 provides for substantial punishment for aiding and abetting the commission of an offence against the Regulations, including attempts.

REGULATION 7 gives concurrent jurisdiction to the Civil Courts

for, and provides for the treatment of, specified offences against the Regulations.

REGULATION 8 shifts a substantial part of the burden of proof on to the accused person charged with an offence under the Regulations.

REGULATION 9 prohibits the movement of motor vehicles after the sounding of an emergency signal.

REGULATION 10 is of procedural nature.

REGULATION 11 amends the Immigration Ordinance and supersedes it by, inter alia, providing punishment for harbouring any person suspected of having contravened the Immigration Ordinance as further supplemented here, or any order made under it. In doing so the Regulation gives widest powers to His Majesty's Forces in the pursuit, arrest, and bringing to trial of what it calls "prohibited immigrants", and for the punishment of the master of a craft carrying such persons and the forfeiture of his craft.

REGULATION 12 considerably widens the power of Military Commanders in Palestine to order the detention of any person in Palestine for any period of time .

REGULATION 13 provides for the arrest without warrant by any soldier or constable of, inter alia, any person against whom the arrester may have grounds to believe there to be reason why such person should be detained or deported, while the High Commissioner is given powers of detention and deportation from Palestine against any person. On such arrest without warrant, a person may be kept in custody for seven days pending a decision whether or no a deportation order should be made. Furthermore, power is given to any member of H.M. Forces or of the Police Force to require the production of identification papers from any person.

This Emergency Legislation as consolidated in the Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, and as thus amended, has been "designed to assist the enforcement or restoration of law and order"<sup>5</sup> in Palestine.

<sup>5</sup> Explanatory Note, The Defence (Emergency) Regulations, 1945, Pal. Gaz. No. 1442 (Suppl. No. 2) of 25.9.45., p. 1105.

# LES CAHIERS DE L'EST, No. 6, 1946.

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EN MARGE DU LIBAN  
FRAGMENT INEDIT  
PROPOS DU ROI HUSSEIN

Camille Aboussouan  
André Gide  
Riza Tewfik

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POPULATION ET RESSOURCES DE LA PALESTINE  
PROGRES TECHNIQUE ET PROGRES SOCIAL  
VIE ECONOMIQUE EN ARMENIE SOUS LES ARABES  
SUR LA MUSUQUE ORIENTALE  
L'AME DES KURDES DANS LEUR FOLKLORE (fin)  
DEMOCRATIE NOUVELLE IV

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\* \* \*  
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## BOOK REVIEWS

"OPERATION VICTORY" by Major General Sir Francis De Guingand, K.B.E., C.B., D.S.O. (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1947, pp. 488, 25/-).

General Sir Francis De Guingand was Chief of Staff to Field Marshal Montgomery from 1942 to 1945, first with the 8th Army, and then with the 21st Army Group. He was one of the organisers of victory in the Middle East and finally in North-West Europe. He writes with an authority greater than any of the war correspondents who have hitherto described the victorious campaigns. ...

Commanders of armies, when describing their own exploits, tend to interpret events with a view to justifying their particular action. General De Guingand displays no such failing. As a Staff Officer he had no decisions to justify. He put up the plans or the proposals, and the Commander decided.

The General is loyal to his Chiefs, who were in turn Lord Wavell, F.M. Auchinleck, and "Monty"; but he retains a critical sense of judgment on all three of them. Thus he makes some caustic remarks about the Greek adventure, and, particularly, about the Cretan campaign. The responsibility for the failure in Greece he ascribes in the main to the politicians, who, he thinks, should never have committed the Army to the desperate enterprise. But he believes that the first airborne operation of the Nazis in Crete might have been defeated if a firmer grip had been taken immediately.

He has very little to say about the campaigns which were waged in 1941 in Iraq and Syria. But of the latter he remarks that had we been able to commence with a really powerful punch, the French might have capitulated at an early date. General Wavell was very much against this venture. "This is a good example of when a Government may be right in persuading a Commander-in-Chief to undertake a commitment against his inclination".

The personal impressions and judgments are a striking feature of the book. The author compares the three Commanders-in-Chief, whom he served. Wavell was not close enough to his staff: he dealt only with the highest levels. Auchinleck was most accessible and energetic, but he listened to too many people and he did not make the best use of the Minister of State in Cairo. For F.M. Montgomery he has the greatest admiration, but his perception is unaffected. Monty realised the need of becoming a national figure in order to inspire his Armies. This realisation made him the showman. Most really great soldiers have been showmen. As regards his relations with other great men of the Allies — "Montgomery can at times be difficult, particularly when he can't get his own way... Consequently, at times there were pretty good battles". On the other hand, he had excellent relations with Grigg, the Secretary of State for War. If he was not always good to the Press, he was good for the Press, because he had many personal characteristics

which made him a popular figure.

