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JOURNAL OF RESEARCH

[HUMANITIES]

CENTENARY ISSUE

Edited by
SIRAJ-UD-DIN

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CENTENARY NOTE

The University of the Punjab, established on 14th October, 1882, is the oldest and the biggest University of Pakistan. It came into existence as a result of sustained public pressure and earnest pursuance by the elite of the Province.

When the Punjab came under British Rule in 1849 the need of Western education was urgently felt and educational institutions for this purpose were opened by the Government and private societies. In this regard, the role of Anjuman-i-Punjab was laudable. The Anjuman started an Oriental College and a Law School, and as a result of its efforts the Punjab University College was established at Lahore on December 8, 1869, which served as the forerunner of the University.

The influential people of the Punjab had donated generously for the purpose of establishing a University with the power of conferring degrees, but the Government of British India was reluctant to accept the proposal on the ground that enough institutions and candidates were not available to justify a degree-awarding institution.

The educational institutions of the Punjab prepared students for examinations of the Calcutta University, but this system caused hardships and problems and was universally opposed. As a result of further struggle, the Punjab University was established in Lahore on 14th October, 1882. It inherited the property and institutions of the University College and thus got the distinction of being the first teaching institution in British India, others being only administrative and examining bodies like their model, the University of London.

At the time of its foundation, the University had only one building, the Senate Hall, which it had inherited from the Punjab University College. Its teaching institutions were housed for some time in rented buildings and in Govt. College, Lahore. The Senate Hall, constructed in 1876, and the attached rooms accommodated the office of the Registrar and the English and vernacular printing presses of the University.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 gave great impetus to the construction of buildings and the expansion of educational facilities. Most of the University buildings were constructed after its implementation. The University Hall (Old Campus) was built in 1905, Chemical Laboratories in 1922-23, the Law and Oriental Colleges in 1922 and 1926. As the teaching plans expanded, new buildings continued to be built.

The University opened its own independent teaching departments and carried out instruction in collaboration with the affiliated colleges at Lahore, a practice now dropped altogether. At present, its Faculties of Arts, Science and Engineering, Islamic and Oriental Learning, Law, Commerce, Education, Pharmacy and Medicine cover more than 40 Institutes/Departments/Constituent Colleges of the Punjab University as well as about 118 affiliated colleges. In the wake of Independence (1947), the University experienced great disruption. However, it tided over its difficulties very soon with optimism and determination.

Major changes in the life of the University took place after the Punjab University Act of 1954. The most important project was the New Campus Plan. The New Campus is fastly growing into a spacious University town. Most of the departments/institutes and constituent colleges have shifted to the new site.

During the last few years, the University has set up new departments and research centres and has expanded the academic and research facilities to meet the challenge of fast pace of progress and modernization.

This issue of the Journal of Research (Humanities) is dedicated to the Centenary.

Muhammad Ismail Bhatti
Secretary Editorial Board

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STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS : A PARADIGM OR PREDICAMENT ?

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I. Introduction

The practice among sociologists of using words, after the manner of Humpty Dumpty, to 'mean just what I want them to mean', often makes it difficult for one member of the profession to understand what the other is saying. Under these circumstances, the position of the outsider trying to work with sociological concepts is far from enviable, and dealing with a concept like structural-functional analysis, about which the only universally held view among sociologists themselves is that it is 'rich in ambiguity', makes the layman feel very much like the proverbial blind man groping in the dark. The high level of abstraction, elusive enough in itself, is cloaked in a shroud of verbiage, thus leaving the student with the dual task of first translating and then analyzing. Much of the controversy surrounding the term structural-functionalism now centers around the indiscriminate use of words and our attention is called to it sharply by Kingsley Davis in his presidential address to the American Sociological Association at Chicago, when he said : 'Consensus on the definition of structural-functional analysis does not exist—there is a false assumption that there is a special method or body of theory called functional analysis which can be distinguished from other methods or theories within sociology—it is as broad as sociological analysis itself'[1] Perhaps he was being too radical in his views, but it is hard to disagree with him that functional analysis means so many different things to so many different people and the sum total of these views not only covers, but far transcends the entire field of sociology. That it is a useful concept no

one denies. What it is, no one is sure. As Merton has said, "Functional analysis is at once the most promising and possibly the least codified of contemporary orientations to problems of sociological interpretation".[2]

It is with an all to clear realization of the difficulties thus presented that I shall make an attempt to bring together in this paper some of the more eminent deliberations made on the subject. But perhaps before we go on to this we might try to trace the historical growth of the idea so that we may see why this will-o' the wisp has come to tantalize sociologists, and through them, their devotees in the field of anthropology, political science, and alas, public administration.[3]

II. Historical Background

Although it is only since the First World War that functionalism has come to the forefront, we have to go back somewhat further to find its origins. Most of the scientific ideas of today are the realization of the speculations made by great thinkers of the past and so it is that we find ourselves going back to the great evolutionary sociologist Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) to find the earliest mention of terms that today are the stock in trade of Parsons, of Levy, and of Merton. It was Spencer who first saw the same 'definition of life' applying both to the social and the biological organism as evidenced by the following statement :—

> "If organization consists in such a construction of the whole that its parts can carry on mutually dependant actions, then in proportion as organization is high, there must go a dependence of each part upon the rest so great that separation is fatal. This truth is equally well shown in the individual organism as in the social organism.
>
> In low aggregates the actions of the parts are but little dependant on each other, whereas in developed aggregates they are more so. Also, where parts are little differentiated, substitution is easy : in complex organizations where differentializations are great subsitution is much harder".[4]

Spencer's methodology, of course, was that great intuitive process of thought with which the world of science has been familiar existed from the time of the earliest civilizations down to the startling prophecies of H.G. Wells. He used the biologic analogy in a very literal sense and sponsored the 'organismic school' of social theorists which included the German, Albert Schaffle and the American, A.W. Small who wrote the first American textbook in sociology.

Partly based on the Spencerian school were the works of W.G. Summer and A.G. Keller who developed a theory of folkways as group patterns that, through trial and error, prove to be functions necessary for the survival of a society.

It was the Frenchman, Emile Durkheim who took the next major step forward in formulating the logic of the functionalist approach. His analysis of the function of particular social factors like crime, punishment and ritual was considerably more systematic than anything that had gone before, and it was he who identified the separate notions of 'cause' and 'function'.

Durkheim saw clearly the dualism of the two orders of research, 'functional analysis' and 'causal analysis' in the fact that practices can exist without being useful at all or after having fulfilled their usefulness through inertia of habit. Thus in order to explain a phenomenon it would be necessary to identify the cause that produces it and the function that it fulfils. Yet, as he was careful to point out, "If the usefulness of a fact is not the cause of its existence, it is generally necessary that it be useful in order to maintain itself".[5]

The influence of Durkheim's views was visible in the writings of the two British anthropologists, Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown in the years immediately following World War II. Though obvious rivals they both saw it as a useful tool for 'the explanation of facts at all levels of development by their function, by the part they play within the integral

system, and by the manner in which the system is related to the physical surroundings.[6] Departing from the Spencerian tradition which was preoccupied with the static 'structure' of the organism, they moved with Durkheim more towards 'function' as the principle tool of scientific interpretation.

At about the same time the Italian, Pareto was writing his Treatise on General Sociology, in which he based his idea of society on the classical mechanical model with mutually dependant variables, and the concept of inter-dependant equilibrium.

Functionalism in sociology came about largely as a result of dissatisfaction with the traditional descriptive approach, and the fear of a new school of empiricism that sought to make a fetish of data collection. Its chief task was to relate empiricism to a general body of theory, a task, which was upper most in the mind of the most influential writer in the social sciences, Max Weber. Readers of Weber's essay on bureaucracy[7] will find an attempt to functionally justify the components of the ideal type construct that he sets up, an exercise that has subsequently resulted in many useful findings contrary to Weber's own.

Among current authorities in the field, the name of Talcott Parsons is on a lofty pedestal, and undoubtedly a lonely one for he theorises on a plane to which few can rise. Marion J. Levy, Jr. and Robert K. Merton are other notable contributors.

III. Structural-Functional Analysis : A Definition

The intellectual fundament of functional theory in sociology is the concept of 'system'.[8] Functionalism is the analysis of the stable patterns that go to make up that system, and consists basically in trying to understand these patterns in relation to the system, as a whole and in relation to each other. Every system is composed of two or more inter-dependant variables so that a change in one of these will affect the whole system. Thus if we increase the temperature of a given volume of gas we will find a change in its mass, volume and pressure. If we change

the price of a commodity in a free market we will find a change in its supply and its demand. The analyst's task is to identify the crucial variables and seek the relationship between them. From this he moves on to the next question, what needs to be done to ensure the survival of the system and how can this best be done ?

The social system is a particular type made up of numerous persons who are engaged in a structured pattern of interaction These persons are guided in their actions by sets of values and norms that are formally called 'roles'. The interaction of these roles occurs within certain boundaries in such a manner that there is an unavoidable interdependence and in a way that tends to establish an equilibrium so that the system may persist.

With this basic idea in mind we may proceed to define what the component parts of structural-functional analysis are.

Structure = a ropetitive pattern or an observable uniformity of action.

Function = a condition resulting from the operation of a structure through time.

Structural requisite = a pattern of action necessary for the continued existence of the unit with which it is associated.

Functional requisite = a generalized condition necessary for the maintenance of the unit with which it is associated.

Having done, this, the problems may be put in the following simple words. Every unit or system exists within certain boundaries. In order for the system to survive it must find a state of equilibrium both within itself and vis-a-vis its environment. For this state to be maint ined certain conditions (functions) have to be fulfilled. To carry out these functions certain stable patterns of interaction (structures) have to be set up. In highly differentiated systems these structures are closely interrelated in the sense that they are dependent on each other for the integrity

of the system as a whole, and substitution is not easy because of the advanced level of specialization. Where the consequences of a structure promote the survival of the system, they are spoken of as functional (levy calls them 'eufunctional'). Where they jeopardize survival they are said to be 'dysfunctional'.

How exactly is equilibrium maintained and survival ensured? This is patently a question of adjustment. But adjustment to what and how? Perhaps if we use Spencer's analogy of the biological organism, which is the paradigmatic case of an atomistic system we will understand the nature of the process better.

> "The most characteristically Darwinian feature of the theory of evolution is the process of adaption, which was conceived of as a part of mechanism for explaining change. Yet, paradoxically, the adaptive process is one which, by itself makes for stability rather than change".[9]

The equilibrium that we speak of therefore is a dynamic equilibrium. System that exists because of such equilibrium are called 'homeostatic systems' or 'cybernetic systems. An essential part of these systems is the mechanism for negative feedback which will warn whenever the equilibrium is in danger of being upset. The concept of homeostasis is a difficult one to understand in social systems because here, unlike the biological and mechanical models, the goals of the system are themselves liable to change. At what stage we move from an adaptive change to a secular change (the complete replacement of the system) is somewhat nebulous. In the simplest example of a mechanical cybernetic system, the thermostat on a heating unit, the program or goal of the system is specifically laid out i.e., to keep the temperature between certain limits. If the temperature falls below the lower limit, the thermostat passes the message that the cooling effect should be 'negated' (hence the term, negative feedback). If it rises above, the converse message goes through to negate the heating effect. The social system on the other hand, is

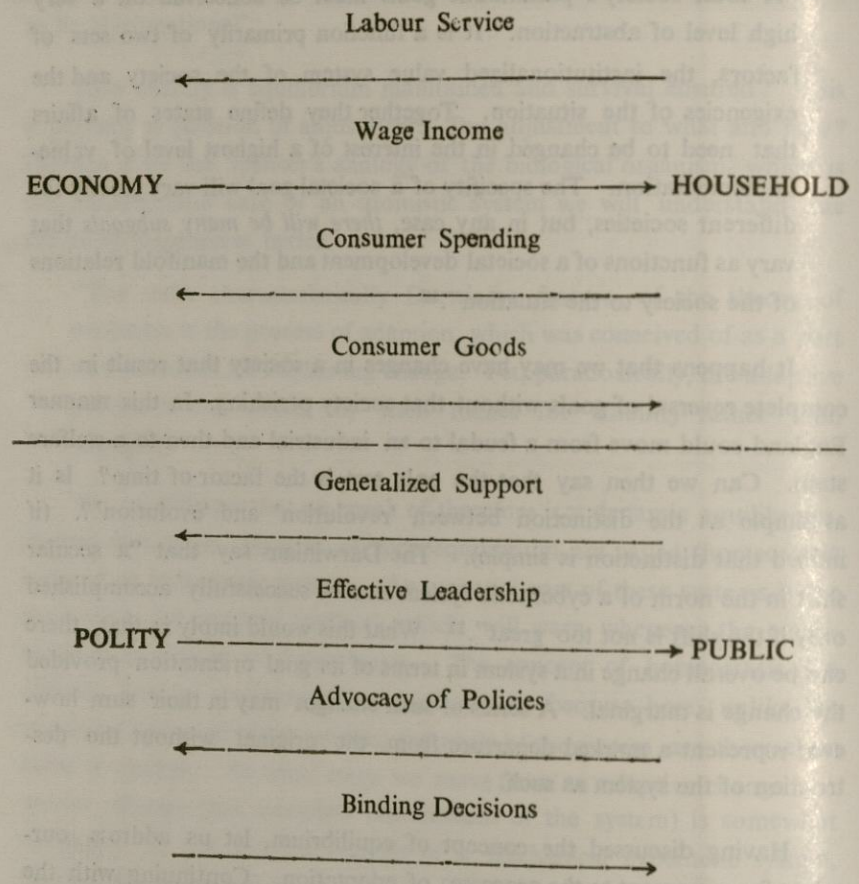
characterized by a multiplicity of goals, and many of these are replaceable without destroying the entire system. As Persons has said :—

> "A total society's paramount goals must be conceived on a very high level of abstraction. It is a function primarily of two sets of factors, the institutionalized value system of the society and the exigencies of the situation. Together they define states of affairs that need to be changed in the interest of a highest level of value-implementation. The specifity of a societal goal will vary greatly for different societies, but in any case, *there will be many subgoals* that vary as functions of a societal development and the manifold relations of the society to the situation".[10]

It happens that we may have changes in a society that result in the complete reversal of goals without that society perishing. In this manner England could move from a feudal to an industrial and then to a welfare state. Can we then say that the only test is the factor of time? Is it as simple as the distinction between 'revolution' and 'evolution'?. (if indeed that distinction is simple). The Darwinians say that "a secular shift in the norm of a cybernetic system can be successfully accomplished only if the shift is not too great".[11] What this would imply is that there can be overall change in a system in terms of its goal orientation provided the change is marginal. A series of such changes may in their sum however represent a marked departure from the original without the destruction of the system as such.

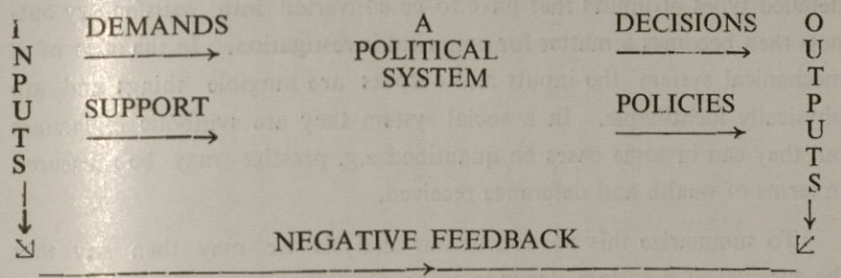
Having discussed the concept of equilibrium, let us address ourselves for a moment to the processes of adaptation. Continuing with the analogy of the biological organisms we find that the system is maintained by its response to certain demands. If the body gets too hot there is a demand for it to cool down. The organic structure fulfils this demand by increasing the rate of perspiration and the temperature comes down. So it is with all systems. There are certain inputs that are fed into the system in the shape of demands. The system has to respond to these

demands if it wishes to remain in equilibrium and survive. Talcott Parsons has used the economic model to bring out the analogy with political systems as follows :[12]



In the economic model the input of Labour and the demand for consumer goods as represented by consumer spending have to be answered by the payment of wage income and the production of consumer goods. In the polity the government has to give effective leadership and lay down binding decisions or policies in response to the advocacy of certain policies (e.g. demands of interest groups) and the support it gets.

Easton's model of a political system has reduced the process into its simplest from by presenting the barest essentials.[13]



The central process is therefore the input-conversion-output process. The inputs fall into two categories. Those arising out of the demands made upon the system and those generated by the system itself in its suport building operations. The feedback is necessary to tell the system if it is effectively meeting the demands and if it is arousing the requisite amount of support. The overall effectiveness of adaptation to the various inputs is the alternate test of the efficiency of the system and its ability to survive. The essence of meaningful analysis is to identify the inputs or the problems that have to be faced by a system. Parsons has isolated four categories of inputs.[14]

1. Adaptation to the environment—this is largely a question of the economic response to environmental demands and is the function of the economy.
2. Mobilization of resources to meet system goals—this is the function of the polity.
3. The integration of the members of the society—this is the function of the social control mechanisms which include the polity, the family, the church etc.
4. The maintenance of values and norms—again, this is the function of the socialization system as a whole and would include both private and public agencies.

This breakdown clearly implies that the system is divided into a number of subsystems that each fulfils a specialized function. The more detailed types of inputs that have to be converted into satisfactory outputs then becomes a matter for empirical investigation. In the case of a mechanical system the inputs and outputs are tangible things and are physically identifiable. In a social system they are symbolic exchanges but they can in some cases be quantified e.g. prestige may be measured in terms of wealth and deference received.

To summarize this portion of our analysis we may then say that the survival of a system depends upon its effectiveness in performing the functions that are demanded of it. The patterns of interaction that a system develops to perform these functions are the response to the challenge. Our task is to identify the functions that the system has to fulfil if it is to survive. In carrying out the task we must first define the boundaries of the system. Next we must look for the structures that will help fulfil the necessary functions. All along we must be conscious of the changes in requisite functions that come about as a result of fresh external demands from the environment and also from a reorganization of internal patterns.

IV. Parsons and Merton : The Macrocosmic vs. The Microcosmic Approach.

Talcott Parsons in his ponderous writings develops the thesis that "an adequate dynamic analysis of social systems, with its complex of numerous interrelated variables, requires the continuous reference of every problem to *the state of the system as a whole.*"[15] This type of analysis requires a complete system of structural categories that can provide a determinate description of the social system. Parsons' total system is of course only formally empirical in the sense that it is conceptualized as a referent to which patterns of action are related. What he analyses are the functions or 'actions', and then applies a significance test by asking "What would be the referential consequences for the system of two or more alternative outcomes of a dynamic process?

He proceeds to observes, how these consequences fit into the purpose of maintaining stability, producing change, integrating or disrupting the system.

