

viii:321), and one of his songs was set to the Arabic lyrics of the poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī (fl. end of sixth century C.E.). It was set to Arabic rhythmic and melodic modes: the second heavy rhythmic mode (5/2 whole note, whole note, half note), and the melodic mode (*mutlaq fī majrā*) *l-biṣīr* (term abridged in the original), that is, open *mathnā* (third string of the lute) as tonic in the course of the ring-finger fret: F G A Bb.

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Neo Destour

Neo Destour (Néo-Destour) was the name given by the French authorities to al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr al-Dustūrī al-Jadīd (New Liberal Constitutionalist Party), the main nationalist party during colonial rule (1881–1956). Under the direction of Habib Bourguiba (al-Ḥabīb Bū Raqība, 1903–2000), the party led Tunisia to independence in 1956.

1. EARLY HISTORY OF THE PARTY

Neo Destour was formed in 1934 after the rift between the two branches of the Destour Party founded in 1920. Destour

was influenced by the Ḥarakat al-Shabāb al-Tūnisī (Young Tunisians), a reformist movement inspired by the policies of Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī (1828–90) that emerged in the 1870s. Destour's activities intensified in the 1920s and 1930s, until it was banned and dissolved by the French resident-general on 31 May 1933. When the party's executive committee imposed sanctions on Habib Bourguiba, the editor-in-chief of the party newspaper *L'Action Tunisienne*, who opposed the uncompromising strategy of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tha'ālibī (1876–1944) and his followers, threatening to exclude him, Bourguiba and his allies decided to form a new party at the congress of Ksar Hellal (Qaṣr Hilāl) in March 1934. Neo Destour was headed by Maḥmūd al-Māṭirī (d. 1972), with Bourguiba as his secretary general. The central committee also included his brother, M'ḥammad Bourguiba (d. 1953), al-Baḥrī Qīqa (1904–95), and al-Ṭāhir Ṣfar (1903–42).

2. SOCIO-CULTURAL DISSENT

Three main topics divided the two Destour parties. The first was social: the Neo Destourian generation was younger, educated in France, and partial to European socialism, and it belonged to the emerging middle class, which differed from the Tunisian aristocracy and bourgeoisie. The divisions were also cultural: while al-Tha'ālibī and Vieux (Old) Destour adhered to the Islamic reformist current (*islāh*), Bourguiba and his followers laid claim to the French revolution and democracy. At the same time, both Neo Destour and Vieux Destour referred to the Fundamental Pact of 1857 and the Tunisian Constitution of 1861 and shared the goal of an independent Tunisia. The division between the two was

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Persian distiches. He is also the author of the *Dīvān-i Ḥasan*, a collection of poetry in Persian dealing with love, the lover, and the beloved (Touseef and Papas, 489). Ghulām Ḥasan is credited with three other books on Sūfism: *Rafīq al-fuqarā'* ("Friend of the *faqīrs*"), *Khulāṣat al-sulūk* ("Essence of good conduct"), and a collection of royal orders (*farmāns*) *Gulzār-i fiṭrat* ("The rose garden of wisdom") (Hadi, 198).

Ghulām Ḥasan used the pen name Ḥasan for his Urdu poetry, rhyming it with *gāman* ("stanza" and, by extension, a type of poetry in *Sirā'ikī*, the language of the Multān area), while choosing the pen name *Gāman* for his *Sirā'ikī* poetry.

According to local hagiographers, a British soldier shot him as he prayed the *Ishrāq* (post-sunrise, supererogatory prayer) on 29 Muḥarram 1265/25 December 1848, at the age of sixty-three, before the second British-Sikh war, which resulted in the annexation of Panjāb by the British East India Company in 1849 (Gīlānī, 88). As a consequence of his tragic death, he became known as *Munshī Ghulām Ḥasan Shahīd* (the martyr). He left two sons, *Makhdūm Ghulām Yāsīn* and *Rukn al-Dīn*. The elder, *Ghulām Yāsīn*, became his successor (*sajjāda nashīn*) at the head of the *Chishtī* community founded by his father. *Munshī Ghulām Ḥasan Shahīd's* shrine lies near the *Āghā Pūr* neighbourhood in Multān.

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MUHAMMAD TOUSEEF

al-Munşif Bey

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Muḥammad **al-Munşif Bey** (Moncef, 1881-1948) was bey of Tunis from 1942 to 1943. His short reign was one of the most important of the colonial period, as he came to power just as the constitutionalist party was weakening and led the nationalist resistance by demanding reforms from the French and establishing a nationalist government. Despite his efforts to maintain Tunisian neutrality in the Second World War, France used these attempts as a pretext to claim Tunisian collaboration with the Axis and to exile him. His banishment inspired "Munşif" support in the nationalist movement, which remains strong in the collective memory of Tunisia.

Born on 4 March 1881, he was a son of al-Nāşir Bey (r. 1906-22), whom he supported in his threat (not carried out) to abdicate as an act of resistance to the French authorities. The death of his father in 1922 distanced him from the royal court, and it was only after the deaths of several other members of the royal family that he was named heir to the throne on 30 April 1942. He succeeded Aḥmad II Bey (r. 1929-42) on 19 June 1942.

Al-Munşif Bey was well received by the Tunisian people from the earliest days of his reign. He abolished the obeisance of kissing the hand of the sovereign following the funeral of his predecessor, visited the working-class neighbourhoods of Bāb Swīqa, and proved himself generous towards the people. Profiting from the