Sir Francis notes that until Monty took command at El Alamein, the staff at Cairo were working under peacetime conditions. He makes some trite remarks about gratitude to the Egyptians for their many acts of kindness and their most generous hospitality. He has nothing to say, however, about the social conditions of the country. The Director of Military Intelligence was not concerned with anything but Military Intelligence.

He gives a most vivid and illuminating account of the campaigns from Alamein to the final surrender at Tunis, and the invasion of Sicily and Italy. An excellent series of maps makes his story intelligible to the layman. Whilst describing the pursuit across North Africa, he mentions "our gallant Chief Engineer, Brigadier Kusch, who was always to be found at the most dangerous spots". His death, after the victory of Mareth, "cost me and many other a very dear friend".

There is nothing in the book about Palestine's contribution to the war in men or materials. For a short time in 1940, the General was a teacher at

the Staff College in Haifa. But, after he became Chief of Staff he was little concerned with Palestine. During the crisis of Alamein, indeed, some movements into Palestine were started, but fortunately, they did not have to be continued.

In the latter part of the book, when he is dealing with the invasion of France and Germany, the author does not give a description of the tactical battles as he has done in connection with the campaigns in the Middle East. He confines himself to the bigger movements, and those highlights which have become subjects of controversy among Allied commentators. He is able to dispose of some of the wild charges and reproaches that have been made. He gives an authentic account of what actually took place.

This is the book of a soldier who knows his task thoroughly. It is not distinguished by profound reflections on the war, or by any remarkable literary quality. But it does give a clear picture of those decisive campaigns in Africa and Europe which helped to save civilisation.

Norman Bentwich

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"YOM MAISALOON" يوم ميلون  
(The Day of Maisaloon) by Sati'  
Al-Hasri (Maktahat Al-Kashaf, Beirut, 1947, pp. 352-XL, 750 Mils).

"Yom Maisaloon" threads its way through a labyrinth of political intrigue, of promises and counter-promises, of secret treaties, inconsistent declarations and sordid rivalries, all fatally reminiscent of the worst days of imperialism. Indignation is the keynote of the book, though there is a strain of bitter disillusionment.

While appetising promises were being held out to Hussein, Sherif of

Mecca, the Allies were carving up the Ottoman Empire in the Sykes-Picot and a multitude of other secret agreements. "It is quite evident", affirms the author, "that while England was negotiating with Hussein about Arab independence, at the same time she was negotiating with France the partitioning of their, the Arab, territories". But there were other forces at work, not reckoned with at the time: conflict and friction between the Allies themselves, resurgent Arab nationalism and American liberalism. A compromise was effected by the

concoction of the "Mandato" system as a substitute for direct annexation and imperial aggrandizement. But, says the author, notwithstanding the change of name, the old order was to prevail, and the British and the French, after ironing out their differences, flagrantly set about putting into action their joint conspiracy of despoiling the Middle East.

After England had got what she wanted, namely tutelage over Palestine and Iraq, she tried to create difficulties for the French in Syria, allegedly because the French Mandate in Syria was incompatible with promises made to Hussein. The French rejected the argument on the ground that Britain's agreement with Hussein was unilateral and that France had no reason to be bound by it. The author testifies to the fact that the British encouraged guerrilla action against the French and helped Feisal with money and weapons, but he deprecates their inadequacy. It was only after a compromise had been effected over Mosul that the French were able to carry the matter through with a high hand. An ultimatum was sent to Feisal, imposing impossible conditions, acceptance of which would have meant complete submission to the French, and would above all have undermined Feisal's leadership. Already there were murmurs and suspicion among his supporters. Feisal hesitated, and a few hours before the expiry of the ultimatum, Colonel Cousse, French liaison officer, having learned that no answer had yet been drafted, took two pieces of paper, on one of which he scribbled acceptance and on the other refusal. "Now choose the one you like", he demanded. "We are

against war", was the answer, "but acceptance of your conditions would plunge us into civil war".

Early next morning, the 24th July, 1920, the French army marched from Maisaloon to Damascus. By order of the French Commander, Feisal was driven out of Syria. That was the Day of Maisaloon, upon which the subject of the book under review revolves.

It was at this juncture that Britain's colonial experience stood her in good stead. By allowing the French a free hand in Syria, she helped to preserve the spirit of the Entente Cordiale, and by giving her protégé, the now crownless Feisal, the throne of Iraq (as Palestine was to become a National Home for the Jews) she killed three birds with one stone: she pleased Feisal, gave the Iraqis what they wanted, namely a King, and she herself obtained the necessary bases and concessions. By this clever arrangement, everybody got what he wanted and everybody was happy.

The book is full of dramatic episodes in which the author plays a prominent part, having been a minister in the ill-fated cabinet formed after Feisal was proclaimed King of Syria. He took a leading part in the negotiations with the French, and after Feisal's debacle he went with his master to Baghdad and became the first Iraqi Minister of Education. The author is thus qualified for his subject. "Yom Maisaloon" will be found in many ways enlightening, and, shorn of its propaganda and bombast, it is written in a straightforward and vivid style which makes it pleasant and easy reading.