Against Parsons' philosophy we have Merton's philosophy of minimal commitment. Merton is somewhat shy of talking about systems and would rather start with an identification of "units".[16] He would limit the functional analysis of these units only to the boundaries within which they are functional. Every structural element has a fundamental ambivalence in the sense that it is functional to certain parts of the system and dysfunctional to others. As against Parsons' grand theory he refers to stay in the middle ranges and analyses manageable units independently, relating them to other units as though he was relating them to an environment, but internally concerned only with the functional contributions of their parts. Merton's contribution in this regard is especially significant for the tendency of scholars using the structural functional approach has been to emphasize only the functional consequences of certain structures without paying attention to the dysfunctional consequences of the same structure for other parts of the system. From this argument he has also postulated the theory of alternative structures. His criticism of Max Weber's analysis of Bureaucracy from this angle is a cogent one. In setting up his own paradigm Merton has made an attempt to codify the concepts used in structural-functional analysis as follows :—

1. The items that can be studied. These to him would include any sociological data provided it is standardised, i.e., it is patterned and repetitive, for example institutional structures.
2. The subjective element. This must always be kept in mind because at some stage functional analysis operates with the conception of motivation of individuals in the system, and it is always a matter of some risk to take observed motivation as valid data.

3. The objective element. This is the element of 'function' and 'dysfunction'. In considering this we must always look for the possibility of multiple consequences flowing from every action. The 'functions' are those that make for adaptation, the 'dysfunctions' are those that detract from it. 'Non-functions' are those that do not make any difference one way or the other. Here Merton also introduces the notion of 'manifest functions' as those which are intended and 'latent functions' as those that are not intended but nevertheless occur.
4. The concept of units served by each function. If we deal with large units, items will be functional for some subgroups, dysfunctional for others. It is necessary therefore to consider a range of units.
5. Noting the very debatable concept of 'functional requirements' of 'prerequisities' as developed by Levy, he suggests that it is first necessary to clarify whether these requisities hold on a universal level for entire system or only on specific levels of analysis.[17]

It is clear from the above comparison of two important view points that there is considerable ambiguity both as to the premises on which the debate is being held and as to the final outcome what for instance is the essential difference between the method of the Parsonians who, when they do engage in actual empirical research, find it necessary to treat only parts of the system as subsystems and then relate the findings to the formal system as a whole, and the Me tonians who take a unit as a system in itself and if the necessity for relating it to other systems is felt, proceed as though an external relationship was being examined. Unfortunately no writer has put this controversy into readily understandable language, and for the time being we must face the predicament calmly.

V. Some uses of structural-functionala analysis

Four studies will be briefly considered here to show how this form of analysis can be put into practice. Willium C. Mitchell's book, the

American Polity is an ambitious attempt to utilise the Parsonian scheme for a rather wide field.[18] Gabriel Almond's use of the method for the study of comparative politics is no less ambitious and might well provide, if it has not done so already, a promising new approach to the study of field which has hitherto been approached in a very atomistic fashion.[19] Merton's own study of the political machine is, in keeping with his views, a more specific and focussed attempt.[20] Lastly, Ulmer's analysis of the Supreme Court is an interesting attempt to produce evidence for the equilibrium theories that are so crucial a part of the systems concept.[21]

In accordance with the reason of Parsons, Mitchell sees the polity as one part of the social system whose task it is to mobilize system resources to meet system goals. In doing this he notes the polity as performing four major functions :

1. The authoritative specification of system goals.
2. The authoritative mobilization of resources to implement these goals.
3. The integration of the system so that it may effectively work towards its goals.
4. The allocation of values and costs as they may arise out of the implementation of the goals.

1. Within a society the individual and group goals are so multifarious that it is impossible for the polity to adopt each one and see that it is implemented. Some goals however are so largely shared that they take upon themselves the nature of societal goals. The polity fixes priorities among these goals, e.g., whether Health and Education shall come before defense.

2. The polity is the only organ which by virtue of its power to legitimately coerce, can authoritatively mobilize all the necessary resources to implement the goals. How it goes about doing this is one of its major functions ?

3. The polity is the only legitimate body that can allot and distribute the costs incurred in implementing the goals, e.g., who shall pay how much of the taxes needed to finance education, defense, etc.

4. The integrative function is not the monopoly of the polity. It can be performed by private organizations like the church and the family. Only in a completely totalitarian state does the polity fully control this function.

In carrying out these functions, how does the polity structure operate itself ? How are the roles and norms patterned ? These are the questions one asks. Of course in this particular case the primary concern is with those aspects of the roles that govern the distribution of power and influence and the queries center on this theme. We would want to know for instance

(*a*) Is the polity functionally specialized ?

(*b*) How and to what extent is the internal structure differentiated ?

(*c*) How visible is the power structure ?

(*d*) How accessible is the power structure both from the point of view of those who have demands to make of it and those who potentially might be a part of it ?

(*e*) How diffuse is the power structure and how are power roles acquired ?

(*f*) How effectively does the structure move the system towards its goals.

In such an analysis it is possible to identify the demands or inputs by quantifying items like bills presented, newspaper reports, resolutions of groups etc., and also the outputs in the form of decisions, bills made into law, policies etc.

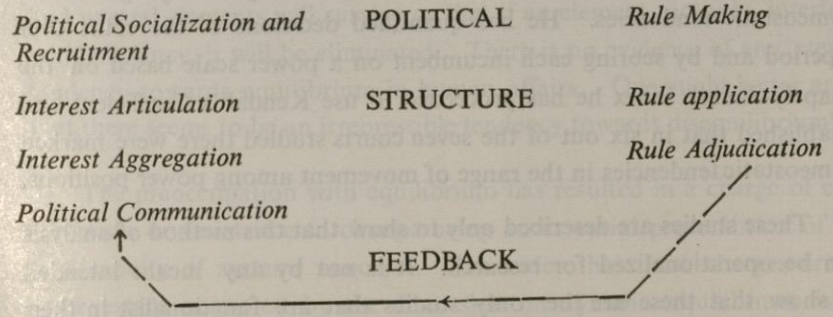
Almond and Coleman in their book "*The Politics of the Developing Areas*" seek to compare political systems according to a common set of categories. The concept of a political system is especially helpful here because it serves to separate out analytically the structures which perform political functions in all societies regardless of scale, degree of differentiation, culture, etc. For instance.

(*a*) All political systems have some sort of structure.

(*b*) The same functions have to be performed in all, though in varying degrees and by different parts of the structure. Therefore it is possible to compare the frequency, the structures and the methods.

(*c*) All political structures are multifunctional and comparison can be made of the degree of specialization of function.

The model presented by Almond is more specific than Easton's though essentially the same.



The method of structural functional analysis is especially useful in this field because of the wide variety of political entities that have arisen in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The old methods of comparison which dealt with the substantive structures were no longer adequate and the concept of analytic structures which can be applied to all systems is an excellent replacement.

We might mention in passing here that Riggs' ecological approach is also a functional one and his classification of societies into fused, prismatic and refracted is made on this basis.[21]

Merton's study of the functions of the political machine is made to show how an institution that apparently runs counter to the mores of the society, still manages to survive. Is it possible that it could be satisfying certain basic latent functions? He finds for instance that it fulfils the integrating function for the common political desires of diverse groups of the society for whom there is no other structure consciously designed. If the political machine were removed without first providing for an alternative structure to carry out its functions the removal would not succeed. The social functions of an organization help determine the structure, just as the structure helps determine the effectiveness with which the functions are fulfilled.

Ulmer's study of the Supreme Court is a truly empirical one in which he tries to show that the power relationship amongst the judges shows homeostatic tendencies. He has quantified decisions of the court over a period and by scoring each incumbent on a power scale based on the Shapely-Shubik index he has proceeded to use Kendall's Coefficient and established that in six out of the seven courts studied there were marked homeostatic tendencies in the range of movement among power positions.

These studies are described only to show that this method of analysis can be operationalized for research. It is not by any means intended to show that these are the only studies that are functionalist in their approach, for if functionalism means to see systems as interrelated complex and to identify within them elements that can be related to other elements, then we are all functionalists, for we are all concerned with how certain institutions function within certain environments.

VI. Some Criticisms of Structural Functional Analysis.

One of the chief criticisms on structural-functional analysis is that it is designed to study societies already in existence and tends to assume

that these societies are functioning harmonious wholes and are in equilibrium just because they are in existence.[22] Durkheim had first seen the fallacy in this. Quite obviously if it is going to serve any of the predictive functions that we expect of a scientific analysis, it must be combined with some other type of analysis that will determine the cause. We cannot help but agree that "Structural functional analysis seems to have advantages over historical-causal analysis both as regards breadth of analysis and as regards depth of analysis. Structural functional analysis has a tendency to direct the researcher to a broader scope of attention by emphasis upon system referents—rather than studying the relationship between two or more variables in temporal sequence abstracted out of a larger social context".[23] However, this is only at a given instance of time. If we are to look for past causes and future predictions we have to use it in conjunction with causal analysis.

Secondly, as Gregg and Williams have pointed out, "The persistence of habit and tradition is such that there is no guarantee that only positive and neutral elements will survive or that if an element actively interferes with efficiency, it will be eliminated. There is no evidence of any eternal tendency towards equilibrium in human affairs. One might better argue that there seems to be an irrepressible tendency towards disequilibrium".[24]

The preoccupation with equilibrium has resulted in a charge of conservatism or resistance to change being an essential precondition of the applicability of systems concepts. I consider that these charges are to some extent answered by the discussion on dynamic equilibrium made earlier.

The tautological nature of the method of course is a weakness. The doctrine that everything is a system can be explained by the end it achieves, makes it necessary either to resort to ex post fecto rationalizations or to use tautology. We have no way of knowing what particular structure will fulfil a particular function at some time other than the present.

The overall criticism that it stands in danger of being lost sight of in the plethora of words is valid. As Buckley points out, "It abounds in principles and categories but offers little by way of verification—Parsonian functionalism establishes relationship intuitively by the structure of the observer's language".[25]

Perhaps the day will come when somebody will put all valuable concepts of structural functional analysis into an understandable treatise, suggest precisely the units we should choose, tell us the structural elements we should look for. When that happens the 'predicament will disappear and the paradigm will be put to practice properly.

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16. R.K. Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-61.
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NATURAL JUSTICE IN ADMINISTRATIVE ACTION

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GENERAL

In modern times, the functions of state have increased manifold. From the traditional functions of defence and internal order, the modern state has moved towards welfare of the citizens. The state now plays an important role in almost all the fields of human activity. While performing its functions the Government quite often comes in contact with the citizens, and its decisions affect their valuable rights. On the one hand, necessary powers are to be given to the public functionaries so that they can perform their functions properly, and on the other, sufficient safeguards are required to protect the rights of the people. The administrative law plays an important role in providing such safeguards. It has developed one important safeguard that whenever the rights of a person are likely to be affected by an administrative order, the authority must follow the principles of natural justice and give him an opportunity of being heard.

This article deals with the Pakistan case law relating to the principle of hearing and its applicability to administrative orders.

The principle that no one should be condemned unheard is an important principle of natural justice and is recognised by almost all the legal systems of the world. It has a respectable ancestory. In the ancient world, the requirement of hearing both the sides before reaching a conclusion was enshrined in a proverb, often quoted or referred to in Greek literature and formed part of the Athenian judicial oath.[1] Roman moralist Seneca referred in Medea to injustice of reaching a decision without a full hearing.[2]

The principle of hearing was later on developed by the Islamic Jurisprudence. In fact Islamic law considers it a principle of devine origin because God Almighty also observed this principle while punishing His creatures. The Holy Quran mentions a few such cases. For instance, on refusal of Satan to bow down to Adam on the command of God, he was punished only after he was asked to explain his conduct although the Almighty had the full knowledge of the matter.[3] Again, when Adam and Eve at the persuance of Satan, tasted the fruit of prohibited tree, they too were asked to explain it. They confessed their guilt and after that were thrown out of heaven.[4] The Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) is reported to have said in express words that while dispensing justice one must hear both the parties.[5]

In latter times the incorporation of the principle in the juridical science owes much to the English Common Law where it can be traced from the times of Year Books and the great jurist Coke.[6] For about the last three centuries it has been applied by the English courts with full vigour. There is a chain of cases clearly establishing this principle[7] and the English law has enshrined it in the well known legal maximum 'audi alteram partem'.

In the modern times, various international tribunals have recognised this principle and termed it as common to the civilised communities.[8] The principle is enshrined in Article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 14 of the International Convenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights.[9]

APPLICABILITY IN ADMINISTRATIVE ACTIONS

Early Development : The English courts applied the principle of hearing to administrative authorities during 18th and 19th centuries. The earliest case in which the principle was expressly formulated was R.V. Cambridge University,[10] where the court of Kings Bench declared a decision of Cambridge University to be a nullity because in depriving

Dr. Bentley of his degrees, they had not first given him opportunity of appearing before them and stating his case. During the 18th century courts applied the principle to cases relating to summary proceedings before justices, deprivation of offices and other dignitaries and regulation of clergy. In later times many other cases established the applicability of this principle of natural justice to administrative actions; notable among these are : Cooper V. Wandsworth Board of Works;[11] Board of Education V. Rice[12] and Local Government Board V. Alridge.[13]

After World War I, the courts retreated from their earlier position and for about half a century showed reluctance to apply the rule of hearing to administrative authorities. However, during this period many other Common law countries like Australia, Canada, Ceylone, New Zealand and South Africa followed the path of old English law and applied the rule of hearing to administrative matters.[14] The influence of these decisions of Common law countries played a great role in bringing about the revival of old English law and in 1964 the House of Lords applied the principle to administrative orders in the historic case of Ridge V. Baldwin,[15] where the majority held that a chief constable dismissible only for a cause prescribed by the statute was entitled to a proper opportunity of hearing before being removed by the local police authority.

In India, the administrative law followed the developments of English law on this subject. For a long time the Supreme Court of India had been reluctant in applying the principle of hearing to administrative authorities. However, the court showed a tendency of terming the administrative action as quasi judicial, thus, attracting the principle of natural justice. It was after Ridge V. Baldwin that the Supreme Court of India started applying the rule of hearing directly to the administrative authorities.[16] Even in the much celebrated Kraipak case,[17] the court was content with holding that the 'dividing line between an administrative power and a quasi-judicial power is quite thin and is being gradually oblitrated'. It is only in very recent times that the principle of hearing has been applied to administrative actions. Manaka's case[18] (decided in 1978) in

which the principle of hearing was held applicable to purely administrative matters is considered a landmark in the development of administrative law in India and has been ranked as of such fundamental importance as Ridge V. Baldwin.

Development in Pakistan : In Pakistan, the courts did not take much time in formulating that an administrative authority must give an opportunity of being heard to a person whose rights were likely to be affected by the order. The earliest mention of natural justice was made by Sind High Court in 1954 in a case under Government of India Act 1935, Section 240 (3), which required that a Government servant should be given a 'reasonable opportunity' to show cause against the action proposed to be taken in relation to his service.[19] The court interpretted the words 'reasonable opportunity' to mean the proper opportunity to present the case and cross-examine the witnesses, if any. It reinforced the statutory require ment by the principles of natural justice, thus laying down, by implication that principles of natural justice are applicable in administrative matters.

Two years later, the Karachi High Court applied the doctrine of natural justice in the absence of any statutory provision.[20] The Provincial Government (Sind) had ordered the supersession of Municipal Committee of Tando Muhammad Khan without giving a hearing to the affected councillors. It was held that although the relevant law did not require the giving of notice to, and hearing the affected persons and that the action was administrative in nature, yet the principles of natural justice were applicable as the order affected the rights of the councillors as well as the people of the area.[21] The case is important for the reason that natural justice was applied in the absence of statutory provisions. The principle that maxim audi alteram partem must be read into all statutes was, thus, introduced in Pakistan.

However, the judges were not in full agreement on this issue. In some cases[22] relating to the customs authorities, there was some uncertainty about the application of principles of natural justice to administrative authorities.

The courts were conscious of the evils of the violation of natural justice in administrative matters but at the same time were reluctant in laying down a clear rule. The relief was in many cases provided by terming the executive action as quasi-judicial. An example of this approach is the decision of Peshawar High Court in Safiuddin's case.[23] The court after laying down the principles of natural justice, held that the order of Provincial Government (under Section 14-A of the Punjab District Boards Act 1883) which declared the seat of the Chairman of the District Campbellpur vacant was not executive but quasi-judicial in nature, therefore, subject to the natural justice rule of hearing. This case is of historical importance as it laid down, for the first time in Pakistan the content of natural justice at a time when the concept of natural justice appeared to be flexible in content though rigid in theory.[24] Similarly, the Supreme Court in a case relating to customs authorities applied the rule of natural justice relating to hearing on the ground that the proceedings were of quasi-judicial nature.[25] Upto this time, the applicability of principles of natural justice to administrative authorities had not been well established. In two other cases decided during the same period, the principles of natural justice, held applicable to the administrative orders without terming them as quasi-judicial. In the first case, the order of the Chancellor of Karachi University cancelling the result of elections to the Senate without hearing the successful candidate was held to be in violation of the principles of natural justice and quashed.[26] In the other case, the decision of a College Council against a student was held invalid on the ground that he was not given an opportunity of being heard in his defence.[27] Akhlaque Hussain, J. observed, "Natural justice requires that no person should be condemned without being heard. This is a principle which is to be observed not only by the law courts but also by all persons who have the power to condemn or punish their fellow human beings and is equally binding upon persons in authority even in educational institutions."[28] This case, firstly, laid down the rule that the principle of hearing is to be observed by the educational authorities and, secondly, it dropped the words like 'executive' 'administrative' or quasi-judicial', and

adopted a functional test that whosoever has the power to condemn or punish any one must follow these principle. The case is quite important as it has been followed subsequently in many cases relating to educational institutions.

By this time the applicability of rules of natural justice to the administrative authorities had been established by some decisions of the High Courts. In the absence of a decision by the Supreme Court, the precedents of the High Courts could not provide uniformity in approach on this issue in Pakistan. Thus a more authoritative precedent was needed. The Supreme Court supplied it. In the leading case of Dina Sohrab Katrak,[29] it was held that the natural justice principle of hearing was applicable to an order of Chief Commissioner under Sind (Requisition of Land) Act 1947 exercising the appellate powers, although the order was administrative in nature. In line with some English cases[30] it was held that 'the rules of natural justice' are not confined to proceedings before courts but extend to all proceedings by whomsoever held which may affect the person or property or other rights of the party concerned in the dispute.[31] This rule, thus became a binding precedent for the subordinate courts including the High Courts.

In another case[32] under the Registration (Importer and Exporter) Order 1952, the import-export licence of a firm was cancelled without giving a notice and an opportunity of being heard. The Supreme Court held the cancellation order invalid for violation of the principles of natural justice. Although the court held the impugned order quasi-judicial and not administrative yet the case played a considerable role in the development of this aspect of administrative law. Firstly, it approved the rule laid down in the leading case of Dina Sohrab Katrak[33] that the principles of natural justice are applicable to all types of proceedings affecting the rights of the people.[34] Secondly, it established an authoritative precedent that this principle of natural justice (audi alteram parterm) is to be observed in the absence of express statutory provision. Cornellius J. observed, 'from a mere omission to specify the procedure it can never be inferred, where the

functions to a great extent by express or implied judicial consideration, to assume that it can be performed to the detriment of the rights of a party without hearing that party.[35] Similarly S.A. Rehman, J. Said, 'this principle is of universal application where the statute itself prescribes no specific procedure for ascertaining the necessary facts and no express exclusion of the principle can be spelled out of the words of the statute'.[36] Thirdly, it spelled the demise of the doctrine of Nakhuda Ali's case[37] in which the Privy Council had held that the principle of natural justice of hearing was applicable to the administrative authorities only when there was a duty to act judicially. S.A. Rehman, J. relying upon several English cases[38] disapproved the case considering it a departure from previously established judicial tradition. Nakhuda Ali's case were severely criticised in some English cases particularly Ridge V. Baldwin[39] and in another case[40] before Court of Appeal, Lord Denning M.R. held the case to be of no authority.