Abdullah H. Kissanawi

## "AL-MUSHKILA AL-ALMANIYA"

المشكلة الألمانية (The German Problem) by Sami Azar Jubran (Cairo, 1946).

While the "Big Four" were holding their historic conference at Moscow and at times were coming to grips whilst discussing the more thorny aspects of the German problem, it was interesting to read an attempt on the part of a Middle East writer to picture the German problem in its various aspects. Here is a true endeavour to suggest a far-reaching solution.

"The German Problem" is the name given to an Arabic book recently published in Cairo by a young Arab, who holds his Bar degree.

The book is a well-balanced, carefully prepared study of a problem which is engaging every man of thought all over the world. It is in fact a practical attempt to define the problem, and to picture the methods by which Germany should be treated after her defeat in the recent war.

This is not, however, merely a relation of facts, but is the result of thorough study. Written in a logical style, it is imbued with a vivid contemplation and deep political and social feelings.

Germany, the author says in more than one chapter, should not be treated on principles springing from a brutal lust for vengeance. The severe punishment which befell Germany after World War I was one of the fundamental factors contributing to World War II. German policy cannot be solely responsible for the two wars. The theory which

holds that one individual race is fond of aggression and brutality is in fact an aggressive, brutal, severe and illogical theory. It is based on racial discrimination, as, after all, the peoples of the world have one origin, whether virtuous or vicious. Nazism is nothing but a German name for Fascism, and this ideological aggression is not a German, Italian, or a Japanese creation. It is an international phenomenon which expressed itself one way or the other in many parts of the world.

The author then refers to International Tribunals condemning war criminals. He sees in these courts a dictatorial instrument to impose the will of the victorious upon the vanquished. "History", he says, "has instructed us that no mighty man or nation had ever used his might in an unprejudiced and impartial way".

The only solution, in the author's opinion, is to transfer the possession of military power from individual nations to a general international possession, because, as long as every individual power possesses its own forces and armament, the "balance of power" will continue to be the dominating factor in world politics.

The author concludes his book with a clear survey of the factors which led to the Second World War, expressing the view that a true Commonwealth of Nations based on equal Powers, not Big Fours or Big Fives, is the only means of achieving a permanent and everlasting world peace.

Kheiri H.

**"SYRIA" by Robert Fedden**

(Robert Hale Ltd., London, 1946,  
pp. 287, 21/-).

The publisher's claim that this fascinating book is "the first comprehensive survey of Syria, past and present, which has appeared in English," is endorsed by the reviewer of the book in the "New Statesman and Nation".

"Syria" would seem to be a comprehensive guidebook to the archaeological "remains" left scattered throughout Syria and the Lebanon by 3,000 years of historical vicissitudes. The guide gives eminently practical and sensible advice on such matters as the best seasons during which to travel to different places, routes to choose, the state of the roads, the best means of transport, hotels or the lack of them, manners and etiquette. But never was guide so urban, so civilised, so sensitive but unsentimental, so knowledgeable, so that the reader soon realises that this is not a guide-book in the formal sense at all, but a historical guide to Syrian archaeology by way of description of a series of trips to different parts of the country. The "excursions" are planned to illustrate Syrian history in more or less chronological order from the earliest times up to the present day.

The history of this country, subject through the ages to a procession of rules, empires and tribal houses, presents a sequence of events without any apparent link of cause and effect, which is confusing to those accustomed only to the pigeon-holed histories of Western European countries.

The sprawling, shapeless empires of the East are bewildering; the more or less arbitrary entities carved out of them for a few centuries disap-

pear and leave but a castle or two, a mosque or cathedral or palace behind. Mr. Fedden's scheme puts some order into all this; he is truly familiar with his material — his learning is lightly worn after the French fashion, and he refers to himself as a lay man in half-a-dozen fields of research, — but he would have helped the ignorant by appending at least an outline list of dates to serve as a framework. The index though short is good, but does not meet just this need.

Mr. Fedden has not shrunk from touching on present controversies, from attempting to assess for instance the achievements and failures of the Mandatory, and his comments are a model of fairness. He goes straight to essentials: the politics of welfare, problems of cultivation, irrigation, land tenure and health. His analyses of modern Syrian and Lebanese nationalism and of the character of racial and religious minorities are refreshingly unsentimental though far from unsympathetic. He remains a model of objectivity. He says as little as may be said about Palestine, and no one can quarrel with his mild dictum that if Syria had remained after 1918 a unit of some kind in its extended boundaries, that is including Palestine east and west of the Jordan, the Jewish question would have had a different bearing and might not have been so acute.

A great many illustrious books about this part of the world have to be reviewed in terms such as "the author succeeds magnificently in evoking the atmosphere of — whatever it is — but the political judgments are to be received with — shall we say — caution". It is there-

fore an unusual pleasure to be able to praise Mr. Fedden's alliance of the western critical temper with an eclectic appreciation of the decorative East, before going on to stress the essential virtue of the book — the excellence of the description of the sites which are its main subject. So distinguished a writer as Mr. Somerset Maugham failed to describe interestingly so marvellous a site as Angkor Vat. And time after time Mr. Fedden succeeds. The ruin he is describing, the physical site, the time of day, the season of the year, the historical associations — he gets it all into a paragraph or two, or at most a page or two, the smell, the feel of the place and the people he is talking about, exist for the reader.

The photographs in the book are extremely good, in the modern man-

ner: on the one hand, the significant detail under dramatic lighting, on the other the air-view, and one's only complaint is that there are not enough of them. But they are not as good as Mr. Fedden's word pictures — and how many books of this kind sell on the photographs alone!

I do not know whether the places "really" look the way Mr. Fedden describes them, or whether that is conceivably what the people were "really" like. But reading this book, I am convinced that everything is and was just as he says. His personal vision — of the eye and of the understanding — is of a quality to impose itself on the reader as revealing essential reality.

D. T.

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#### "LIFE IN MODERN TURKEY"

by E.W. Tomlin

(Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London, 1947, pp. 90, 5/-).

More books have been written on modern Turkey than on any other country of the Middle East with the exception of Palestine. It would be unfair, therefore, to expect this small book to add very much to our knowledge of Ataturk's country. Its main value lies in the simple and unpretentious way in which it records manners and customs in town and village. The list of Turkish conversational phrases and terms with

English translation and pronunciation (unfortunately with the accent often wrongly marked) will prove useful to the foreigner visiting Turkey. A number of mistakes in explaining Turkish expressions and Islamic institutions should be corrected in a second edition. Some of them, such as the translation of Ataturk as "Father of the Turks" (instead of "Father Turk", i.e. "Great Turk") and the alleged legislation against the traditional women's dress, tend to become permanent errors in European books on modern Turkey.

U. Heydt

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"MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH: Essai sur ses idées philosophiques et religieuses" by Osman Amin (Le Caire, 1944, pp. 278).

The new book on the great Egyptian reformer is a bibliographical

curiosity. The author's preface is dated August, 1939, the book-cover 1944, and the laudatory "lettre de preface" by Mustapha Abdel Razek bears the date April, 1945!

The author, who is well-known for

his ceaseless endeavours to make Western philosophy known to the Arab reader, had previously published a biography in Arabic of Muhammad 'Abduh. In this book, an expansion of his Ph.D. thesis, he deals both with the life and the teachings of Muhammad 'Abduh, who is still regarded as one of the outstanding Egyptian thinkers of modern times. The short biography does not contain much new information. In the main part of the book Osman Amin examines successively the philosophical and theological doctrines of his subject. He tries to prove that "'Abduh est véritablement un philosophe" (p. 15), later adding "c'est-à-dire un sage... qui a fort bien compris que

la réflexion philosophique ne peut pas rester toujours spéculative et contemplative" (pp. 45-7).

In the appendices several interesting letters of 'Abduh to Tolstoy and W. S. Blunt as well as his philosophical conversations with Spencer and his political testament, are reproduced. The bibliography contains a large number of books and articles on Muhammad 'Abduh.

Amin's book, although lacking all criticism of 'Abduh and often running into generalities, completes the works of Horten, Goldziher and Charles Adams in a number of important points.

U. Heydt

"RAHLAT BENYAMIN" رحلة بنيامين  
(Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela).

Translated from the Hebrew original with introduction, notes, etc., by Ezra Haddad. (The Eastern Press, Baghdad, 500 Mils).

Mr. Ezra Haddad, a well-known literary figure in Baghdad, was browsing in the Baghdad Museum on a summer day in 1945, when the keeper brought him an old manuscript. Mr. Haddad snatched it eagerly, begging leave to take it home with him, the result was a book that has considerably enhanced his reputation. This old Hebrew MS., printed at Ferrara in Italy in 1556, bore the title "The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela".

The story of Benjamin's travels is too well-known to warrant the briefest description here. It is enough to say that he was the first European to cross India and to knock at the gates of China, reached only more than a century later by Marco Polo. Being a Jew, Benjamin was naturally interested in Jewish life in the lands through

which he travelled, and in this connection Mr. Abbass Azzavi, an Iraqi historian, writes in his preface to the book: "Since this 'Itinerary' confines itself to describing mainly one community, then undoubtedly we should be able to glean sufficient of the cultural, commercial, economic, social and religious conditions of this community, to enable us to draw a comparison as to whether those with whom this community lived then are better than those with whom it is living nowadays.." Mr. Azzavi is much gratified at Benjamin's praise and appreciation of the Arab civilisation and tolerance, for indeed there could be no sharper contrast than between the life of the Jews in the Arab countries at that time, (where the least that can be said is that they were tolerated, save for a few unimportant intervals) and between their life in Europe where they were subjected to harrowing disabilities, persecutions and pogroms.