We have noticed that in early years the courts established the applicability of the principle of hearing in administrative proceedings. Once established, this principle was applied by the courts with great vigour to almost all administrative orders affecting the person, property or to his rights of the party,[41] or carrying penal consequences,[42] or dealing with him to his material disadvantage[43] or, in short, detrimental to his interests.[44] The overall position which emerges from the case law is that without providing an opportunity to defend himself, 'no body can be made to suffer any harm to his rights, including those relating to property, person and reputation. Barring a few exceptions e.g., exercise of purely police powers in preventive measures, this principle applies to all situations'.[45]

Examples of Applicability : The superior courts in Pakistan have been quite generous towards the application of the principles of natural justice in general and the principle that no one should be condemned unheard in particular. They have followed the English rule that in the absence of statutory provision, 'justice of common law will supply the omission of legislature'[46] and developed the concept that principles of

natural justice, particularly the rule of hearing, must be observed even when there is no such provision in the relevant law.[47] It has been established that this rule of natural justice is part of every statute unless excluded by express provisions or clear implication.[48] Except for a few cases of special nature, whenever the authorities violated this principle of natural justice and the aggrieved person challenged the order, the courts granted the relief. The case law on this subject is quite rich and clearly establishes that the administrative authorities while passing the orders detrimental to the rights of a party must give him an opportunity of defending his interests. Not only this, but a variety of other tribunals, institutions and authorities have been held subject to the application of this principle of natural justice : for instance, educational institutions,[49] especially when dealing with the cases of indiscipline[50] and unfair means in the examination;[51] service matters, particularly the termination of service[52] excluding the service of a probationer when terminated without stigma;[53] domestic tribunals, such as, clubs,[54] stock exchange,[55] Border Area Committee[56] and an arbitrator;[57] licencing authorities;[58] passports[59] and domicile[60] matters; custom authorities;[61] taxation authorities;[62] local bodies[63] and matters relating to the membership thereof;[64] martial law orders[65] and may other authorities.[66]

Exclusion of Natural Justice : The principles of natural justice have been developed by the courts from case to case. In other words, these rules are based on judge made law, thus subordinate to the statute law. A statute can, therefore, alter, restrict or exclude their operation.[67] A statute contrary to the rules of natural justice is not invalid and cannot be challenged on this ground alone.[68] A statute can exclude the principles of natural justice by express provision[69] or implication.[70] In such a case the justice (or injustice) of legislature will prevail over the justice of nature.

In case of implied exclusion the determining factors as laid down by Lahore High Court[71] are :

(*a*) Where the legislature expressly requires a hearing for certain purposes but imposes no procedural requirements for other purposes.

(*b*) Where the appropriate substitute for prior notice or opportunity to be heard are provided.

In the absence of exclusion by statute, the principle of hearing can be excluded in cases of emergency[72] or impossibility/impracticability.[73]

THE CONTENT OF THE RULE

The rule of hearing contains two elements, one a prior notice of the action proposed and the other, an opportunity of being heard. The case law on this aspect of the rule is not very rich but some principles can be made out from the reported cases.

Show Cause Notice : It is an intimation given to the person proceeded against of the charges put against him. If a person is asked to defend himself at the proceedings about which he had no prior notice, it would be difficult for him to defend himself, therefore, it is necessary that a person liable to be directly affected by proposed administrative decision or proceedings be given adequate notice of what is proposed against him, so that he may be in a position to :[74]

(*a*) make representation on his own behalf ; or

(*b*) appear at the hearing or inquiry, if there is one ; and

(*c*) prepare his case and explain it.

It is for this reason that our courts have insisted that before being proceeded against a person should be given a notice of the case.[75]

Hearing : What is a proper hearing ? There are many matters relating to the various aspects of hearing. For example ; is the written explanation sufficient or a personal hearing is to be provided ? Whether the evidence, if any, is to be recorded in the presence of the affected person ? can the affected person cross-examine the witnesses deposing against him or

produce his own evidence? ; and can he claim legal representation at hearing? Such questions are quite important for the purpose of determining whether the rule has been observed properly or not. Some of these matters have come before, and determined by, the courts in Pakistan. A few general principles can be deduced from the decided cases.

Firstly, the rule of natural justice that no one should be condemned unheard does not contemplate only a hearing but a reasonable opportunity of hearing.[76] Where the plea is rejected outrightly the opportunity is not reasonable.[77] It is sufficient if the hearing is provided at one stage. It need not be provided at every stage.[78]

Secondly, personal hearing may often be necessary for defending the case, but the courts have held that in administrative matters the personal hearing is not a necessary requirements of natural justice. In Mehrab Khan's case.[79] It was held that 'a personal hearing is not a necessary requirement of natural justice. All that is required is full and fair opportunity of making a representation or show cause. What is full and fair opportunity will depend on the facts of each case. In some cases it may be enough if the partly has placed his point of view and has shown cause for the consideration of authority and no prejudice has been caused to him'.[80]

Similarly, in Dr. Mumtaz Hussain's case,[81] where the services of a University teacher were terminated under the law which provided an appeal to the Provincial Governor in his capacity as Chancellor of the University, it was held that 'although hearing is part of the appeal but in the administrative matters a personal hearing is not essential'. The case related to the right of hearing at appellate stage.[82] Thus, in purely administrative matters the rule of personal hearing can be relaxed.[83]

Thirdly, it is not very clear from the case law as to what extent the recording of evidence in the presence of the delinquent person, giving him an opportunity of cross-examining the witnesses and allowing him to produce his own evidence is part of the principle of hearing. There is some indication in the case law towards the negative.[84]

In this respect the cases of indiscipline in the educational institutions particularly need some attention because of the fact that there has been a considerable uncertainty on this point. The Supreme Court in Zakir Hussain's case[85] had laid down the rule that an educational authority, 'is not bound to treat the matter as if it was a trial or to administer oath or examine witnesses in the presence of the person accused or give him the facility for cross-examining the witnesses or even to serve a formal charge sheet upon him'. But the rule had not been followed in many cases. For example, in Abdul Majid's case[86] a student was punished by the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education for using unfair means at the examination, after hearing him but not showing him the evidence against him and not allowing him to cross-examine the witnesses, the High Court quashed the order for violation of principles of natural justice. It was argued on behalf of the Board that such a course would cause an inconvenience to its authorities, but it was rejected.

In another case[87], the Lahore High Court took a similar view. In fact Aamer Raza, J. went far ahead of all the precedents by holding 'as such the person affected must at least be made aware of the nature of allegations against him, he should be given fair opportunity to make any relevant statement putting forward his own case and given a fair opportunity to correct or controvert any statement to his prejudice, he must be afforded a fair opportunity of defence and unless there is a legal proof the allegations cannot be taker to be proved, the decision must rest on legal evidence' the accused should have a chance to cross-examine the witnesses deposing against him and must be given opportunity to produce evidence in his defence.[88]

In a recent case[89] the Supreme Court has reasserted the principle laid down in Zakir Hussain's case and has overruled the above mentioned two cases alongwith many other such cases. The Supreme Court has brought out the main features of law on this subject, and has removed the prevalent confusion. The law has, thus, been clarified to a great extent and the educational authorities are now in a position to deal with such cases of indiscipline more effectively.

VIOLATION OF THE RULE

Subsequent Hearing : Whether the defect of lack of hearing can be cured by a subsequent hearing or not needs some consideration.

The position in English Law is not very clear. It has been observed that the question does not admit of a single answer applicable to all situations in which the issue may arise.[90]

In Leary's case[91] it was observed by Maggary J. that 'if the rule and law continue to give the member the right to fair trial and right of appeal, why should he be told that he ought to be satisfied with an unjust trial and a fair appeal. Even if the appeal is treated as hearing de novo, the member is being stripped of his right to appeal to another body.'

According to Professor de Smith,[92] the Leary's case has lost most of its presidential value due to the decision in Calvin V. Carr, where the Privy Council observed, 'no clear and absolute rule can be laid down on the question whether defects in natural justice appearing at an original hearing, whether administrative or quasi-judicial, can be 'cured' through appeal proceedings. The situations in which this issue arises are too diverse, and the rules by which they are governed are so various, that this must be so'.

In India, it has been held in a number of cases that if an initial order is a nullity because of lack of natural justice it cannot be cured by hearing at the appellate stage.[93]

In Pakistan, the courts from early days have been of the view that the requirements of the principles of natural justice are satisfied if the aggrieved person is heard at one stage or the other and that it is not necessary that an opportunity of being heard is to be given before deciding the matter.

In Saiduddin Sawaleh's case (1959), it was held by Karachi High Court 'that the fact that the original order is passed without notice does not necessarily mean that the order is to be set aside . . . If the party to whom the notice was not given by the first tribunal was able taking the original, appellate and revisional proceedings together and as a whole, to present

his case substantially as he wanted and was entitled to present it, then the decision of the tribunal is not bad merely on the ground that notice was not given by the first tribunal.[94]

In Abulal? Maududi's case,[95] Cornelius C.J. relying on some American cases held that 'where because of the urgency of the public need or for practical reasons of administrative efficiency, such prior notice or hearing is not feasible the requirements of natural justice are satisfied if the like opportunity is later given to the person adversely affected'.

Similarly, in Allah Ditta's case,[96] it was held that the subsequent hearing cures the defect in the original decision. The court observed that 'the courts here have distinguished between the violation of principle of 'audi alteram partem' and violation of any directory law providing for hearing on the one hand and contravention of a mandatory provision of law providing for such hearing. Defect in the first category was held cured by a hearing given at later stages of the proceedings while it was found to be incurable if the matter fell in the second category.'

It can, therefore, be said that generally our courts will not declare an action invalid where the affected person is not given a hearing at the time of making the order but is given such an opportunity after-wards or in appropriate cases at appellate/revisional stage.[97] But in some cases, particularly those in which the decision is made on the basis of findings of facts, a subsequent hearing may not be very beneficial. In such cases natural justice would demand an opportunity of being heard before passing the order and if such an opportunity is not given, the defect would not be cured by a subsequent hearing.[98]

Effect of Violation : Is the order passed in violation of the principles of natural justice void or voidable? According to de Smith,[99] in the past the violation of natural justice used to be considered 'error in fact' and the impugned order mere voidable, but now there is a substantial body of recent judicial decisions to the effect that the violation goes to the jurisdiction and renders the order void. In Ridge V. Baldwin[100] the House

of Lords was divided on this issue, majority holding such an order void. In Durayappa V. Fernundo[101] the Privy Council held such an order merely voidable. In some other cases, the English courts have held that an order passed in violation of natural justice is altogether void.[102] The preponderance of authorities is in favour of holding such an order as void.[103]

In Pakistan, on the other hand, the courts have always held an order passed in violation of principles of natural justice voidable. In Allah Ditta V. Member, Board of Revenue,[104] the Lahore High Court dissenting from some English authorities held that such an order is only voidable and not void because the intervention and declaration of the court is necessary for avoiding its consequences and if no body who is entitled to challenge or question it chooses to do so it remains in being with full effect. This approach of the courts holding such decisions merely voidable, gives to them a discretion of immense significance.

NOTES

1. Paul Jackson, Natural Justice, p. 7, see also S.A. de Smith, Judicial Review of Administrative Action, p. 157.
2. Broom's Legal Maxims, p. 66.
3. Rashid Ahmad Khan, Islamic Jurisprudence, p. 58.
4. Iftikhar Ahmad v. Ali Asghar PLD 1981 S.C. (AJ & K) 47, citing Quran 7 : 22-23.
5. This tradition is reported in four famous books of traditions *i.e.* Trimzi, Abu Daud, Masnad Ahmad bin Hanbal and Minhaj ul Saleheen.
6. S.A. de Smith op. cit., p. 158. See also Paul Jackson, op. cit., p. 13.
7. Dr. Bentley's Case (1723) ISTR. 557 ; R. v. Benn and Church (1795) T.R. 198 ; Capel v. Child (1832) 2 Cr. & J. 588 ; Thornton's Case (1937) 7 AD & E 583, Cooper v. Wandsworth Board of Works (1863) 14 C.B. (NS) ; Bouaker v. Evans (1851) 16 Q.B.D., Wood v. Woad (1874) L.R. 9 EX 190., Board of Education v. Rice (1911) A.C. 179 ; Alridge's case (1915) A.C. 120 and Ridge v. Baldwin, (1964), A.C. 40.
8. Paul Jackson, op. cit., p. 7.
9. *Ibid.*
10. (1723) 1 S. Tr. 557, cited by J.F. Garner, Administrative Law. 4th Ed. p. 116.
11. (1863) 14 C.B. 186.
12. [1911] A.C. 179.
13. [1915] A.C. 120.
14. See S.A. de Smith, Judicial Review of Administration Action, 4th Ed. pp. 164, 173 & 174 and the cases cited from Australia, Canada, Ceylone, New Zealand and South Africa.
15. [1964] A.C. 40.
16. M.P. Jain, XIV Annual Survey of Indian Law (1978) 365. Citing Associated Cement Companies Lt. v. P.N. Sharma (AIR 1965 S.C. 1595) and State of Orrisa v. Binapani (AIR 1967 S.C. 1269).
17. A.K. Kraipak v. Union of India, AIR 1970 S.C. 150.
18. Manaka Gandhi v. Union of India, (1978) SCJ., 312.
19. Habib Khan v. Ferderation of Pakistan, PLD 1954 Sind 199.

The Court relied on some Indian cases *e.g.* Avades Pratab Singh v. State of Utter Perdesh.

AIR 1592 Allahabad 63.

Shyam Lal v. State of Uttar Perdesh, AIR 1954 Allahabad 235.

The High Commissioner of India v. I.M. Lal PLD 1948 P.C. 150.

20. Mir Ali Ahmad Khan v. The Province of West Pakistan.

21. PLD 1956 Karachi, 237.

c.f. Durra Yappa v. Ferrandes.

22. S.A. Haroon v. Collector of Customs, Karachi.

PLD 1957, Karachi 576.

Hahi Usman Haji Ghani v. S.S. Raza, Collector of Customs, PLD 1957, (W.P.) Karachi 548.

and Muhammad Hassan v. Collector of Customs, Karachi, PLD 1959, Karachi 600 and S.A. Haroon v. Collector of Customs, Karachi, PLD 1959, S.C. 177.

23. Safi-ud-Din v. Secretary, Social Welfare and Local Bodies Department.

PLD, 1958, Peshawar, 157.

24. S.M. Haider, Judicial Review of Administrative Action Edition, Page 127.

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26. Muhammad Salim v. Vice-Chancellor, Karachi University, PLD 1958, Karachi, 297.

27. Muhammad Munir Shahid v. Principal, Government College Sargodha, PLD 1958, Lahore 466.

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29. Chief Commissioner v. Dina Shorab Katrak PLD 1959, Supreme Court (Pak) 45.

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31. Per Shahabuddin J. at p. 50.

32. Messrs Faridsons Ltd. v. Government of Pakistan PLD 1961 Supreme Court 537.

33. PLD 1959 Supreme Court (Pak) 45.

34. S.A. Rehman and Hamood-ur-Rehman JJ. cited the case with approval. Other judges relied on English cases which had been followed in this case.

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36. At page 554.

37. Nakhuda Ali v. Javaratne, PLD 1951 P.C. 102.

38. Cooper v. Wandsworth Board of Works (143 ER 414) ; Smith v. R (3 A.C. 624).

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39. [1964] A.C. 40.

40. R.V. Gaming Board for Great Britain [1970] 2 All ER 528.

41. See University of Dacca v. Zakir Hussain, PLD 1965 S.C. 90 ;

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Abdus Saboor Khan v. Karachi University PLD 1966, S.c. 536.

42. See Abul'la Maududi v. Government of West Pakistan : PLD 1964 Supreme Court 673.

43. See Travelair Ltd. v. Director Exchange Control Department, State Bank of Pakistan, Karachi : PLD 1977, Karachi 785.

44. See Jamil ul Hassan Mazloom v. D.M. Gujranwala, PLD 1978, Lahore 76.

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54. Mohammad Saeed v. Shabbir Ahmad, PLD 1965 Lahore 92.

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56. Mohammad Latif v. Border Area Committee ; PLD 1978, Lahore 762.

57. Paracha Textile Mills Ltd. v. Nanikram Shamandaj, PLD 1977 Karachi 37.

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84. Mohd. Bashir v. Distt. Food Controller, PLJ 1975, Lahore 203 (1).

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND ADMINISTRATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURAL CHANGE

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1. Introduction

Anthropology is the scientific study of the physical, social, and cultural development and behavior of human beings since their appearance on earth. The diversity of scientific fields within this discipline necessitates the formulation of distinct, but interconnected, areas of study. These areas are : human evolution, physical anthropology, archaeology, cultural anthropology, and scientific linguists.

Anthropology is, however, an overlapping study which bridges into the physical, biological, and social sciences, and into the humanities.

> Certain aspects of psychology, medicine, and human biology, economics, sociology, and geography must be fused with anthropology in a general science which must likewise embrace the tools of historical and statistical methods and draw data from history and the other humanities.[1]

Anthropological research is seeking a set of principles which govern man's physical and cultural development.

This essay leaves out human evolution, physical anthropology, archaeology, and scientific linguistics because these areas are not very relevant to the study of administration. Rather, it will deal specifically with cultural anthropology and its relationship to administration.

Cultural anthropologists describe, analyse, and attempt to account for the wide variety of customs and forms of social life of humans. They

study technology, economic life, community organization, family life, clans, secret societies, government, law, magic and religion, the arts, and all other forms of cultural behavior. They study the origins and history of cultures—their evolution and development and their structure and functions. The study of cultures contributes evidence of man's attempt to live and work together with others of his species and provides knowledge of the interaction of human groups.

II. Anthropological Aids for Intracultural Problems

Exactly how have anthropologists aided administrations in solving intracultural problems? Some of the following examples are illustrative.

During World War II, American anthropologists advised military personnel in matters concerning military government and administration in occupied areas. Anthropologists who had special knowledge of languages and customs of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Europe and the South Pacific assisted in the Army Specialized Training Program which prepared men for liason and other services on the fighting fronts.[2]

Today in many of the developing regions of the world anthropologists, working under government auspices, aid administrators in finding solutions to problems of health, education, welfares, and relocation.

Another example of intracultural anthropological aid occurred at the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan. Many Japanese-Americans were placed in relocation camps by the United States government in an effort to prevent subversive activities. Alexander Leighton, an anthropologist and psychiatrist, headed a research team at one of these relocation centers. From this experience he attempted to draw principles about individuals, belief systems, and social organizations under stress and to make recommendations to administrators.[3] It is interesting to note that in a subsequent study Leighton suggests that a society exposed to rapid and extensive acculturation is apt to pass, at least for a time, into a state of disorganization in which it begins to fall in many

of its vital functions. This often results in mental illness among individual members of the society. The implications of this for the administration of development relate to preventive measures regarding cultural change and social and economic planning.[4]

Within the field of industrial relations anthropologists have contributed a great deal toward understanding the individual in an industrial setting. In 1927, anthropologist Elton Mayo began an extensive program of research at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company. The initial objective of this research was to study the relations between conditions of work and the incidence of fatigue among workers. The alertness of the investigators brought to light effects which were totally unanticipated. The important changes actually produced by their experiments turned out to be in the area of interpersonal relations among workers and between workers and management. The results of this program of research led Mayo and his associates to place major emphasis on the social organization of the work group, on the social relations between the supervisor and his subordinates, on informal standards governing the behavior of members of the work group, and on the attitudes and motives of workers existing in group context.[5]

The impact of this research upon all branches of administration was extensive. Prior theories concerning administrative and industrial problems were radically and irrevocably changed. The implications of the new view opened the way for, and demanded, more research and new conceptualizations in the handling of industrial problems.