Benjamin travelled through south-

ern Europe when preparations for the Third Crusade were in full swing. The darkness in Medieval Europe renders the light that shone over the East all the brighter.

This book is much more than a mere translation. The translator's introduction, copious notes and four valuable addenda, give a wealth of information, and reveal the extent of his erudition and eclectic knowledge. He is specially to be commended for his three carefully arranged indices of cities and places, of proper names and of nations and communities, indices which the majority of Arabic

books, even the very important among them, sadly lack. All this, and the excellent classical Arabic in which it is written, make the book readable and interesting.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1945. A second improved edition is under preparation.

It may be parenthetically added that Mr. Haddad has lately translated the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam from the Persian original into Hebrew. As soon as circumstances permit he will come to Palestine and arrange for its publication.

E. H. Khazoum

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**"PALESTINE THROUGH THE FOG OF PROPAGANDA"** by M. F. AlScarius. With an Introduction by Maj. Gen. Sir E. L. Spears. (Hutchinson & Co, London, 1946, pp. 240, 12/6).

The author, an Arab, was for 23 years a high Government Treasury official in Palestine. His book is an open Arab statement of the Palestine problem, and as such, nothing can be said against this form of propaganda. The economic section is interesting on account of the sometimes independent approach of the author. He is probably the foremost Arab economic expert, yet the standard of economic reasoning in the book is disappointing. We read, for instance: "If the home produced article is cheaper than the foreign product, then the benefit accrues to the consumer as well as to the producer and workman, and no one can find fault with such a customs protective policy". In such a case a protective tariff would obviously be completely redundant.

He argues in earnest that the exemption of raw materials from import

duties represents a protective tariff for industry. He claims that the local availability of raw materials is "almost a sine qua non condition if the industry is eventually to stand on its feet", that industry is not successful in Palestine and that Jewish settlements are not self-supporting. Equally surprising as economic reasoning are some of the facts given: "Already before 1920 there were in present-day Palestine over 1200 industrial (Arab) enterprises". "The fellah continues to be in the desperate state in which he was in 1929". This was written in 1946.

There are, however, a few significant remarks: "The Government's gingerly approach to the problem, no doubt, has its merits. Nothing could have encouraged the acquisition of land by the Jews better than the quick rehabilitation of dispossessed Arabs. It would have drawn the sting from the land policy pursued by the Zionists". "If for reasons of affording a settlement a measure of protection it was deemed proper to construct a 'farmac' road, surely the cost of construction should have been



borne entirely by the Government".

Mr. Abcarius' book is one of the best books on Palestine from the Arab point of view. It is honest and pas-

sionately written and it is readable, though it is, of course, propaganda.

E. B.

**"LES ELEMENTS DE LA FORMATION  
D'UN ETAT JUIF EN PALESTINE"**,

by Robert Abdo Ghanem, (Société  
d'Impression et d'Edition, Beyrouth,  
1946, pp. 327).

In Beirut a young Lebanese lawyer has recently published a book in the French language dealing with the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine. Apparently it is the first of its kind. Thousands of books have been written during the last quarter of a century, concerning Zionist work in Palestine, by Jews and Non-Jews, Zionists and anti-Zionists. Among these publications there are several books written by Arabs or supporters of the Arab cause, defining the Arab attitude towards Jewish aspirations in Palestine. But all these books are of a polemical nature. Their primary task is to combat Zionism. Their object is mainly propagandist.

This is the first attempt made by an Arab writer to explore Zionism from the inside and to explain it to an Arab reader. The author is not a friend of Zionism — very far from it. But he does his best to be objective. His approach is scientific. He is not a politician, but a scholar. He treats Zionism not as a hostile movement, but as a social phenomenon, which must be understood and analysed in the light of modern Social Science.

He gives the historical background of the Zionist movement, discloses the dynamic forces behind it, illustrates its connection with the destiny of the Hebrew people, describes the recent political development of the Jewish

National Home, reviews Jewish economic, social and cultural achievements in the country, scrutinizes Jewish political and financial institutions, and investigates the inter-relation between world politics and the present Palestine deadlock.

It is clear in his mind that the return of the Jews to Palestine is not an artificial process and cannot be brought to naught by oppressive measures. The Jews, in spite of their dispersion, are a nation, and "each nation, even the smallest one, like the biggest nations, has a tendency to create its own state for itself". The author does not admit the historical rights of the Jews to Palestine, and he disputes the legal validity of the Balfour Declaration and even of the Palestine Mandate, to which the Arabs of Palestine have never agreed. But — and this is his main conclusion — the Jewish State in Palestine is already a reality, it is an undisputable "fait accompli". The process is not yet at an end, but the Jewish Commonwealth exists de facto in a part of Palestine — the established Jewish settlement has all the elements of a national state. This state will grow, and before long it will expand to cover the whole of Palestine, unless some definite arrangement is made in time.

The author is looking for a solution. He considers, that from the Arab point of view, this imminent growth of the Jewish State, the continual immigration and further purchases of land constitute a menace — the Arabs will cease to be the masters of the Country, which

they consider as their own. In his opinion the only step which may remove this menace is partition. The immediate creation of a separate Jewish State within defined limits will stay the expansion of this state beyond its boundaries. The author understands that this Jewish State in a part of Palestine will not be able to absorb all those Jews who need a state, but it will be the concern of the Jewish State to cut immigration if it exceeds its economic absorptive capacity. Such a state will be too small to solve the Jewish problem, but — the author contends — there is nothing to prevent the Great Powers from assisting in the creation of several independent Jewish States in various parts of the world, tied to each other within the the framework of a federation, with the Jewish State in Palestine as its centre.

He rejects as unreal and impracticable the attempt to convert Palestine into a unitary Arab State with a Jewish minority enjoying equal civil rights. He considers this a dangerous experiment and a source of future frictions. The proposed solution through partition is not a new one, but it is the first time that such a proposal comes from an Arab source and is not advanced as an attempt to do justice to both parties or to reach a compromise, but as a practical measure to protect Arab interests.

The one side of the problem — and perhaps the most important one — was passed over by the author in silence: the possible influence, which the modern Hebrew state may exercise over the surrounding Arab world. The Middle East cannot remain in the same condition as it was in the past. Many changes towards

development and modernisation can be observed even now, but they are still in their infancy. The Arab World cannot accomplish these changes without undue delay from its own resources (technical and financial). To do so with the assistance of the Great Powers may endanger the political and economic independence of the newly created Arab States. Cooperation of both Semitic peoples (Arabs and Hebrews) towards development and raising of the standard of living in the Middle East is perhaps the only way out of the difficulty and the best safeguard of real independence. Partition means an isolation and an artificial barrier, delaying this progress. It is a pity, that the author did not consider, whether Palestine, which — using the words of the late Lord Balfour — is only a "small notch" in what are now Arab Territories, would be too high a price for it.

Every sound policy is based on the principle of "give and take". The Orient, after its period of glorious history, remained dormant and stagnant for centuries, and the author's analysis clearly shows, that the Hebrew people, if given a chance, will not only solve its own problem, but has all the elements necessary to bring fresh life to this cradle of world civilisation. This is not a scheme which may appeal to the chauvinistic mind of egocentric nationalists, but it may still find understanding and sympathy among real patriots and statesmen, who have at heart not their own ambitions but the real needs of their people.

The author has shown, that he refuses to fit into the conventional mold of thinking of the average Middle-East politician, who professes into-

lerance as a national virtue. He made an honest attempt on the basis of profound and impartial study to solve a problem which seemed insoluble, and to create a modus vi-

vendi for all parties concerned.

This is the first attempt. Let us hope, that it will not remain the last.

Dr. A. Weinshall

**"PALESTINE'S ECONOMIC FUTURE":**

Review of Progress and Prospects:

Edited by J. B. Hobman. (Percy Lund Humphries & Co., London, 1946, 15/-).

While too many books on the political problem of Palestine are written by people without expert knowledge of the subject, the economic aspect is mostly dealt with in a highly technical and scientific way which does not appeal to the average reader. "Palestine's Economic Future" fills an important gap in the vast literature on modern Palestine. Edited by J. B. Hobman, it contains over 20 short articles on the different economic problems of the country, covering — as indicated in the sub-title — both progress made during the last 30 years, and prospects envisaged. The contributors who are all well known Jewish and non-Jewish experts, have succeeded in compressing into the limited space allowed a clear and concise survey of their subjects, documented by well chosen statistical tables and diagrams. The luxurious art paper and the large number of excellent photographs make the book one of the most pleasant publications on Palestine in recent years.

As pointed out in Dr. Haim Weismann's introduction, the book attempts to give some idea of Palestine's modern agricultural, industrial and scientific development. It describes an economy which has always been dynamic and is particularly so in these days when it is undergoing constant change in the transition

from war to peace. W. Lowdermilk expounds his plan for large scale irrigation, with interesting comparisons from California. Robert R. Nathan reiterates the result of his recently published comprehensive Economic Study of Palestine, and Professor H. Laski outlines a development plan to be carried out by the Palestine Government with regard to irrigation, cheap credit, compulsory education, Trade Unionism, public works, taxation, etc., for the good of all communities.

In explaining the recent transformation of the Arab economic sector, D. Horowitz mentions the Arab Labour force employed at comparatively high wages by Government and military authorities during the war, the prosperity of the fellah owing to the sevenfold increase in the price of grain and the large accumulation of capital in the Arab urban population enabling them to enter into new commercial and industrial undertakings.