At Harvard, M.I.T., and University of Chicago the study of industrial anthropology is now an established part of the curriculum. The primary methodological techniques used in industrial anthropology is observation. The researcher proceeds in an industrial setting as if entering a foreign culture. He observes and analyzes and only makes assumptions stemming directly from the data. It is an axiom in anthropology that what comes out of research is not dependent on the nature of the problem to be studied but rather on the way the problem is studied.

> The anthropologist predicts what will happen to the relations of people when new methods are introduced. Administrators can understand and estimate the effects of change, and see what steps have to be taken to modify his organization or to restore it to a state of balance.[6]

The work of Elton Mayo and his associates was primarily concerned with human relations within the industrial setting. However, the administrator and anthropologist must also be concerned with, and study, the interdependence of industry and community. Family structure may also affect industrial stability.

> Technological changes inevitably bring about changes in social organization both outside and within the factory. It is the anthropologist's task to map social space and to chart the main flows of cultural currents so that the unexpected consequences of the rational acts of the engineer and efficiency expert can be minimized. Otherwise the non-rational aspects of social life will become irrational. Just as a too rapid pace of culture change brings about apathy or hostility or self-destruction, so sudden technical innovations lead to vast social erosion within our society. It is not just that job opportunities are destroyed. If the worker is rushed without warning into a new job where he cannot use the skills upon which his self-confidence was based, a job that has no name that brings social recognition outside the work room, free floating anxiety and potential aggression may burst into civil strife.[7]

By observing the interaction of the administrator and those administered the anthropologist is able to perceive the barriers, rivalries, and communication networks between them. He becomes an effective liason man between all groups. He may be able to prevent friction in human relations and at the same time preserve the rights and dignity of the administrators and the administered.

Ernest Beaglehole discusses the problems encountered by the administrator when introducing technological and social change without first

considering the cultural factors involved. Even the expert encounters difficulties when introducing technological change among people of a different culture. Beaglehole indicates that it is the anthropologist's responsibility to prepare the people for a program of both economic and social change. He further infers that cultural integration without economic integration may not be successful, and conversely, economic integration could fail because it may eliminate a cherished cultural value. To support his argument Beaglehole uses examples illustrating the introduction of change in a culture by direct appeal to traditional social values. In doing so he makes it apparent that without a prior knowledge of the cultural patterning of the emotional responses of a culture, ar administrator might easily fail in an attempt to introduce a technical innovation.[8]

III. Cross-Cultural Anthropological Aids

The first, and perhaps still the most widely recognized, application of anthropology has been in connection with the assistance programs carried on in the developing nations of the world. Anthropology has been used extensively by the French, British, and Dutch colonial administrations, and more recently by the United States in the Indian service and in the administration of trust territories in the Pacific.[9] It appears that administration has been more effective and more satisfactory from both the native and the administrative viewpoint where anthropological techniques and knowledge have been most widely used.

The role of anthropology in administration has been primarily advisory and, by the very nature of the socio-political situation, concerned with the administration of change in the newly emerging nations. Barnett provides a comprehensive review of anthropology in the administration of non-self-governing territories, covering problems of research and policy for the three decades prior to 1955. He points out that the number of anthropologists involved in administration at any one time has not been impressive, and that there has been a disparity between the actual and the potential use of these specialists in government.[10]

Shannon brings together an impressive collection of readings and reports covering a wide range of characteristics of developing areas and cross-cultural problems in introducing change.[11]

Goodenough introduces the reader to factors that bear on agent-client cooperation in customary change. He demonstrates how wide and deep the pitfalls of cultural ignorance can be. There is an examination of the many factors that work to prevent administrators from applying in practice the lessons that they have learnt from previous efforts in guided change. The author discusses what is known about the role of custom and belief in human affairs, paying special attention to the emotional investments of people in their customs. This volume contains innumerable points of practical guidance and suggestions for the administrator, making it an invaluable aid to those already in the field and an important teaching manual for those who are preparing for assignments overseas.[12]

Margaret Mead presents the anthropological point of view in the analyzation of problems of technical change in cross-cultural situations. She presents a manual for change agents whose frame of reference is the introduction of technical change within the context of the existing cultural pattern, and hence allows for the preservation of the human values of the culture.[13]

Edward H. Spicer has compiled a series of cases concerned with the social and cultural dynamics involved in the introduction of technical innovations. By presenting actual incidents, the volume aids the administrator in bridging the gap between technical specialization and the web of human problems it can cause. All of the problems presented deal with cultural change introduced by technological achievements in developing nations.[14]

The role of the anthropological adviser comes into focus in a number of articles examining ethical issues and eliciting national differences in attitudes toward cultural anthropology. Gladwin believes that the anthropologist, to be useful in administration, must himself be an administrator. In one contest, examining ethical issues that arise in the application of scientific knowledge in the American vein, he calls attention to the need for matching scientific skills with scientific "statesmanship".[15] Firth asserts that Western anthropologists (unlike the Soviet and Chinese) need not prescribe action programs in administration or education, since the intrusion of external factors over which he has not control may vitiate the advice of the anthropologist.[16]

A Quick Survey of Cases :

Directly or indirectly, anthropologists have been involved in many administrative programs. The following brief survey will indicate a few of the areas in which administrators had sought anthropological advice.

Arensberg and Nieoff indicate that many innovations are not accepted by the local people because the administrator has no idea how a change can be integrated into a culture. Change must be cast in a form that fits permanently into local culture patterns. Technical innovations must be reformed to fit this pattern. Without the advice of an anthropologist this may be impossible. Administrators want to utilize experience, cultural values and background of their own culture. Neither the American complex of cultural conditions nor most of its important particulars can be relied upon to exist elsewhere, whether the country is a traditional, transitional, or modern society.[17]

A comprehensive interdisciplinary study of culture change in British Columbia may serve as a trend-setting model for studies of acculturation and of applied anthropology in administration. The publication is the final report of a multi-disciplinary team of the Indian Research Project, assigned by the University of British Columbia to do field studies of acculturation in 23 reservation communities and special studies in Economics and employment, crime and law enforcement, and education and administration. Although not a standard ethnography, the report utilizes ethnographic data to analyze changes in contemporary Indian ways of life in the light of the historical background and contact situations.

The extensive utilization of documentary and statistical data and the variety of methodological approaches provide a unique areal study. Recommendations for policy making are both explicit and implicit and follow in the context of the intensive analysis of interrelated changes in cultural behavior and institutions.[18]

Scholarly concern with areal problems of administration and change focuses increasingly on developments in Africa. Colson has noted that until recently, few American scholars had actually worked in Africa.[19] *Human organization* devotes a special issue to social science in action in sub-Saharan Africa. But the papers on applied research are presented mainly by British, French, and Belgian social scientists in Africa where studies have been linked with the needs of the colonial administrations, and with Soviet interest in African ethnology as an aspect of current geopolitics.[20]

Mair reviews administration support of research in Africa and points up the attitude of the British social anthropologist who sees his role as providing a contribution to administrative knowledge, rather than as a policy-making or action function.[21] Recent studies of political change, sponsored by the British Research Institutes in Africa include a discussion by Lewis of new political parties among the Somali as a reflection of lineage,[22] and a study by Gulliver of change in land tenure among the Nyakusa.[23] Drake discusses the structure of traditional authority under British colonial rule in West Africa and shifts in power to the new elite.[24] Epstein analyzes the effect of urbanization on politics and law of the Copperbelt which supersedes the separate tribal laws.[25] Differences between Ruanda and Urundi in receptivity to change are analyzed by Albert in relation to the structural differences in socio-political organization.[26]

Barnett analyzes the effects of Dutch pacification of western New Guinea on the activities of the aggressive head hunters. The traditional "warrior capitalism" practiced by these chiefs was replaced by techniques

of financial manipulation and exploitation with dynamic cultural consequences. Administrative suggestions to alter the methods of implementing the new system were received with local approval. Sacred rituals associated with the old trade system were also abandoned, Barnett believes, however, that this was a result of blockage in communication with the authorities. Nevertheless, immediate consequences of ultimate benefit were apparent in many aspects of social organization.[27]

Anthropologists at the Mexican Instituto Nacional Indigenista have been concerned with the administrative problems of controlled acculturation. Beltran carried out an ethnographic study of Mexican-Indian contact in the conceptual framework of acculturation as the process of conflict between competing ideas and value systems.[28] He also uses this theoretical construct in a discussion of Afro-American transculturation.[29] In the action framework of the Mexican program Beltran proposes that native peoples in modern nations be encouraged to participate fully in the national society for the mutual benefit of all segments, but that social integration not be allowed to destroy the indigenous culture.

Brokensha discusses the role of the anthropologist in resettlement projects. The Volta River project in Ghana necessitates the relocation of 67,000 persons whose homes will be inundated. Among the 67,000 natives there are several different tribes, each with its own distinguishing culture and language. The task of the anthropologist is to collect basic social facts about the tribes which will aid the administrators in formulating, modifying and executing project policies. The author emphasizes the fact that the anthropologist must present social facts and evaluate the likely effect of various policies, but the actual decision making is up to the administrator. The anthropologist acts as a liason between the people and the administrators, interpreting one to the other and perhaps recommending, to both sides, adjustments of attitudes where feasible. Resettlement projects offer many opportunities to both anthropologist and administrator to study planned change. Little is known about continuity, modification or abandoning of social institutions. Research

studies of resettlement projects will allow controlled observation of reactions and resistance to new techniques of planned change.[30]

Useem and Donoghue present an interesting hypothesis which was formulated by carefully considering the roles of American and non-Western people in cross-cultural administration. The authors claim that the interaction of American and foreign administrators creates a third culture—itself alien to the cultures of the individuals involved. American sponsored cross-cultural programs point out that it is imperative for administrators to consider both their own, as well as foreign, cultural differences. But many of the strengths and weaknesses of the above programs revolve around the stability of the third culture. The role of the anthropologist is to point out the critical nature of the third culture and evaluate its effectiveness in stimulating or retarding cross-cultural programs.[31]

Fraser expounds upon the factors decisive to the acceptance or rejection of programs of directed change in cross-cultural administration. This acceptance or rejection may be due to factors located at innumerable points along the socio-cultural spectrum. Anthropologists and administrators must analyze the recipient culture to determine important individuals or groups that may be expected to significantly influence the reactions of members of the society positively toward the directed change.[32]

To summarize—although cross-disciplinary activities and research have been stimulated by social, scientific and political events, the study of cultural change, in the broadest sense, has been a basic area of study in anthropology. The accelerated rate of cultural change has produced a myriad of social and psychological problems of adjustment to new ways of life. Administrators must be able to aid people in making the transition with a minimum amount of dysfunctional complications both intra— and cross-culturally. Unfortunately, in many cases neither the administrator nor the people have any perception of the difficulties involved in rapid natural and/or directed change. The administrator of a program of

change " . . . carries a heavy responsibility whenever he seeks to alter a people's way of life . . . If his skill is poor and judgment bad he can destroy cooperative human relations that will affect many people-"[33] It becomes the task of the anthropologist to advise administrators about the nature of a culture, how directed change will alter the fabric of a culture, and how the possible disruptive chain effects of directed change can be controlled. The role of anthropology in administration, or in any other field of application, at present, is of course dependent on the receptivity of decision making institutions.

IV. Methodology

Fieldwork is the primary techniques used to gather data in cultural anthropology. The anthropologist lives with the people under study and observes and records as much as he can of the endless series of events and complex relationships which surround him. There are three fundamental methods of gathering field data : (1) the use of informations; (2) the recording of observations; (3) participation in activities.

Through the above techniques the cultural anthropologist seeks to discover and understand the cultural diversity of man-kind and the cultural development of human groups. Efforts to define the integral parts of cultures and the changes taking place over periods of time have led to inquiry into the structural and functional processes which, operating at fluctuating intensity and multitudinous combinations in specific situations, account for the actual character of particular cultures. The concurrent comparative study of cultures enables the anthropologist to isolate different factors for study. Selected factors are isolated in relation to others that may be found to be functionally interdependent with them.

Forde states that the anthropological approach to the study of culture is characterised by two complementary tactics. First, it seeks to determine the structure of social relations among any given people in terms of a comprehensive observation of their cultural norms. While it may be necessary to study one particular aspect of a culture, this aspect

is not divorced from the total cultural context. In short, the anthropological aim is to determine and interpret social systems in terms of comprehensive ethnographic data. Second, it characterizes a society as a unit within which human beings congregate to satisfy certain needs. Anthropological analysis of a community is stimulated by the need to present data that are significant and accurate for subsequent comparative studies. The purpose of comparative studies is to isolate abstract but recurrent properties, found within the framework of concrete behavior, whose functional dependence on other properties of the social system may then be determined.[34]

The idea of pattern or structuring is basic to contemporary anthropological interpretation of change.[35] Vogt infers that without the directive efforts of structuring, there could be no expectations of regularities in human behaviour that could be generalized.[36]

The significance of structuring to the cultural anthropologist can be demonstrated in two basic ways. The various norms, customs, traditions, and rules of a culture can be thought of as being interrelated in a functional-organic way, with each part contributing through its interaction to the total cultural milieu. Also structuring can be conceptualized as a stylized or integrative construct. Balance and equilibrium are derived from the concept of structure when viewed within the framework of function of ultimate purpose. The equilibrium model implies a certain amount of disequilibrium, which connotes stress and malfunction. The interrelationship of the cultural units can be conceived as interactions that produce specific effects. Therefore they are considered to be involved, through their interconnections, in sustaining the total system. A comprehensive study of any structure may be instituted through an interaction process analysis. The concept of integration emphasizes that systems are greater than the sum of their parts.

The full significance of any unit with a culture will be understood only when that unit is viewed in the total matrix of its relationship to other elements. The above paragraph provides a summary of a major

theoretical assumption that many anthropologists make about the systematic nature of human reality they are investigating. It has grown out of the position of Banedict,[37] who visualized culture as an integrated whole, and the functionalism of Malinowski[38] and Radoliff—Brown.[39]

V. Conclusion

When an administrator plans to introduce new innovations into a culture, he must be aware of the cultural factors influencing their acceptance, the consequences of the innovations upon the lives of the people, and the relationship between these consequences and the original objectives. Luschinsky[40] presents an article describing how a government administrator made asepsis in childbirth acceptable to the people of an Indian village by associating it with their belief in a spirit called Jam. This is an excellent example of an administrator utilizing anthropological findings to initiate new public health measures. The author goes on to describe two government programs of land reform which failed because administrators did not bother to determine whether or not the innovations would blend smoothly into the structure of local government. The first, a rigidly structured land reform program produced a number of undesirable consequences which were not anticipated. The second, a loosely structured program of local self-government was restructured by the villagers and assumed dictatorial proportions, defeating the aims of the administrator.

It is essential for administrators and anthropologists to translate new ideas into meaningful concepts within the cultural framework of the people in order to avoid misinterpretation. Conversely, administrators must be intimately acquainted with a culture to analyze the implications of innovations upon a traditional mode of life.

Anthropology provides the administrator with a scientific basis for dealing with the problems faced by the emerging nations of the world. Although the concept of the emerging nation has been used in this era to refer to Asia, Africa and South America, and an emerging nation is

defined, by those who consider themselves as having emerged, as an area of rapid social change, "but the basic concept applies with equal propriety also to Russia, Japan, Europe and the United States. In fact the entire world is emerging—most of it in active or prospective social change".[41]

The role of the anthropologist in this crucial era is to help the administrator develop as much respect as possible for the cultural values of others. Both disciplines must aid the *newly* emerging nations make an adjustment to the modern industrial world which will be on their own terms rather than upon those of an administrator.[42] Furthermore, anthropology must aid the *established* emerging nations to understand their own cultures and make internal as well as external adjustments.

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YEATS'S POERTY OF UNREQUITED LOVE

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The nature and intensity of Yeats's thwarted passion for Maud Gonne MacBride, whom he persistently called Helen, the symbol of irresistible and destructive beauty, is the theme of some of his most memorable lyrical poems. His ceaseless pursuit of this inaccessible goddess-like woman and his unabated desire to possess the untameable 'arrogant loveliness', got transmitted into love poetry of a wide range of moods. Yeats, like many other poets, loved hopelessly, being indifferent to, or unconcerned with, the woeful consequences. Plutarch, Sidney, Shelley, Keats and their like had adored and loved beautiful women without possessing them, without, in some cases, even a declared desire to bind them into matrimonial chains, but none of them, except perhaps Keats, made such forceful expression of bitter disillusionment, self-pity and anguish, as Yeats did.

We can understand the true nature of what Yeats felt and what he said about it in his poems addressed to, or about, Maud Gonne, only when we take into account his character, his temperament, his highly sensitive mind, his habit of distancing the object of contemplation and desiring it, his shyness, his love of fantasies and the simultaneous desire of meaningful action. Many of these impulses and attitudes pull into opposite directions, producing tensions, which we come across in his poetry.

Reading this poetry of personal experience makes us aware of Yeats's desperate bid to resolve the paradoxical nature of his relationship with

Maud. He adores, worships, desires, gives vent to his disillusionment and despair, but at no time in his life he could pull the thorn out of his heart : Maud Gonne persisted to remain a haunting memory. The story of this passionate devotion to a woman who was destined to inspire and poison his life makes a fruitful comment on his poetry.

Yeats first met Maud Gonne on January 30, 1889, when she came to see his father with a letter of introduction from the famous Irish leader John O'Leary. and at once fell a victim to her unusual charm. Recording the memory of this meeting in his Autobiography, he wrote :

"I had never thought to see in a living woman so great beauty. It belonged to famous pictures, to poetry, to some legendary past. A complexion like the bloom of apples and yet face and body had the beauty of lineaments which Blake calls the highest beauty because it changes least from youth to age, and stature so great that she seemed of a divine race. Her movements were works of grace and I understood at last why the poets of antiquity, where we would but speak of face and form, sing, loving some lady, that she seems like a goddess."[1]

We have here a clear indication how he was swept off his feet, and aided by his peculiar inherent habit of mythicising and day-dreaming raised the object of love to the status of a goddess, who could only be worshipped, not possessed. Being dreamy, timid, shy and mostly uncertain about what he was after, Yeats launched himsef upon the perilous pursuit of the unattainable goal. The passion of love and the desire of marriage got mixed up from the very beginning and pestered his life ever after. Continuing his memory of the aforesaid meeting, Yeats recorded :

"I was in love but had not spoken of love and never meant to speak of love and as the months passed I gained a mastery of myself again. What wife would she make, I thought, what share could she have in the life of a student?"[2]

Such rambling minds as that of young Yeats love fantasies and draw pleasure from distancing the object of desire and feeling passionately about it. Yeats followed Maud Gonne where-ever she went, involving her in occultism and mystical practices (he took her to join the Golden Dawn and planned with her a secret order called 'Castle of the Heroes'), and sharing her political interests, in the hope of winning her heart. He wrote *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, a nationalistic play, with a special role for her, which she performed with exceptional success. But she was not carved out for a domestic and matrimonial role.

Maud Gonne gave her own version of their relationship. She records a conversation in her autobiography. *A Servant of the Queen*, which gives an authentic account of what they felt about each other.

'Oh, Maud, why don't you marry me and give up this tragic struggle and live a peaceful life? I could make such a beautiful life for you among artists and writers who could understand you'

'Willie, are you not tired of asking that question? How often have I told you to thank the gods that I will not marry you, you would not be happy with me.'

'I am not happy without you'.

'O yes, you are, because you make beautiful poetry out of what you call your unhappiness and you are happy in that. Marriage would be such a dull affair. Poets should never marry. The world should thank me for not marrying you. I will tell you one thing, our friendship has meant a great deal to me; it has helped me often when I needed help, needed it perhaps more than you or anybody know, for I never talk of these things."[3] Just look at the impatience of Yeats and the forthrightness of Maud; they were entirely different types. She was always friendly and sympathetic, but in spite of knowing the intensity of Yeats's love, erected a wall of disinvolvement to keep him out of her heart. She liked him not as a lover, although she seems to have cherished his self-effacing devotion to her,

but as a friend, who had extraordinary creative talent worthy to be utilized for the cause of Irish nationalism. At one stage, he was so deeply involved in her cause that he specially wrote a play, *Cathleen ni Houlihan*, creating for her the role of the courageous, self-sacrificing and benevolent old woman. He followed her to public meetings and processions, but his real goal eluded him. A.N. Jaffares, who met Maud Gonne and had the privilege of having discussions with her, rightly concludes : 'He sought to serve her ; and she found him a useful friend."[4] A symptom of Yeats's uncertain state of mind concerning Maud Gonne may be seen in his impressions of a meeting with her in 1891 at Nassan Street hotel in Dublin. He wrote in his *Autobiographies* : "As our talk became intimate she hinted at some unhappiness, some disillusionment. The hard old resonance had gone, she had become gentle and indolent. I was in love once more and no longer wished to fight against it. I no longer thought what kind of a wife would this woman make, but of her need for protection and for peace."[5]

Afterwards, he revisited Dublin and proposed to her, but she refused politely, saying she could not give the reasons, and asked for his friendship.

His awareness of her restless and active mind, her astonishing pluck and incredible self-confidence, her single-minded devotion to her political aims, and her domineering character overawed the poor lamb and he timidly withheld an open declaration of his real intentions. He fed her vanity, serving her as a faithful ally, but the strong-willed woman possessed by the ruthless demon of violent political activity was too much for him They quarrelled violently in 1893, and Yeats had time to think.

Before we discuss the poetry of this period, one or two other relevant things may be mentioned. Yeats met a married woman (Diana Vernon) in 1894 and during 1895-96 they became lovers. This was his first physical relationship with any woman and it must have helped him to grow out of abstract longing. Maud's letter, about which Diana came to know, brought the affair to an end. In 1899, Yeats proposed to Maud and she

refused once again. He had been preparing himself for this proposal, and Lady Gregory, his elderly friend and patron, had encouraged him for it, promising money required for the purpose. But he failed to conquer the stubborn heart.

A close look at the love poetry of the ten years since his meeting with Maud in 1889, reveals the whole gamut of Yeats's feelings and moods, changing under the pressure of alternating hopes and disappointments. The poetry of this period also reflects his growth both as poet and lover, moving from the escapist and dreamy late-Victorian attitude to that of passionate longing for real fulfilment.

> And sky as a rabbit,
> Helpful and shy,
> To an isle in the water
> With her would I fly.[6]

This desire to escape to a remote romantic scene persists for quite some time and many poems of *The Rose* provide plenty of evidence. The beloved is idealized and endowed with divinity and unearthly beauty. In *The Rose of the World*, Yeats says :

> Bow down, archangels, in your dim abode.
> Before you were, or any hearts to beat,
> Weary and kind one lingered by His seat ;
> He made the world to be a grassy road
> Before her wandering feet.[7]

Contrary to his normal practice of using Irish legends or classical mythology, Yeats here has drawn up on the bibilical view of creation, attributing almost divine grace to Maud. Plato's Intellectual Beauty and Maud's human beauty seem to merge here. This religious veneration asked to be shown to the beloved reflects a special type of literary sensibility. But in *When You are Old*, Yeats is direct and plain in his address and

assures Maud of his unquestionable sincerity and unflinching loyalty. When old, sitting by the fire, she would certainly recall her youth and the poet's devotion to her:

> How many loved your moments of glad grace,
> And loved your beauty with love false or true,
> But one man loved the pilgrim soul in you,
> And loved the sorrows of your changing face;[8]

The poet contrasts his love with that of others who loved her moments of 'glad grace' and about whose love it is difficult to decide whether it is true or false. But Yeat's love is of a different nature : it is for the 'pilgrim soul' in her and for the sorrows of her 'changing face.' References to Maud's adventurous nature and her unhappiness are made to single out his love for special admiration.

The *Two Trees* is a poem of extraordinary complexity and subtlety which rises above all other poems of the period. The tactful use of symbolism, sustained skilfully to the end, gives it the profundity of a metaphysical argument. He is undoubtedly at his best. The poem opens with an air of immediacy :

> Beloved, gaze in thine own heart,
> The holy tree is growing there ;[9]

This 'holy tree' is the tree of life or Imagination as Franks Kermode says in *The Romantic Image*, the reverse of which is the tree of the fall. The tree, generates love, art, peace and tenderness, that is why he asks her to gaze in her own heart. But 'the bitter glass' lifted up before man produces only evil effects.

> For all things turn to barrenness
> In the dim glass the demons hold,
> The glass of outer weariness,
> Made when God slept in times of old.[10]

References may be supposed to have been made to Maud's political adventures and involvement in plots and conspiracies and to her association with secret societies. Yeats was always critical of Maud's political methods and once when she escaped from the hospital in a nurse's uniform and sought refuge in a house in Dublin (offered to him by her) he refused to admit her without the knowledge of his wife ; for which she got very angry with him. Yeats had never failed her before.[11] Louis Macneice very rightly summed up Yeats's Dilemma vis-a-vis Maud, saying that "While his devotion to Maud Gonne as a woman remained intense he was equivocal in his allegiance to her as a public figure."[12]

> In this 'bitter glass,' the ravens of unresting thought,
> ....shake their ragged wings ; alas !
> Thy tender eyes grow all unkind :
> Gaze no more in the bitter glass.[13]

Maud, Yeats believed, had been coarsened by her too much exposure to politics.

With *The Wind Among Reeds* (1899), Yeats's third volume of poems, his love poetry attains a new freshness, delicacy and force. He wishes to remake 'The wrong of unshapely things", sitting aloof 'on a green knoll apart: '

> With the earth and the sky and the water, remade, life a casket of gold.
>
> For my dreams of your image that blossoms a rose in the deeps of my heart.[14]

This seems to be a continuation of his preoccupation with a romantic view of things and life. But we can notice here an earnest assertion of sincere passion which enlivens other lyrics also found in this collection. There is also Keats-like death-wish, courted in a moment of cestatic joy. In another poem, *He Wishes His Beloved Were Dead*, written in 1891,

he wrote about his possessive love in a state of death, wishing his beloved to lie buried :

Under the dock-Leaves in the ground,
While lights were paling one by one."[15]

Perhaps the most representative example of his mood at the time is "*He Wishes For the Cloths of Heaven*, in which he adopts the attitude of the worshiper, seeking fulfilment in a world of fantasy. His main concern is with selfless adoration, a favourite subject of poetry for poetry's sake. Glittering and ethereal images are employed to communicate the tender feelings. The desire to offer "the heavens' embroidered cloths,/Enwrought with golden and silver light", which is destined to remain unfulfilled, takes another form. He can spread his dreams, the most cherished of personal belongings, under her feet.

But I, being poor, have only my dreams ;
I have spread my dreams under your feet ;
Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.[16]

This poetry of "Youths dreamy load"[17] continues his devotional impulse. He is desperately in love ; his happiness lies in the state described by him as "I am looped in the loops of her hair."[18]

"Those that love are sad." This will be a recurring theme, with many variations reflecting the moods of frustration, anxiety, selflessness, disillusionment and even bitter self-reproof. *In the Seven Woods* (1904), many poems of which were written after Maud turned down his proposal in 1899, initiates this new phase in his emotional life. The experience colours the spirit of his lyrical impulse. The thought of Maud's beauty ('The Arrow') he felt in his marrow. This tall and noble beauty with face and bosom "delicate in colour as apple blossom" is the fairy of his dreams, whom no other man could see, being unaware of her past life. The poet pines for what she was.

The folly of Being Comforted reflects the mood of uncertainty and despondency. The threads of grey appearing in his well-beloved's hair did not bring any hope of a change of heart. The restless woman in search of violent activity is not likely to bring any comfort, however passionate the lover might become. Yeats's cry comes out of a bleeding heart; he says :

O heart ! O heart ! if she'd but turn her head,
You'd know the folly of being comforted.[19]

In *Never Give All the Heart* Yeats is reminded of the folly of losing heart to an indifferent beauty. He was always critical of Maud's indulgence in politics, and in spite of friendliness her total indifference to his love and matrimonial hopes kept him in constant tension. Selfless love is, more often than not, ignored by "passionate women", who take it for granted. Thus, in the last two verses, he comes to a sad conclusion :

He that made this knows all the cost,
For he gave all his heart and lost.[20]

The quest of love appears in *Adam's Curse*, where he uses his early strategy of placing the lovers in an idyllic setting ; he communicates the way he loved and the harvest he reaped.

The lover's eternal sadness lurks behind every word in the poem. We have not yet come upon the poetry of disillusionment that is written after Maud's marriage in 1903. In a beautiful lyric "O Don't Love Too Long" Yeats looks at years of hopeless devotion to Maud, concluding that loving long grows to be "out of fashion,"

Like an old song."[21]

But after *The Green Helmet and Other Poems* (1910), published after a gap of about six years, the poetry of disillusionment grows darker in mood. In *The Woman Homer Sung* and '*Words*' Yeats reveals his love-stricken heart, only discovering the futility of his passion. This is a poetry of intense introspection. Having known about Maud's unhappy married

life—she sought separation as early as 1905—Yeats began to use Helen as symbol of destructive beauty. The opening verses of *No Second Troy*, "*Why should* I blame her that she filled my days/with misery....." at once strike a bold note of anger. For her fiery, noble mind and 'beauty like a tightened bow', she could hardly have a peaceful life. The last two verses are strongly charged with bitterness, emphasized by rhetorical questions, and bring out the desperation of the wounded heart.

Why, what could she have done, being what she is?
Was there another Troy for her to burn?[22]

This allusion to Helen of Troy is meant to project his thought strikingly. At another place Reconciliation the mood changes and he expresses the meaninglessness of life and all human action without her.

Since you were gone,

My barren thougts have chilled me to the bone.[23]

So far, Yeats's concern has been with his un-requited love, abstract and real, always related to Maud, which has a mysterious hold on the poor helpless victim.

"O love is the crooked thing,
There is nobody wise to find out all that is in it."

Yeats finds it impossible either to disengage himself from the unattainable woman or to forget her. After her separation from her husband, he met her frequently and she always treated him with kindness and friendly sentiments. When her husband was prosecuted in 1916, another gleam of hope appeared and Yeats went to Normandy to propose for the last time. As usual, Maud turned down the proposal politely, but she allowed him to court Iseult Gonne, her adopted daughter, who also refused. Yeats was almost middle-aged and the feeling of having wasted his life for a stone-hearted woman, who was so close and yet so remote, ate away his heart.

Responsibilities (1914) introduces a note of strong realism. In *When Helen Lived*, Yeats adopts a disrespectful tone. Love is no more treated as a serious involvement of the heart. *Fallen Majesty*, addressed to Maud after her marriage, relates the changing fortunes of Maud and her charisma. Maud drew crowds when she appeared in the streets as a beautiful agitator, but after her marriage she discontinued her majestic activity and was forgotten for the time being. Yeats is torn between the bitterness of having lost her and the sympathetic feelings of concern for her lost glory.

There was a time when crowds gathered when she appeared, that is all gone and the poet is left to record it.

The lineaments a heart that laughter has made sweet,
These, these remain, but I record what's gone. A crowd
Will gather, and not know it walks the very street
Whereon a thing once walked that seemed a burning cloud.[24]

The poet is a historian of a tragic figure.

Louis Macneice pointed out Yeats 's dilemma correctly. He wrote : "as the woman could not be divorced from the political agitator, so Yeats could not sort out what he admired in her from what he deplored."[25]

Lost in her political dreams, she turned a deaf ear to the heart-felt cries of love expressed by Yeats in every possible way. But he could not help loving her, finding her an endless source of inspiration and motivation. *In Friends*' he remembers her thus :

"And what of her that took
All till my youth was gone
With scarce a pitying look?

But this regretful realization is followed by a different sentiment. He remembers her for different reasons, but

While up from my heart's root
So great a sweetness flows
I shake from head to foot"[26]

There is almost a tragic consciousness of a futile passion celebrated in a number of poems appearing here and in the later volumes.

Yeats married in 1917, and the memory of his love for Maud becomes only a sorrowful record, a memory of useless folly.

O heart, we are old ;
The living beauty is for younger men :
We cannot pay its tribute of wild tears ![27]

In *His Phoenix* and *Broken Dreams*, we find Yeats coming back to the same theme of sorrowful memory of the woman loved and lost. Making comparison with other men and women loving ceaselessly and shallowly, Yeats makes a confession of having loved a Phoenix in his youth. *Broken Dreams* records the pleasant memories of his youth. He imagines a young man saying to an old man:

Tell me of that lady
The poet stubborn with his passion sang as
When age might well have chilled his blood."[28]

Marriage brought to Yeats not only the much-needed emotional stability and self-possession, it also gave him unique strength and the heart to develop a unified system of symbols in *A Vision*. Richard Ellmann does not exaggerate when he says that 'At last, in marriage, Yeats secures, if not entire confirmation of the supernatural, a drama so large and yet so manipulatable as to give him almost miraculous control over reality. So armed by his 'Vision' he is able to enter more completely into life than before without fear of losing his identity ; all human experience can be controlled and he even hunts new experience over which to assert his power.'[29]

This development, greatly indebted to his marriage, and leading to self-confidence, also marks a change in his attitude towards his amorous past. His youthful infatuation now looks a foolish dream, a bitter memory of a woman who slighted his love, and lost in her political fanaticism wrecked his life. He suffered both mentally and physically and went through a prolonged state of humiliation and self-abasement. Moreover, the bitterness poisoning his life took other channels of expression, present in his bitter railing at the contemporary situation. In *Why Does My Heart Bear So* and *Why Should the Heart Take Pride*, there is an expression of painful self-consciousness. The world seems to be cruel and unrewarding ; the consolation of the early times when

My Memories had magnified
So many times childish delight.

(Towards Break of Day)

is also denied to him. As if in a mood to philosophise Yeats comes out with the revealing statement that

Nothing that would love over-much
is ponderable to our touch.[30]

Hasn't he revived the memory of Maud's inaccessibility and his own unhappy fate as a lover?

Whenever Yeats remembered Maud at this stage of his life he implicitly compared her with women for whom the homely life is an ideal state of life. In *A Prayer for my Daughter*, he tabulated some of Maud's weaknesses. The references are overtly made, hard to be missed even by a casual reader. He does not seem to put much value on a self-absorbed beauty, made proud by self-consciousness and rendered incapable of natural sincerity, who like Maud, is punished with the life of friendlessness.

May she be granted beauty and yet not
Beauty to make a stranger's eye distraught,[31]

Yeats had tasted the blessings of a settled family life and had enjoyed the fruits of rootedness. This was what Maud never enjoyed in her life, leading a life of restless movement, secretive activities and political intrigues.

O may she live like some green laurel
Rooted in one dear perpetual place.[32]

Similarly, in *Among School Children* Yeats is reminded of Maud while visiting a school classroom. The memory comes so intensely that it drives his heart wild and he feels her presence before him as a living child. Although Yeats has not addressed exclusive poems to Maud, yet he seems to be compelled to remember her, as if to forget her was not within his power. He says in *A Man Young and Old* that beautiful Maud when she crossed his path gave him the impression of having 'a heart of flesh and blood.' But later experience changed it.

> But since I laid a hand thereon
> And found a heart of stone
> I have attempted many things
> And not a thing is done,
> For every hand is lunatic
> That travels on the moon.[33]

The tormenting consciousness of a fruitless passion, unrewarding and annihilating, surges up to the surface here. Yeats is aware of his futile, un-requited love and of the cruel indifference of the woman whom he still remembered as "human dignity". In *the Last Poems*, we have at least one poem which is exclusively devoted to Maud, in which he makes the final assessment of her character and nature as well as of her effect on him. *A Bronze Head* is written about the bronze of Maud Gonne by Lawrence Campbell, situated in the Muncicipal Gallery of Modern Art, Dublin. As if the presence of Maud's bronze stimulated his imagination and tickled his memory, Yeats went on to review and recall what he had seen of her. The poem opens in a high-sounding tone and the first two stanzas raise questions about the true nature of Maud. The third stanza attempts to divulge the secret of her charisma and its impact on Yeats. References to Maud's aggressive nature and her love of violence, by which she had been transformed, look like a profound cry of a stricken soul.

> But even at the starting-post, all sleek and new,
> I saw the wildness in her and I thought
> A vision of terror that it must live through
> Had shattered her soul.[34]

Yeats had loved Maud Gonne impetuously and desperately, little realizing that a woman of her nature and temperament was not carved for a domestic role. Hoping against hope, he followed her to public meetings like an enchanted person, carried her birds when she travelled, shared occultist pursuits with her in the hope of hooking her heart, and refused to take the advice of sincere friends like Russell and well-wishers like O'Leary, who knew them both. Against their advice, he staked every asset to win her, but that was not to be. He wanted to possess her, but she offered only friendship in return. The burden was too heavy to be ignored or forgotten. Louis Macneice goes to the heart of the matter :

> "The anomaly of his relations with Maud Gonne created a bitter loyalty in him. The mere fact that she was unattainable put him on a plane with the old masters, but as the years went on, his loyalty —at least to her ideals—fell away and his bitterness increased in proportion."[35]

We have already seen how this state of mind found expression in some of of the poems written after his marriage.

In this early period, Yeats idealized and glorified Maud Gonne and romanticized his love, expressing it in abstract terms. After *Wind Among the Reeds* he adopts a bolder, fuller attitude and his lyrics reflect absorption in an all-consuming passion. But after Maud's marriage, his attitude and poetry change ; he feels ruined by his blind passion for a headstrong woman and begins to write differently. His maturity co-occurs with his artistic growth and expansion of intelletual interests. But he could never pull out the thorn stuck in his heart. His relationship with Maud, the 'fatal woman', is unique for its intensity and effect on his lyrical poetry. It made him a different poet. We may quote Louis Macneice once again to conclude. He wrote :

> "Yeats's attitude to Maud Gonne seems always to have had something about it of *Odi Atqu amo*. He could never quite forgive her diehard opinions and her violence; at the same time her influence saved him from being merely a poet of the salon or the psaltery."[36]

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THE CONCEPT OF LANDSCAPE IN CHINESE PAINTING

KUO HSI'S "EARLY SPRING"

By

DR. MOHAMMAD KHALID MAHMUD

"Early Spring" *By* Kuo Hsi (1020-1090)
Hanging Scroll
Ink and slight colour on silk.