Sir E. John Russell's article on agriculture in Palestine contains much useful information and predicts that Jewish colonies, in contrast with Arab farms which mainly grow cereals, will continue to concentrate on intensive agriculture producing fruit, vegetables, milk, eggs etc. That agriculture is not bound to remain an obsolete and wasteful form of economy is the thesis of E. D. Bergmann who points out some ways of industrial utilisation of agricultural products.

There follow a number of instructive articles on specialised industries, such as Potash (M. Novomeysky), Building (R. Arnstein), Textiles (E. Moeller), Chemicals (L. Taub) and Diamonds (Y. Mazur). In his article on electrification V. Liwshitz-Barik criticises the monopolistic prices of the oil companies, the effects of which, he maintains, restrict the industrial growth of the country.

Professor Farkas describes the assistance furnished by the Hebrew University and other scientific institutions to industry in war and

peace, while C. W. Brown records interesting details of Palestine's industrial war effort, and Professor Goldberg surveys the beginning of a precision instrument industry in the Zeiss tradition. Printing and publishing in Palestine is dealt with by G. Shocken, and the Insurance Companies by E. H. Luft. W. Turnowsky develops his plan for Palestine's future as a tourist centre, and Wing Commander M. M. Kaye describes its role in civil aviation.

U. Heydt

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**"ARAB-JEWISH UNITY: Testimony before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission for the Ihud (Union) Association"**, by Judah Magnes and Martin Buber (Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1947, pp. 96).

**"TOWARDS UNION IN PALESTINE: Essays on Zionism and Jewish-Arab Cooperation"** Edited by M. Buber, J. L. Magnes, E. Simon (Ihud (Union) Association, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 124).

These two books, published almost simultaneously, one in London and the other in Jerusalem, present the well-known views of the Ihud Association. This Association, formed less than five years ago, "is not a political party. It is a group of individuals belonging to different parties and of independents belonging to no party". It is made clear that though its members may have varying views on details, they are united in the firm conviction that there is but one way of meeting the Palestine problem—that of Arab-Jewish co-operation. The Association's programme can be stated in a few words: it stands "for the union

of Jews and Arabs in a bi-national Palestine based on the parity of the two peoples, and for the union of the bi-national Palestine with neighbouring countries".

It is not for the present reviewer to state whether he thinks the Association is right or wrong in its views, for clearly it is a matter of faith. Dr. Magnes, Professor Buber, and their supporters are believers. They believe that an Arab-Jewish union in Palestine is not only desirable but possible, and in their evidence before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry they seek to show how their programme can be put into effect. It is known that their testimony made a profound impression on that Committee's members. The Ihud Association's views were reflected, sometimes almost verbatim, in several parts of the Committee's report. "Palestine not a Jewish State and not an Arab State"... "Palestine is not just an Arab land like any other Arab land, or just a Jewish land. It is a Holy Land for three monotheistic religions" (Arab-Jewish Unity, pp. 12-13). "Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab

state... Palestine is a Holy Land, sacred to Christian, to Jew, and to Moslem alike... Palestine cannot be regarded as either a purely Arab or a purely Jewish land" (Report of the Anglo-American Committee, pp. 3-4).

That Palestine is a Holy Land, that it is neither purely Arab nor purely Jewish, is a truism, and does not of itself get us any nearer a solution. But to deduce from this that it must not be either a Jewish State or an Arab State is precisely what makes it possible for Mr. Ernest Bevin to say: "The Anglo-American Committee, faced with the problem that we have been faced with, came to the view not to recommend a Jewish State, and everybody who has touched the Palestine question is forced back to that every time" (Hansard, 24th February, 1947, col. 1908). There is nothing here about recommending an Arab State, and, indeed, Mr. Bevin was under no obligation to put both sides of the picture. It was enough that the advocates of bi-nationalism gave him an argument against a Jewish State.

The Ihud Association holds that "neither people can get in Palestine all it wants, and both peoples will have to make concessions. The way of honourable and reasonable compromise must be sought". This reads curiously like the Peel Commission's analysis, which led it to recommend partition on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread. It is worth noting that Dr. Magnes, when asked by Mr. Bartley Crum whether the Association completely rejected the idea of partition, re-

plied: "We have no official stand on that", although he himself, speaking personally, rejected it absolutely.

The weakness of the bi-national idea, as it appears to the reader of these two books, is that no evidence is adduced anywhere that such a solution would command the support of more than a small group of people, all of them Jews. Dr. Magnes stated in his evidence that it was not only his Association that believed "in the bi-national Palestine", there were many indications that "a large part of the inarticulate section of the population" believed in it, too. With these inarticulate believers, too, it must be a matter of faith, and as long as they remain inarticulate, there will be no means of telling how many of them there are, no way of discovering whether there are also Arabs who share this belief, and no reason to suppose that this "section" is not numerically very small and politically very unrepresentative.