There are various ways of looking at life. Each way leads to the same common destination because a man, whether he is in the East or in the West, has the same common necessities, desires and yearning. One can approach these necessities with the help of religion, philosophy, science or technology. In the West man is more materialistic, therefore, he determines the way of his behaviour according to the facts and figures. On the other side, in Asia the people are still clinging to spirit, so they measure every thing according to the religious point of view. This state used to prevail in Europe before 13th century A.D.

The Chinese are unique because their outlook on life is absolutely different both from Europe and Asia. They determine, regulate and balance their thoughts of life somewhat according to the religious dogma but mostly according to practice of art—painting and calligraphy. They believe that the practice of art purifies man's thoughts and ideas. It helps him to understand nature and man. To them, in order to understand any civilization a person must understand heaven, earth and man. Therefore, art to them is a philosophical and intellectual exercise.

In India, art is religion and religion is art,[1] and to a certain extent in China also. But there is a fundamental difference between the art of the two countries. The Indian artists bring heaven down to the earth.[2] They richly bestowed their work with celestial quality. They talk of gods,

deities and heaven, not of man. In this way, art is qualified as a sacred activity like religion. Therefore, the Indian artists, though they try to attain the heavenly spirit in their work, do not indulge in intellectual and philoscphical exercise like the Chinese.

The Chinese didn't evolve a particular religion or philosophy like the Indians.[3] They saw the philosophy of life in Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. These three great philosophies of life determined the cultural climate in which the art of painting was deemed to flourish. That is why painting is the privilege of the philosophers, poets and intellects. Kuo Hsi is one who searched for the mood of life in mountains, water and trees.

The picture "Early Spring" (fig. 1) has been painted from a fairly high perspective. It seems that the eye level of the painter is momentarily somewhere far above the loftiest mountain which occupies the central position. This central mountain is surrounded by small cliffs and other mountains just like a king surrounded by his courtiers.

It seems that one is suddenly clashed against this heavy, massive structure and is thrown back to the foreground. In this way, the interlink between foreground and background is established. The trees on the ledge nearly occupy the middle ground of the picture and have vertical stress. I think this verticality plays the part of a bridge between the main mountain and the foreground. On the right side there is a waterfall which is equally balanced on the left side by a dark line suggesting the rocky mountain.

The aerial view does not lead us beyond this dominating mountain. However, the main imposing mountain does not completely block the vision of a spectator. Actually on either side of it there are two passes. They provide an immense relief to a spectator who has been clashed against this huge monumental mountain. The monumentality and imposing elements of the mountain are further heightened because there are no other rival mountains around it.

The two passes lead the vision into the boundless, infinite depth of the valleys. But at a certain depth the vision starts blurring due to the mist. It pervades and engulfs the objects which are in the distance. Both the passes lead the way back and forth to the main point of interest in the picture. That is right in the center (of the picture) where a waterfall and probably pine trees form a circular composition.

In the foreground there are two rocks lying next to each other. Right between these a ledge leads the spectator to the main stage of the scene. On either side of the ledge two fishermen or travellers are in the process of de-embarking from boats. After passing the main area of interest, a person automatically or rather unconsciously keeps climbing the high mountain until he reaches the apex.

On the whole, the area presented here is very vast. One can wander all across it with liberated mood and can flow with the eternal spirit. According to the painter himself, "The finest landscapes are those one can wander in, those one can live in."[4]

Landscape in Chinese art is not like still life as understood in Western art. The kind of still life or landscape in the Western art is understood by the Chinese to be dead life.[5] The Chinese believe there is animation and life in everything. A rock, an inert and inanimate object to us, is a living thing for them. They searche the spirit of it. They look for something which is not visible and apprehensive to the eye of an ordinary man.

Kuo Hsi wanders into the mountains, water and valleys. He searches with his inner eyes all those truths and edifying thoughts which nature can bestow on a man. In order to search for the truth, a person has to purify himself both mentally and physically, and make himself prepared to paint like a person who is ready to receive an important guest.[6] In India, the artists, the scholars and the writers underwent yoga.[7] It was an exercise to help in enlightening their minds with edified thoughts. But to the Chinese, the exercise of painting itself was enough to purify them.It made them more receiptive to truth and to understand the inner reality.

Nature, though sometimes hostile to man, is largely helpful to him. In any case, it teaches a man something. A man identifies himself with it. Within the soul of nature he searches for his own. Kuo Hsi looked for himself and searched for his own identity and soul in the silhouette of these mountains. He bounces from one mountain to another, from one cliff to another. It seems as if he craves and yearns to reach the top of the mountain to look for another world.

"Beyond mountains there are more mountains".[8]

Probably he will find there an eternal bliss, peace and tranquility.

Each line, each silhouette of the objects is echoing the agony, the pain and the torture of the artist. If we look at twisted and gnarled branches of the trees and the curving outline of the mountains, we will see that they are writhing with anguish and frightful pain. There is a psychological turmoil all over the picture. There is great complexity in the details of rocks and trees. This abnormality of details makes a person or a spectator uneasy. He feels like running away from this turbulent atmosphere and seeking refuge somewhere. Luckily, the two passes provide such refuge. A person runs into either of the two. On the right side he can take asylum in those far off houses which are made out of thatched roof or he can go in the left pass which leads into the blissful (*ananda*) serenity. This is the region and realm of quietness, peace and bliss. However, the mysterious spirit of the artist prowls all over. It seems it is bleeding, tired and is being scratched persistently by the overgrowing, thorny branches of the trees and by the conic pointed end of the rocks. The whole atmosphere is spellbound, and engulfed with soft and controlled shricks of the artist's soul. This soul is identifiable with the spirit who created all this phenomena.

'Furthermore, looking at the things made by heaven and earth
One may find that one spirit causes all transformations
This moving power influences in mysterious way
All objects and gives them their fitness
No one knows what it is, yet it is something natural.'[9]

The artist in this kind of atmosphere sees his own reflection. He identifies himself and his soul in this landscape. He seeks harmony with his soul in this landscape, which is built out of mountains and water. These mountains are his own flesh and the water his blood. In short, "Early Spring" is Kuo Hsi. It is his body, he himself, his soul. It is the vibration, the anguish, the pain which is manifested on this silk of hanging scroll.

His art is personal but not that personal as they understand in the West. It does not go to the extreme degrees, like the art of Kandinsky. Neither does it lead us into the realm of fantasy or of fairyland as seen in the art of Chirico, and Tanguy. But he has transformed his passions and emotions in controlled fashion. He has avoided both extremes either of this wordliness or of the other worldliness.[10] Though the natural scenes drive our thoughts towards the mystery beyond nature, but in any case it always brings the imagination back to earth again. The goal of every Chinese painter is to create harmony with nature rather than the development of personal significance. Taoism, (which was continuously present to influence the painters) itself is impersonal.[11] Therefore, the personal relation or its antithesis between the divine and the human did not arise. However, the aim of Tao is the inner reality, the wisdom, the rightness and the truth. So in this way Tao and art are synonymous.

"When approaches the wonderful, one knows
not whether art is Tao or Tao is art."[12]
Hui Tsung

Kuo Hsi, like any other master, had sought for harmony. But the things which put him apart and above others are his lines and forms. They are full of passion and emotion, and they are more germaine than the religion or the philosophy of Taoism.

His painting "Early Spring" is an essay which is written with the colour of his blood and with the glow of his passion. It is a manuscript which is to be read bit by bit. A spectator in order to read it enters into this

picture from the lower right corner. There a small solid rock exists. One can firmly put his feet on it. So this is the first-step of a spectator in getting involved in the picture. The moment he enters he gazes around. He finds a rocky ledge in front of him and it leads him to the trees which are solidly planted in a vertical fashion at the end of the ledge. On both sides far below there is water painted in graded washes in low key. The concept of high and low begins to start here. The rocks and trees are painted in dark tones. The brush strokes are violent and full of sweeping passionate gestures. The outline of rocks and trees is bold and vigorous. This is an apparent contrast between the treatment of rocks, trees and water. This aspect creates a great tension in the atmosphere of the picture. One sees great tranquility in the water but the violently treated rocks and trees create turmoil in the whole atmosphere. Furthermore, the tension is built up by the enormous enveloping mountain which stands almost at the head of the spectator. So all over this picture something is low and something is high. This creates an uneven impression on the vision of the spectator. In other words, Yin and Yang.[13]

"Difficult and easy complete one another
Long and short test one another
High and low determine one another".[14]

The linear treatment of the rocks and trees is nervewracking. Each line is curving, twisting and there is not a single straight line in the whole picture. The lines are intutive and it seems that the thoughts flowed rapidly through the point of the brush.

"Heart flows, brush executes
selects forms without doubt".[15]

Ching Hao

The lines fluctuate, modulate and undulate incessantly. Mostly the outlines are heavy and they separate one object from another. So in this way each rock, each cliff and each mountain is an individual entity or unit. But the isolation of the motifs does not disintegrate the harmonic

unity and the regularity of the composition. What actually happens is that each object keeps unifying with the other. In this way a total unity is apprehended.

The recession in the picture is very limited and the middle ground is almost negligible. The effect of the middle ground is marred by the high mountain which soars immediately at its end. The rocks are heavy and not very rocky as they seem to be eroded.

The rocks at the foreground are solid and clear because they have been painted in dark tones of heavy value. The solidity and substantiality of the objects diminish and deteriorate as they go back in the distance. The upper part of the high mountain is substantial but the lower portion is ethereal. This is not only because it is far off but also because of the mist which surrounds it. Anyway, the vision is lost into the infinite beyond the limit of painting into the boundless infinity of the universe. However, the big mountain blocks our vision to be able to have a complete picture of the background. In any case the painter has achieved a successful atmospheric recession. The things appear at the foreground, diminish as they recede and eventually vanish into nothingness. The flux of being and becoming keep interlinking and a sequential experience of time glides rhythmically. The changing of the seasons bring new experiences and creates new vibrations in the hearts of the painters. Things die and are reborn with the flow and the change of time.

"Being great, it passes on.
Passing on, it becomes remote,
Having become remote, it returns".[16]

Kuo Hsi experienced winter and now he is depicting an early spring. In early spring winter is still reminesent and can be traced. The landscape has not yet blossomed by spring gusts. All the trees are still whithered, isolated and a scene of desolation prevails. The trees are scarcely leaved. Mostly the bare naked branches are visible. They are unveiling the truth of an epoch of nature, a truth which prevails between

the time of winter and spring. The atmosphere clearly reveals the lamenting pathetic state of the space of time and its devastation. The bewailing torn heart of Kuo identifies itself with the picture and inevitably wins the sympathy of the spectators. His heart is pierced by the element of time. Time affects nature in its own way but leaves a message to the people who have the ability to find it. This is a message which can only be comprehended by the seers, the sages, and the mystics.[17] Kuo Hsi, like a seer, jumped into the vast ocean of nature. He searched for the basic truth, the inner necessity and the facts of being through his spiritual vision. Eventually, he emerged with the piece "Early Spring". It is immensely embedded by the inner pictorial dynamism.

The work of Kuo Hsi is spontaneous, rhythmic and intuitive. Every stroke seems to glide with his flowing thoughts. One thought connects rhythmically with another aided by casual bold strokes. One idea after another keeps pouring onto the tip of his brush. He envisioned the spirit of nature passing quickly across his observant eye. The faster it flies the greater it is comprehended. Thus the ideas strike on the spur of the moment. It is similar to something glimpsed from a fast moving train; which rapidly records these fleeting, reflective glimpses. This rapidity provides a spontaneous rhythmic atmosphere in the picture. Furthermore, this spontanity enables his artistic statement to be bold and straightforward. He expresses these statements in bold irregular brushstrokes. Sometimes, the brush strokes are long as they run along the trunks of the trees and around the contours of the mountains and rocks. Sometimes they are short and very little but all these varieties of strokes have been executed in a bold rapid fashion. They provide different statements according to the place they occupy. The trees at the base provide a different character and different parts than those at the top. In this way, a high tension is formed in the picture. The spaces seem to tug at each other. Thus, an incessant fight and turmoil continue in the picture.

"Early Spring", more or less, is painted in a naturalistic mode. The trees are round and the rocks are three-dimensional. The special depth

has been achieved with the help of faded tonal washes. The intensity of the tones diminishes in each space. Eventually, the far off places (fig. 2, area 6 & 7) fade away. Thus we find a visual and realistic attitude towards nature. However, the visual truths do not interfere in the manifestation of spiritual truth. As a matter of fact spirit and matter dwell together in Chinese philosophy : vision and spirit are interdependent. Therefore, the artist is successful in uniting them, but ultimately in his work the spiritual values dominate.

In areas 4 & 5 the water is not treated aggressively. It is in soft tones and even the surface of the silk is left blank. There is a mysterious peace and calmness in the water. It is further enhanced when we look at the mountains and trees. These two areas of space are not of measurable quantity but are vehicles for suggesting the immeasurable vastness. To me, these spaces seem to be void places where the soul of the artist lives. It takes rest for a while and then again plunges into the mountains and trees in search of the ever moving spirit. The listening silence brims in these spaces or intervals. Even the far off waterfall is silenced as not to disrupt the enchanting peace of these areas.

Balance and uniformity is the greatest desire of all Chinese artists. Kuo Hsi is no exception. His composition is well composed and balanced. Now let us see with the help of figure 2 his modus operandi. Primarily the composition is based on two triangular areas namely A, B, C, and D, E, and F. In the center one finds a huge mountain (No. 11) surrounded by two other mountains or cliffs (No. 8 & 12) on either side. Thus, the thrust of the main mountain is balanced by these two mountains which function as shoulders. There are two passes (No. 6&7) on the sides of mountain (No. 8 & 11). These two passes also help in keeping the balance and vertical thrust of the mountain. Eventually, the base of the mountain dips into the water. This almost makes a horizontal line between point B and C. Then there is another triangle which runs from point D to E and F, at the foreground of the picture. In this way the foreground is parallel to the middle ground. Herein, Kuo Hsi establishes

a seene of balance. In short, one triangle is imposed on another. A triangular composition is always a symbol of balance, regularity, peace, tranquility and stateliness. Again, on either side of area 3 the flat planes of water (No. 4 & 5) balance each other and also harmonize with the upper top corners of the picture.

Within these two triangles a circular composition is formed. From point D a circle revolves clockwise along the line of the waterfall up to the base of the trees (on ledge No. 3) and continues around the outline of the rock (No. 6). This is the main point of interest since most of the complexity of the picture is witnessed here. The texture of the picture and the dynamic circular composition reflect the artist's restless state of mind. In this manner there is the combination of stationess and restlessness. For this reason, I said that "Early Spring" is a picture of the "controlled shrieks" of Kuo Hsi. He has suppressed his emotions through his controlled and balanced composition. He whispers but never shouts.

"Too softly for anyone to hear
except my comrade, the bright moon"[18].

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Fig. 1. "Early Spring"

Fig. 2. "Early Spring"

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LEVELS AND TRENDS OF FERTILITY IN INDONESIA AND PAKISTAN : A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TWO MUSLIM COUNTRIES

By

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Introduction

The phenomenon of the world population growth, particularly since the turn of the 20th century, has been a constant matter of concern for not only the demographers of the world but also for the people who are responsible for policy making at the national and international levels. Present population of the world is estimated to be four billion if it continues to grow at the present rate of 1.8 percent per annum it will be over six billion by the year 2000 A. D. According to the U. N. estimates more than half (57 percent) of all the people in the world live in Asia. Population growth rates in most of the countries of Asia are generally high and above the world average. Some of these countries have rates higher than 3 percent meaning thereby that their populations will double in 18-20 years.

Population of any area can change due to four factors, namely, births, deaths, immigration and emigration. If there is no migration, then birth and deaths are the only two determinants of change. If the births are in excess of the deaths the population increases. On the other hand the population decreases if the deaths are more than the births in a specified period. In many of the less developed countries the gap between birth rate and death rate is widening particularly due to a greater control on mortality which has been made possible as a result of improved and readily available health facilities. The level of fertility*, in spite of wide spread efforts to plan families, is still high in many of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The concern of his paper is to compare the fertility situation in two of the most populous countries of Asia namely Indonesia and Pakistan. The main consideration for the selection of these countries for the purpose of comparison is that both of these are Islamic countries having predominantly Muslim population and both are facing a high rate of population growth. In addition to that there are some other factors that point towards the similarities between these countries. For instance, both Indonesia and Pakistan got their independence in the late 40's, the former on August 17, 1945 from the Dutch and the later on August 14, 1947 from the British. An effort will be made to see what socio-cultural factors are responsible for bringing change, if any, in the levels and trends of fertility in either or both of these countries. Moreover, the role of religion as a factor contributing to the reproductive behaviour of the two populations will also be examined.

As regards the availability of population data, Pakistan has a better history than Indonesia. First regular census in the subcontinent consisting of present Pakistan, India and Bangladesh was conducted as early as 1881.[1] Since then decennial censuses remained a regular feature upto 1961. The next census which was taken in 1972 was delayed by a little more than a year due to 1971 conflict between India and Pakistan. The latest census in Pakistan was conducted in 1981 but detailed data from it have not yet been made available. On the other hand, Indonesia (excluding the latest census of 1981) has had only three counts that could be considered censuses according to the modern defirition. These were taken in 1930, 1961 and 1971 respectively. There were two other enumerations, in 1905 and 1920, but they were probably adequate only for the Islands of Java and Madura.[2] The lack of availability of demographic data for Indonesia as a whole during the 19th century and the pre-independence period of the 20th century is largely due to the lack of interest of the Dutch rulers.[3] More specifically in Indonesia, until recently, the vital registration system, too, was almost non-existent. An effort towards an improvement of vital registration has just been started and it will be many years before

Indonesia will have more reliable data.[4] The vital registration system in Pakistan like its census history, is comparatively much older than that of Indonesia as it goes as far back as more than a hundred years.[5]

As is well known for most of the developing countries, both Indonesia and Pakistan also suffer from the lack of adequate and reliable statistics. Since most of the fertility measures are based on the data from vital statistics and censuses it is quite obvious that the inadequancy of the former and lack of the reliability of the latter in both the countries lead to a situation where one cannot easily rely on the figures calculated from these sources.

In view of the limited scope of the paper no attempt will be made to go into the details of the sources of errors of the available demographic data. For the purpose of this paper, the comparison of fertility situation in Indonesia and Pakistan will be largely based on the various demographic surveys carried out in the two countries especially during the 60's and the first half of the last decade. However, some of the fertility measures based on the 1971 census of Indonesia will also be utilized for the purpose of analysis.[6]

Population Growth

As described above so far only three regular censuses have been conducted for Indonesia as a whole. But, in Java** there were also frequent official enumerations during the 19th century. The figures for these counts are, however, not believed to be reliable. McNicoll and Mamas[7] have described the 1880 estimate of population of Indonesia as a whole as 29.5 million. Out of this, the population of Java alone was 19.5 million. For the year 1900, the estimates for the population of Java range between 28.4 million to 29.5 million. In the early 20th century, for which relatively accurate data are available, there was an average annual increase of population in Java of 1.0 percent between 1905 and 1920 and 1.8 percent between 1920-1930.

For Indonesia as a whole the censuses of 1930, 1961 and 1971 show

a population of 60.7 million, 97.0 million and 119.2 million respectively. The average annual growth rate between 1930 and 1961 was estimated to be 1.5 percent per annum. During this period the growth rate is expected to have experienced considerable fluctuations especially during the economic depression of the 30's, the Japanese occupation between 1942-45 and the 1945-49 war of independence.[8] The growth rate between the period 1961-1971, calculated on the basis of the two most recent censuses, was found to be 2.08 percent indicating no significant change between 1950 and 1971.[9] The most recent figures available for Indonesia show an estimated population of mid 1979 to be 147.5 million out of which nearly 42% was under age 15. The crude rate for natural increase for the same period has been estimated to be 2.13 percent per annum [10] The growth rate of population of Indonesia is still high yet there are indications that it is almost constant for the last two decades.

In 1901 the estimated population of Pakistan was 16.6 million which according to the provisional figures of 1972 census had swollen to 64.9 million. The intercensal growth during the period 1961-1972 has been 51.2% which is the highest since 1901. The corresponding growth between the period 1951-61 was 27%.[11] According to Afzal :

> The population of Pakistan has been showing continuously increasing intercensal growth particularly since 1921. The lower increase during the decade 1911-21 reflects the impact of decimation of population due to influenza epidemic of 1918. The next decade 1921-31 shows a slightly higher increase of 11.5 percent with annual rate of increase having gone up to 1.1 percent. This increase is attributed partly to in-migration from other parts of the subcontinent, due to extension of irrigation system and large scale colonization. Between 1931 and 1941, the population increased by 20.1 percent which was considerably higher than during the previous decades. The chief reasons for this increase were the elimination of famines and considerable control over epidemics .... The 1941-51 decade again showed a fairly high increase but also partly due to excess of immigration

> from India over emigration following the partition of the subcontinent. The exceptional increase of 27.0 percent in the 1951-61 decade is attributed mainly to the excess of births over deaths ..... This average annual rate of growth amounts to 3.6 percent.[12]

Table 1 shows the comparative population growth patterns of Indonesia and Pakistan since the beginning of the present century.

TABLE 1

Population Growth in Indonesia and Pakistan Since 1900 A.D.

INDONESIA			PAKISTAN		
Year	Population in Millions	Annual Rate of Growth %	Year	Population in Millions	Annual Rate of Growth %
1905	37.4	—	1901	16.5	—
			1911	19.3	1.6
1920	49.3	—	1921	21.1	0.8
			1931	23.5	1.1
1930	60.7	1.5	1941	28.2	1.9
			1951	33.7	1.8
1961	97.0		1961	42.8	2.4
1971	119.2	2.1	1972	64.9	3.6
1979 (Est.)	147.5	2.1	1979(Est.)	79.8	3.2

Sources : 1. Afzal Mohammad, *The Population of Pakistan*, SICRED Series, 1974.
2. McNicoll G. and Si Gde Made Mamas, *The Demographic Situation in Indonesia*, Jakarta : Central Bureau of Statistics, 1973.
3. ESCAP, Note on Demographic Estimates 1979 (A Data Sheet of Population Division).

It can be seen from the table that while average annual rate of growth of population of Indonesia between 1930-1961 was estimated to be 1.5 percent the corresponding rate for Pakistan ranged from minimum of 1.8 percent between 1941-51 to 2.4 percent between 1951-61 period. The difference between the rate of population growths of the two countries is more marked for the period 1961-71/72. On the basis of 1972 population

census the rate of growth for Pakistan was calculated to be 3.6 percent.*** Another source indicates it to be 3 percent.[13] Or the other hand the intercensal (1961-71) population growth rate for Indonesia amounted to only 2.1 percent. Although the figures for both the countries are fairly high and continuously increasing since 1900 the situation in Pakistan appears to be more serious than in Indonesia. In fact "the 1971 population of Indonesia recorded in the census as 119.2 million was lower than many observers had predicted . . . . "[14]

The growth of population, in both Indonesia and Pakistan, has mainly been the result of difference in fertility and mortality. Although there was some inmigration in Pakistan, especially at the time of its independence, it did not have much effect on the overall rate of population growth as there was a significant number of people who simultaneously migrated to India. No doubt the declining mortality is playing an important part in the growth of population of both the countries. This paper will focus only on the contribution of fertility which is assumed to be still high. Moreover, it will also be seen if there is any difference between the trends and levels of fertility in Indonesia and Pakistan and also if there are any indications of fertility decline in either one or both of these countries.

Fertility Levels and Trends

As pointed out earlier most of the developing countries have either no vital statistics system at all or if they have, the data are generally not reliable. In onesia and Pakistan are no exceptions. Demographers within and outside these countries have utilized various techniques for estimating the various fertility rates, the major one for Indonesia being a backward projection of children enumerated in the 1971 census.[15] In addition to that the fertility rates have mainly been estimated from various sample surveys carried out in the two countries during the last 15 years or so.[16]

Crude Birth Rates†*:* The estimates of crude birth rates in Indonesia show an average of 44/1000 per year between 1960-70. The rates for

Java (42/1000) were comparatively lower than all other islands.[17] U.S. AID estimates show that the 1976 birth rates for Indonesia ranged between 38-40/1000.[18] The population Reference Bureau[19] also indicates the most recent crude birth rate for Indonesia equal to 38/1000. All these figures point towards the fact that the birth rate in Indonesia is declining particularly since 1970.

For Pakistan there have been at least four different surveys which have attempted to estimate the birth rates between the period 1962 to 1976. Table 2 summarizes the estimates of the average crude birth rates for Pakistan calculated for the periods shown against each title.

TABLE 2

Average Crude Birth Rates in Pakistan from the PGE (1962-65) ; PGS (1968 and 71); NIS (1968-69, Last 12 months) ; and PFS (1975-76, Last 12 months).

Type of Estimate	Crude Birth Rate			
	PGE (1962-65)	PGS (1968-71)	NIS (1968-69)	PFS (1975-76)
Longitudinal Survey (LR)	42	—	—	—
Cross Sectional Survey (CS)	38	37	39	40.5
Chandra-Deming Estimate (CD)	52	—	—	—

Source : 1. Afzal Muhammad, *The Population of Pakistan*, 1974, p. 7.
2. Population Planning Council of Pakistan : *Pakistan Fertility Survey: First Report*, 1976, p. 12 and p. 75.

Leaving aside the Chandra Deming Estimate for PGE (Population Growth Estimates), there does not appear to be a significant variation among the rates calculated between 1962-65 to 1975-76. The ESCAP data sheet[20] indicates that the estimated crude birth rate for Pakistan in 1979 was still as high as 45.7/1000.

Age Specific and Total Fertility Rates : As a measure of fertility patterns, especially for comparative purposes, the crude birth rate is not a suitable index as it is highly affected by the age and sex composition of a

population. For this reason it will be more appropriate if we compare the fertility levels of Indonesia and Pakistan by making use of other measures such as age-specific fertility rates (ASFR)††, and total fertility rate (TFR)†††.

Based on Own Children Technique Cho et al have estimated age-specific fertility rates and total fertility rates for Indonesia for the period between 1961-70. These estimates show that the age specific fertility was lower between 1961-1970 period than 1961-63 period except for the age group 20-24 years and 30-34 years in which there was a higher increase in fertility between 1964-66 and then it declined in 1967-1970 period but at the level which was higher than 1961-1963 period. Total fertility rates during the period 1961-1970 also show that on the average the fertility went up from 5.38 during 1961-63 to 5.76 during 1964-66. The TFR was, however, again on the decline during the period 1967-1970. The estimated figure for TFR for this period was calculated to be 5.52. The Java and Madura islands indicate the same pattern as of Indonesia as a whole but the figures were consistently lower for each of the three period viz.-a-viz. 1961-1963, 1964-1966 and 1967-1970. The TFR's were found to be 5.07, 5.43 and 5.19 respectively. Other islands had comparatively higher fertility rates than Java or Indonesia as a whole.[21]

As is typical of most of the developing countries both ASFR's and TFR's in Indonesia were lower for the urban areas than for the rural areas.[22] When estimates were made taking into account the education of women it was found that fertility was lower for those women who had no education at all or were academy/university graduates. The women with some elementary school or high school education were found to be having higher TFR for both 1960-64 and 1965-69, the two periods for which the estimates were made. However, for all the four categories of education the estimates of TFR were found to be higher for the latter as compared to the former period.[23]

Just like crude birth rates, the age specific fertility rates for Pakistan have also been calculated on the basis of the data obtained through the surveys referred to above. Out of these, the National Impact Survey (NIS)

of 1968-69 did not provide the age specific fertility rates. The figures of Pakistan Growth Survey (PGS) conducted in 1968 and 1971 reveal that fertility rates for each of the age intervals between 15-19 years and 30-34 years were lower than the corresponding rates for the survey known as Pakistan Growth Estimate (PGE) carried out between 1963-65. The trend was, however, reversed for the age intervals 35-39 years and above. As a result of these reversals of trends almost no difference was found between the TFR's. In each case it was calculated to be 6.0. The latest Pakistan Fertility Survey (PFS) shows that the age specific fertility rates for 1974-75 were higher than either of the two other surveys namely PGE and PGS. The TFR for Pakistan, according to the PFS, was 6.3.[24] Since the PGE, PGS and PFS followed different methodologies, the variations among these rates may not be reflective of any real change in fertility levels at different periods of time. No recent figures were available for the rural urban differentials for the population of Pakistan but prior to 1950 Davis[25] found a negative association between urbanization and fertility. Afzal also points out that the data from the NIS 1968-69 and PGS for the years 1968 and 1971 show a higher crude birth rate for rural areas than for urban areas.[26]

Table 3 compares the age specific fertility rates between Indonesia and Pakistan for roughly the same period but based on different methodologies. Disregarding the methodological differences and a slight difference between the time intervals, the table is indicative of the fact that the TFR between the two periods under study, was higher for Pakistan than for Indonesia. One interesting difference, however, is worth noting here. The data for both the surveys for Pakistan show that ASFR's 15-19 years age were lower than the corresponding rates for Indonesia for almost the same period of time. This difference could be attributed either to methodological variation or to actual lower fertility among the younger age group in Pakistan which in turn could be due to some cultural differences between the two countries regarding the childbearing.

TABLE 3

Estimates of ASFR and TFR for Indonesia 1964-66 and 1967-70 : and Pakistan for 1963-65 and 1968-71.

Age	INDONESIA 1964-1966	PAKISTAN 1963-1965	INDONESIA 1967-1970	PAKISTAN 1968-1971
15—19	199	110	155	58
20—24	284	226	286	223
25—29	275	291	273	261
30—34	210	283	211	252
35—39	128	187	124	200
40—44	56	79	55	124
45—49	—	42	17	85

Sources : 1. Cho, Lee J. et al *Estimates of Fertility and Mortality in Indonesia : Based on* 1971 *Census*. Jakarta : Biro Pusat Statistics K, 1976.
2. Population Planning Council of Pakistan. *Pakistan Fertility Survey : First Report*, 1976.

Age At Marriage

While considering marital status as a factor determining fertility it is also important to study the patterns of age at marriage especially for the countries like Indonesia and Pakistan where marriage is the only socially acceptable means of reproduction. Researches have shown that women who marry late (i.e. when in the late 20's) tend to have fewer children than those who marry early. Late marriages ultimately reduce the population growth rate by shortening reproductive period and also by prolonging the interval between generations.

The latest figures available for the mean age at marriage for Indonesia are for the period 1964-69. As quoted by CICRED[27] the mean age at marriage for males and females in Indonesia was 24.2 years and 19.5 years respectively. The Island of Java, for the same period had the corresponding figures as 24.6 years and 18.8 years. The mean age at marriage for

both urban males and urban females was higher by about two years than the rural males and females. The other islands also had higher figures (24.6 years for males and 21.2 years for females) than the Indonesia as a whole.

A preliminary survey report for West Java shows that age at marriage in the urban areas has been rising very rapidly in recent years, whereas in rural areas it has increased slowly. The study also points towards the fact that "age at marriage is generally acknowledged to be younger in West Java than any other region of Indonesia".[28]

For Pakistan, Sadiq,[29] on the basis of 1961 census data estimated the average age at marriage for males and females as 23.5 years and 17.6 years respectively. For urban areas his estimates were 24.1 years for males and 18.3 years for females while for the rural areas the corresponding estimates were 23.4 years and 17.4 years respectively. Two other studies using PGE data but different methodologies showed higher ages at marriages for males and females during the period 1962-65.[30] The PFS, which was restricted to ever married surviving women upto 50 years of age, estimates the mean age at marriage as 16.6 years. The survey also reveals that the age at marriage shows a rising trend and is higher for young cohorts.[31] While no recent estimates are available for rural urban differentials for age at marriage at the national level some of the studies conducted by individual researchers show that age at marriage for females in the urban areas is higher than the rural areas. There are, however, some indications that the figure is on the increase both for the rural and urban areas.[32]

Comparing Indonesia and Pakistan, the figures for age at marriage during the 60's for both males and females do not show any marked difference between the two countries. There are indications that in both the countries the ages at marriage are higher for urban areas than for rural areas and that the figures are recently on the increase.

Following the technique development by Coale,[33] Smith[34] has described the trends in the index of marriage patterns (Im) for a number of Asian countries including Indonesia and Pakistan. The Im (proportion married) index for Pakistan was calculated to be .875 and .848 for 1961 and 1971 respectively. The corresponding figure for Indonesia for 1971 was .843. These figures reveal that in both the countries the proportion married was quite high thus reflecting a higher index of fertility. The indices for Pakistan, however, are indicative of the fact that there was some decline in the proportion married between 1961 and 1971.

Family Planning Programmes in Indonesia and Pakistan

Before discussing whether there is a significant difference between the fertility levels in Indonesia and Pakistan let us have a brief look at the family planning programmes of the two countries.

In both the countries family planning programmes are one of the major responsibilities of the respective governments. In Indonesia, the family planning movement was initiated in 1957 by a voluntary organization known as Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association. In 1969, the government of Indonesia took over the major responsibilities of the functions performed by the association and since then has expanded upon to develop a national family planning programme[35]. The BKKBN, the national coordinating body for the government family planning programme initially focused on providing contraceptive services in the six provinces of Java and Bali (serving an area with a target population of 15 million married women of reproductive age, MWRA). Late in 1974, the BKKBN expanded the programme to ten other provinces in Sumatra and the other islands with 6 million MWR's.[36] The recent focus of activities is not the clinic but the village itself. The family planning programme which is now a part of comprehensive rural development scheme has been extended to villages throughout Java and Bali through the village contraceptive distribution centers VCDC's.[37]

As of July 1976 it was estimated for Java and Bali that 3.1 million women (21.6% of MWRA) were currently users of modern contraceptive

methods‡ and 230.000 (4.4% of MWRA) were the current users in the two years old outer island programme.[38] This compares with 4% and 16.7% current users in all of Indonesia in 1972 and 1975 respectively. Thus it can be seen that there has been a moderately steady increase in the percentage of contraceptive users.

A comprehensive family planning programme at the national level was introduced in Pakistan during Third Five-Year Plan Period 1965-70. An elaborate administrative structure was created at the federal, provincial and district levels for the implementation of the programme. In the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1970-75), the government improved upon its previous activities by providing a "cafeteria selection" of any contraceptive method with some emphasis on oral pills. In addition, the emphasis was continued on motivation of the clients to achieve the desired target of fertility reduction. Later on a high priority was being given to the clinical component of the programme with special emphasis on sterilization and IUD.[39]

The most recent strategy of the Government of Pakistan is to treat population control as a part of a package of health services aimed at improving the general standard of living.‡‡

The first report of the PFS carried cut in 1975 reveals that of all currently married women 10% reported having ever used a contraceptive method. The percentage of those who used one of the efficient methods was found to be only 8. The remaining reported having used inefficient or traditional methods.[40] The same report reveals that only 5 percent of the currently married non-pregnant women were either using a contraceptive method or had been steralized.[41] An earlier survey analysis based on different methodology reported that in 1968-69 only 4% of the women were currently practicing; 1% either the wife or the husband, had been sterlized; and another 4% although not currently practicing had used some methods in the past.[42] Due to the difference in methodologies involved in the above referred two surveys it is difficult to

say whether there was any real change in the users of contraceptives during the period between the two surveys. Apparently, there does not seem to be much difference in the contraceptive users between 1968-69 to 1975.

Conclusion

The available data for Indonesia and Pakistan indicate that the fertility levels in both the countries are still very high. This is mainly due to early age at marriage, comparatively higher index of proportion married and restricted practice of family planning. The most recent data, however, suggest that the birth rate in Indonesia is lower than that of Pakistan and it has dropped from estimated 44/1000 between 1960-70 to 38-40/1000 in 1976/77. No reliable recent estimates of birth rate for Pakistan are available. PFS (based on a sample of population) indicates it to be 40.5/1000.

Comparatively higher level of fertility in Pakistan may also be observed if we compare its age-specific and total fertility rates with those of Indonesia. None of the estimates referred to earlier in the paper indicate a total fertility rate in Pakistan to be less than 6.0. Similarly, the gross reproduction rate is still around 3.[43] The Indonesian data, on the other hand, not only show comparatively lower total fertility rate but also indicate a declining trend. The most recent evidence to this effect has been revealed through the 1976 World Fertility Survey study in Indonesia. The study (conducted in Java and Bali) reports that the total fertility rate in 1975 had fallen to slightly less than 4.2.[44]

In spite of the fact that Indonesia is an Islamic country with deep rooted cultural values there appear to be better prospects of fertility decline in the near future. Java, where majority of the Indonesians live, has already relatively lower fertility than Indonesians and South Asian standards Although the factors that have contributed to these lower levels of fertility are largely unknown, tentative explanations may be given. For instance, the fertility survey referred to above has revealed that "although marriage is relatively early and virtually universal among women in Java and Bali, there has been a recent trend toward later marriage".[45]

In addition to that a high rate of divorce and intentional limitation of the family size are significant factors.

Given an effective family planning programme the prospects of fertility decline in Indonesia cannot be ruled out. In Bali where the family planning programme was introduced along with Java the response has remarkably been favourable. Astawa, Waloeyo and Laing report that by 1974, 36.6% of the eligible population has been recruited as acceptors.[46] The programme has been relatively more successful in recruiting acceptors among the ethnic Balinies who adhere to the Bali Hindu religion. This shows that the programme is more successful among the persons of relatively lower status.[47] Among the various other reasons, the most important one for the success of family planning programme in Bali is the almost no opposition to the programme by the Hindu religious leaders.