Of the fervour with which the belief is held by the faithful there can be not the slightest doubt. These two books, produced by men of great intelligence and integrity, deserve to be studied by all who are interested in the Palestine question, not because they are likely to make many converts, but because they are an honest and fearless exposition of a carefully considered point of view. That this point of view has so little chance of acceptance is perhaps a pity, but hardly a misfortune.

W. Eytan

**"HAARAVIM B'ERETZ ISRAEL"**

(הערבים בארץ-ישראל) (The Arabs in Palestine) by J. Waschitz (Sifriat Poalim, Merhavia, 1947, pp. 400, 700 Mils).

This is a most stimulating book, and one of the few Hebrew works on this subject. Despite a somewhat sombre introduction, Mr. Waschitz has contrived to transform a great mass of statistical, economic, and sociological data into a popular and eminently readable account of Arab life and society in Palestine in all its diverse forms of expression. While the author has been careful to give occasional cross-reference to the parallel growth of Jewish activities during the last three decades, and their consequent influence on Arab life generally, the reader is

nevertheless presented with an independent development, independently expounded.

The work is an outstanding success in one aspect, — in that it is, mercifully, not one of a long line of creations conveniently grouped as "science made popular". It furnishes just that minimum of carefully worked out detail, that is alone worthy of a book which is meant to be read by a community whose interest in Arab life in Palestine can be expected to be more than academic. A work like Mr. Waschitz's will decidedly go some way towards sowing the seed of a symbiosis, which the author has rightly considered inevitable.

J. Breuer

**"AT-TATAWUR AL-IJTIMAE WALIK-TISADI FI FALASTIN AL-ARABIYA"**

التطور الاجتماعي والاقتصادي  
في فلسطين العربية

(Social and Economic Changes in Arab Palestine) by Mohammed Y. Al-Husseini. (Beit-El-Makdis Press, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 204, 300 Mils.)

Will the Arabs retain their old social tradition? Would industry suit or clash with their mode of living? The biggest schemes in Palestine are Jewish; what are the Arabs going to do about it? What are they doing for the health and education of their children? Can the Arabs be a match for Jewish talent and wealth? Such questions are constantly asked and discussed in Mr. Al-Husseini's book, which is a survey of the rapid social and economic changes in the Arab part of Palestine.

A high percentage of the Arabs in Palestine is still nomadic, and in

three different types, according to their mode of living: those living exclusively on their livestock, those who live by bartering their animals for agricultural products, and those who use part of their land for agricultural purposes by which they can supplement their living. These Bedouins live mostly in what is "administratively known as the Beersheba district, covering an area half the size of Palestine, and which has lately come to be known as 'the Negev' on the assumption that this region was formerly known by this Hebrew term, which means 'south' ". Labour and wise management can restore the region's ancient proved fertility.

Despite the fact that Palestine was neglected for centuries, lacking adequate fertilisation, the soil is extremely fertile. In 1923, citrus groves covered only 30,000, as against 293,000 dunams, in 1939, owned equally

by Jews and Arabs, which were later reduced to 266,000 dunams, due to wartime neglect. Citrus exports were respectively 1.25 and 15.25 million boxes during these years.

In livestock, too, there was a proportionate increase. At present the Arabs have 933,800 head, the Jews 65,300, the great difference being due to the fact that the Jews concentrate on industry and agriculture, and breed no camels or pigs. Thus there is an annual yield of 20 million litres of milk, of which 60% is produced by Jews. Of poultry, in 1943 the Jews reared 75% of the one and three-quarter million birds.

The Arabs have not been able to keep pace with the Jews in industry, because of the stupendous capital at the disposal of the latter, and their high technical skill. But in the long run, the author says, because of the high cost of Jewish labour with a correspondingly high cost of production, "the fate of Jewish industry is hanging in the balance".

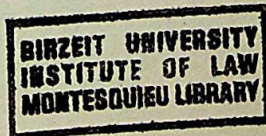
On education the Government is expending "a shamefully trifling amount", because, in the author's opinion, of its pre-occupation in matters of public security threatened by the beneficiaries of the Balfour Declaration. "Due to the policy of the Mandate and the National Home", illiteracy is still 62%.

The author does not trouble to consider the progress of the independent Arab States, "who are suffering from no Balfour Declaration and are under the yoke of no Mandate". But he repeatedly speculates on what the Arabs might have done had there been no Jews in Palestine.

Although praising Jewish progress, the author denounces it at the same time rather unconvincingly as a hindrance to Arab development.

Notwithstanding its one-sidedness, the book may be read with ease and profit by those interested in the geography and history, as well as the sociology and economy, of Palestine.

E. H. Khazoum



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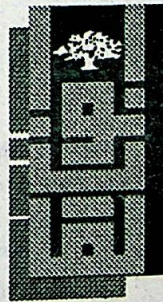
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