Kingsley Davis and Judith Blake have proposed a number of intermediate variables through which social and cultural factors are able to influence fertility.[48] Two of these variables-age at marriage and use or non-use of contraception seem to be responsible for comparatively lower level and declining trend of fertility in Indonesia. In Pakistan these two factors, particularly the latter, have still to play a significant role. Bean and Bhatti explain the prospects of future fertility decline in Pakistan in the following words :

> A repid fertility decline appears less and less likely to take place in Pakistan in the short run . . . the social and cultural factors do and will continue to support high fertility values. First women enter marital age at an early age and marriage is nearly universal . . . . Secondly within marriage, social-cultural structure of Pakistan tends to support moderalety high fertility values.[49]

The extent of contraceptive practice among married couples in Pakistan, as indicated by the Pakistan Fertility Survey Report, points toward the fact that the family planning programme in the country has yet to achieve a break-through. Contrary to the general belief, the large

family size values and consequently high fertility in Pakistan seem to be associated with the values of a typical rural dominated and agricultural based society, rather than purely religious values. This proposition can be supported by the fact that in Pakistan which is an Islamic State, none of the governments, including the present one, has discouraged family planning programmes. Rather, the various governments have given their support to this programme by formulating policies from time to time and by allocating ample amount of funds in the budgets for this purpose. The present population Welfare Plan (1980-83) has laid emphasis on integrating family planning programme with other developmental sectors particularly health. This strategy may bring fruitful results provided adequate health facilities are extended to the rural areas, where nearly 75% of the country's population lives. Moreover, as has been done in Indonesia, the indiginous practitioners (including hakeem, homeopaths etc.) should be taken into confidence and involved in the programme. The knowledge about contraception has reached the masses particularly through media of mass communication. The need is to have an effective motivational programme which should aim at removing the ill conceived notions regarding the values of large families. At the same time family planning programme should be strengthened through a revitalized information, education and communication campaign for masses in general and the health practitioners in particular.

NOTES

*Fertility is generally defined as the actual reproductive performance of an individual, a couple, a group or a population. A commonly used concept "Birth Rate" or "Crude Birth Rate" is one of the measures of level of fertility.

**Java and Bali account for two-thirds of Indonesian population.

***The figure of 3.6 per cent was calculated without taking into account the estimated under court of seven per cent in the 1961 census. At the same time the growth rate of 3 per cent was calculated assuming no under enumeration in the 1972 census of Pakistan (Afzal, Muhammad, *The Population of Pakistan*, CICRED Series 1974, p. 2).

†Crude Birth Rate is the number of births per 1000 population in a given year.

††Age specific Birth Rate is the number of births per thousand population of a specific age group.

†††Total Fertility Rate is the average number of children that would be born alive to a woman (or a group of women) during her life time if she were to pass through her child bearing years conforming to the age-specific fertility rates of a given year.

‡The pill, I.U.D. and condom are the three methods supported by the official family planning programme of Indonesia.

‡‡The Pakistan Times, September 7, 1979.

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AN-NAWAWI'S CONTRIBUTION TO HADITH LITERATURE

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An-Nawawi, like other Muslim learned men, was well-versed in all aspects of scholarship, but it was in *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, philology, linguistics and theology that he made a special contribution. A cursory glance over the list of his work suffices to show his vast knowledge of the various branches of Islamic learning. An attempt has been made, in the following pages, to present, in summary form, his contribution in the field of Islamic Studies and to evaluate his skill in handling issues pertaining to *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*.[1]

It is the accepted view of the Muslim community that *ḥadīth* is one of the two basic sources of Islamic belief and practice. It is *ḥadīth* which along with the Qur'ān provide the complete guidance for Muslims. This process was started by the Companions of the Prophet and reached its peak during the time of 'Umar b. 'Abd 'al-Azız. The work started as simple compilation, and finally emerged as a voluminous collection of widely-accepted books. These were written on the basis of selection made from a huge number of traditions and critical examination. The basic work on *ḥadīth* was completed in the first three centuries. Abū Hanīfa's *Kitāb al-Āthār*, Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa'* and later Bukhāri's *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* mark the beginning of a new trend in *ḥadīth* literature, the classification and categorisation of *aḥādīth*. Following this pattern the traditionists compiled their own books and enriched *ḥadīth* literature. Fourth-century scholars perfected the method of selection and completed the process of compilation and classification and even laid down the fundamental principles of the science of criticism. The activity led to the development of a body of sciences of *ḥadīth* which included the discussion about various aspects of the texts of a *ḥadīth*, its grammatical and linguistic problems, the chains of transmission and other matters relating to it.

Although it was difficult for later scholars to make a truly original contribution to the sciences of *ḥadīth*, yet they found means of making their mark, in the field of correction, emendation and explanation, and this was no less important than the basic work of compilation and classification. If the scholars like an-Nawawī had not explained and discussed the various aspects of *ḥadīth*, it would have been very difficult for the Muslim community to interpret correctly the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Although he prepared his own selection of *ḥadīth*, his main contribution lies in the field of explanation and the utilization of *ḥadīth* for legal and ethical purposes.

Studying all the basic sources in *ḥadīth* he acquired the position of a *mujtahid* in the field. His deep understanding of *ḥadīth* can be judged by his statement regarding the sciences of *ḥadīth*. He said,

> The most important of all the categories of sciences is the understanding of the traditions of the Prophet. I mean the knowledge of the text, its soundness, fairness and weakness, its unbroken chain, its broken one, what is suspended, changed, famous, isolated, accepted, commonly transmitted, single, acknowledge *shādhdh* [anomalous], doubtful, inserted, abrogating and abrogated, specific and general, ambiguous, clear, inconsistent, and other well known categories.[2]

It is essential, in his opinion, for a *mujtahid* to have the knowledge of chains of transmission, that is to say

> the knowledge of the narrators, their qualities of reliability, rendering their names, genealogy and their dates of birth and death, accurately. The knowledge of how defects may be concealed and those persons who conceal them, reliable and corroborating chains. [*turuq al-i'tibār wa l-mutabi'āt*], the nature of inconsistencies of the narrators in the chains and texts, continuity of the chain and its break at the level of the companions, successors or those at a level following the successors, and additions made by the authorities. The knowledge

> of the Companions of the Prophet, their successors, successors of the successors and the generations coming after them.[3]

These are the categories of the science of *ḥadīth* which should be completely understood and mastered by a perfect *muḥaddith*. No great scholar of *ḥadīth* could establish himself without proving his competence in this field. An-Nawawī had a perfect knowledge of all branches of sciences of *ḥadīth*. This can be judged by his accepted position among the scholars of his time and through his works on the subject. The works-*al-Irshād*, *at-Taqrīb* and the introduction to *Sharḥ Muslim*, are an evident proof of his scholarship in the field.

The process of collection, compilation, classification and critical examination of the chains and texts had a great impact on the intellectual approach of the students of *ḥadīth*. Most of the traditionists endeavoured to master the above mentioned aspects of *ḥadīth*. Their whole efforts were concentrated on achieving the closest link with the Prophet through a "high chain" *(al-isnād al-'ālī)*. Thus, they had, unconsciously, departed from the juristic aspect of the *ḥadīth*. Ibn Ḥanbal, an accepted authority of *ḥadīth*, once said, "If it were not for ash-Shāfi'ī we would not know the jurisprudence of *ḥadīth*." It had been rare among the scholars to combine *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence, an-Nawawī being a notable exception. He took special training from the accepted authorities on the subject, one of those being his teacher, Shaykh Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. 'Isā al-Murādī al-Andalusī, with whom he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, most of Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi' aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* and a portion of al-Ḥumaydī's *al-Jāmi'bayna ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*.

Scholars of great repute praised him as a *muḥaddith* and paid tribute to his scholarship in the field. Discussing the traditionists of his period adh-Dhahabī stated that an-Nawawī was the leader of this group. He combined the qualities of an ascetic with the qualities of a *ḥāfiẓ* of *ḥadīth* and its sciences. He knew the qualities of their narrators and was fully aware of their soundness and defectiveness.[4] His pupil and biographer Ibn al-'Aṭṭār claims that he was the *ḥafiẓ* of the traditions, who was most

conversant with all their categories, their soundness and defectiveness, the uncommon words, correct meaning, legal deductions and implications.[5]

His contribution to *ḥadīth* literature can be judged through his works which are as follows :

1. *al-Irshād fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*
2. *at-Taqrīb wa t-Taysīr fī Ma'rifat as-Sunan al-Bashīr wa n-Nadhīr*
3. *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn min Ḥadīth Sayyid al-Mursalīn*
4. *al-Adhkār al-Muntakhaba min Kalām Sayyid al-Abrār*
5. ***al-Arba'īn***
6. *al-Khulāṣa fī Aḥādīth al-Aḥkām*
7. *al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj.*
8. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhārī*
9. *Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dā'ūd*
10. *al-Imlā' 'alā Hadīth al-A'māl bi-n-Niyyat*

Ibn Ṣalāḥ's[6] book *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth*[7] is accepted by students of hadith as the third of three basic works on the subject, Rāmhurmuzī's[8] *al-Muḥaddith al-Fāṣil*[9] and Ḥākim's[10] *Ma'rifat 'Ulūm al-Hadīth*[11] being the first and second. An-Nawawī can be considered the successor to Ibn Ṣalāḥ and followed him in his teaching methodology. During his teaching period he developed his own technique of dealing with all subjects. *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* was one of his favourite classes, and he prepared an abridgement of Ibn Ṣalāḥ's *'Ulūm al-Ḥadīth* entitled *al-Irshād*, and further summarised it and wrote *at-Taqrīb*. These two books were later incorporated into the syllabus of the *madrasa* and *at-Taqrīb* is still read today. *Al-Irshād* has attracted at least three commentaries.[12] Since the *Taqrīb* was more concise and better arranged it became more popular among academic circles, scholars of *ḥadīth* accepting it as one of the basic books on the science of *ḥadīth*. Ḥāfiẓ 'Irāqī,[13] 'Allāmā Suyūṭī[14] and Shaykh as-Sakhāwī[15] have all written commentaries on it.[16]

As the basic works on *ḥadīth* had already been completed much earlier, it only remained for later scholars either to make further selections,

or to promote the work of commentary and explanation. An-Nawawi contributed to the *ḥadīth* literature in both ways. In conformity with his temperament and inclination to asceticism, he showed himself to be interested in the ethical and moral aspects of the individual and society, and compiled two books which deal with the spiritual purification and day-to-day practices of religious life. These two works, the *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* and and *al-Adhkār*,[17] achieved the recognition of the Muslim community, no other book on these subjects can claim such a great popularity among both scholars and students.

An-Nawawī explains the nature and purpose of these books in their introductions. In the *muqaddima* of *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣālihīn*, he wrote :

> I thought that I should compile a small book consisting of sound traditions which lead the reader, by the best way, to the hereafter, and help him to attain external and internal refinement. It should also awaken in him desire and evoke fear, and it should comprehend all categories of *ḥadīth* concerning the manners of the followers, such as the traditions relating to asceticism, spiritual exercises, moral refinement and purification of the hearts. It should also contain remedy for their defects, the protection of the inner self from it, the maintenance of cure, and the prevention of deviation from them, besides other matters which are also part of the aims of the spiritual person. I made it a rule not to include any tradition in the book except when its soundness was conspicuously evident, having its origin in the sound and popular *ḥadīth* books. I begin every chapter with a verse from the Qur'ān. I provide vocalisation, where it is required, and explain the hidden meaning, adding valuable remarks about the tradition.[18]

Writing about the need and importance of his book, *al-Adhkār*, he wrote:

> The *'ulamā'* have written many books about daily religious practices, prayers and remembrance, all are well known to the spiritual. The students have lost their zeal for them, because they were lengthy due to

chains of narrations and repetition. I intended to make things easy for the desirous students. so I began to compile this short book to fulfil these aims for the people concerned. Instead of mentioning *isnād*, I shall explain the soundness of the traditions, their fairness, weakness and the nature of those that are ignored, which is more important, because everyone, except for a very few traditionists, needs more information about that. It was most important to take great care in this matter . . . I shall, by the Grace of God, add valuable information about the science of *hadīth*, the niceties of *fiqh*, important principles, spiritual exercises and good manners which are essential for the followers to know about. I shall mention all these matters explaining it by a tradition easily understood both by the common people and the students of *fiqh*.[19]

These books always remained popular among the Muslims. An eleventh century A.H. Shāfi'ite scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Allān aṣ-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1050/1640) wrote detailed commentaries on these books.[20] Ḥājjī Khalīfa has mentioned names of other scholars, including as-Suyūṭī, who prepared a summary of and commentaries on the *Adhkār*, both of which have been translated into Persian[21] and Urdu.

al-Arba'īn

This small book is a collection of forty-two traditions. Following in the steps of earlier scholars, he collected traditions relating to almost all spheres of Islamic life. The comprehensive nature of his selection gave this work a popularity and currency among the Muslim community which has been achieved by no other book of this kind. It always remained part of the syllabus in the Muslim educational system, and has attracted numerous commentaries, many by the great scholars, among whom can be numbered *al-Ḥāfiẓ* Ibn Rajab, Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, 'Allāma Taftazānī, Maulānā Muṣliḥ ad-Dīn al-Lārī, the text of whose commentary is edited as part of this study, Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd and Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī.[22]

The famous *sūfī* poet Jāmī translated it into Persian verse, and it was also translated into Turkish and was commented on in that language also[23], which attests to its popularity in the Ottoman Empire.

His Commentaries

Although the above mentioned works show his command of the subject and skill in arranging the material, his real scholarship, vast knowledge and deep insight is manifested in his commentaries on the books of *ḥadīth*. As we have seen the *Riyāḍ aṣ-Ṣāliḥīn* and *al-Adhkār* are not mere collections or selections of *hadīth*, but also contain useful marginal notes. He did not confine himself to writing marginal notes however, but wrote detailed commentaries on the books of *ḥadīth*. Although he started writing commentaries on al-Bukhārī's *al-Jāmi'as-Ṣaḥīḥ*[24] and the *Sunan* of Abū Dā'ūd,[25] he could not complete them. Writing about the *Sharḥ Bukhārī*, in the introduction of the *Sharḥ Muslim*, he says, "As far as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī is concerned I have written quite a bit of its commentary consisting of the niceties of the different categories of sciences in a compact style."

al-Minhāj fī Sharḥ Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (*Sharḥ Muslim*)

This is his only complete commentary on *ḥadīth*. Despite its brevity, students of *ḥadīth* have no better commentary on Muslim than an-Nawawī's *Sharḥ*. It does not leave any apparent question or ambiguity unsolved. It has appeal for all readers, whether learned '*ulamā*' or aspiring students. In it one may find concise and succinct discussion of *isnād*, lignuistic matters, obscure names, difficult meanings and legal deductions from *ḥadīth*, in which he summarises the arguments both of those who depend upon the most apparent sense of the text and of those who reject this method. In short it contains a wealth of information. The author gives the assessment of his work and explains it in the following words :

> As far as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim is concerned I pray to God for proper guidance regarding compilation of a commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of

Muslim. This is to be a book of medium size as compared to the short and the elaborate commentaries. It is neither frustratingly short nor excessive in its length. Had it not been for the lack of determination and zeal of the students and their fewness, and the fear of the book's unpopularity on account of the fact that a very few students like lengthy books, I would have elaborated it in such a way that it would reach more than a hundred volumes without any repetition and useless additions. The reason for this could be the abundance of useful points and apparent and hidden meanings. The book deserves this treatment because it contains the words of a person who was the most eloquent of the whole of mankind. I restricted myself to a medium size and endeavoured to leave aside the details and preferred brevity in most of the cases. I shall, by the grace of God, mention the luminous sciences of hadith like the rules regarding the fundamentals, brancheds and manners, symbolic expressions and asceticism. I shall explain the valuable priciples of *shari'a*, give the linguistic points, the names of the narrators, the vocalisation of different words and the descriptions of names which have kunyas. I shall point out the brilliant state of some narrators who were mentioned sometimes, derivation of the priceless secrets of the science of *hadīth*, the texts, the *asānīd*, and the vocalisation of synonyms and antonyms and reconciliation of the apparently contradictory traditions—those who do not understand the principle and the system of *hadīth* and *fiqh* assume that they are contradictory. I will indicate, while describing a *hadīth*, the practical problems. I shall give hints about the arguments, except when more details are required. While committing all these matters to paper I shall try to be concise with an explicit style...I shall give in the beginning of the book, some introductory remarks which will be very useful for scholars and organise this well in the following chapters so that it will help them in their study and avoid any inconvenience.[26]

This book is considered to be one of the classic works of Islamic

scholarship. Had our author left us no books save the *Sharḥ Muslim* he would by virtue of this work alone, take his rightful place among the leading scholars of the Muslim community.

NOTES

1. *Tarjama*, 44.
2. *Sharḥ Muslim*, introduction, 3.
3. *Ibid*, 4.
4. *Tadhkira*, IV, 1472.
5. *Tuḥfa*, 9b.
6. 'Uthmān b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Mūsā b. Abī Naṣr al-Kurdī ash-Shahrazūrī (577-643). *Bidāya*, XIII, 168; *Tadhkira*, IV, 1430; Subkī. VIII, 326; *Shadharāt*, V. 221; *'Ibar*, V, 177; *Wafayāt*, II, 408.
7. Published in various eds. Edition used is that of Alepro, 1386/1966.
8. Ḥasan b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Khallād ar-Rāmhurmuzī (d. 360/970), a *muḥaddith*, and great scholar of his time. *Yatima*, II, 233; *Tadhkira*, III, 113; *Lubāb*, I, 354; *Shadharāt*, III, 30; *'Ibar*, III, 321.
9. Published in Beirut, 1971.
10. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh b. Nu'aym an-Nīsābūrī. Bidāya, XI, 355; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, V, 473; *Tadhkira*, III, 227; *Mīzān*, III, 608; *Wafayāt*, III, 408; *Lisān*, V, 232; *Nujūm*, IV, 238.
11. Published in various eds. Edition used is that of Beirut, n. d.
12. *Kashf*, I, 70.
13. 'Abd ar-Raḥīm b. Husain b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Abū l-Faḍl, known as al-Ḥāfiẓ al-'Irāqī (725-806/1325-1404), a leading scholar of ḥadīth in his time. Ḍaw', IV, 171; Ghāya, I, 382; *Muḥādara*, I, 204.
14. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Sābiq ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505), *imām*, *ḥāfiẓ*, and prolific writer, *Shadharāt*, VIII, 51; Ḍaw,' IV, 65; *Muḥāḍara*, I, 188.

15. Muḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Shams ad-Dīn as-Sakhāwī (831-902/1427-1497), *Muḥaddith*, historian and a great literary figure of his time. Ḍaw', VIII, 2; *Kawākib*, II, 53; *Shadharāt*, VIII, 15; *Khiṭaṭ*, XII, 15; *GAL*, II, 43 (34), S, II, 31.

16. All of them have been published.

17. Both published in various editions.

18. *Riyād as-Ṣāliḥin*, 2.

19. *Adhkār*, 4.

20. *Kutubkhāna*, II, 140, 241; *Athar*, IV, 184; *Dhayl*, 1, 578; *GAL*, S, II, 533.

21. *Kashf*, I, 689.

22. *Kashf*, I, 59. Sakhāwī has given some of the names of those who wrote commentaries on it, p. 28.

23. *Kirk Hadıs*, 12-17.

24. Sakhāwī.

25. Şehid Ali Paşa 200, Suleymaniye.

26. Sharḥ Muslim, I, 5-6.

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