

Ibn Badis and Modernity

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Abstract. The Algerian Muslim scholar Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis, although well known locally, has often been neglected in accounts of the history of modern Algeria. However, Ibn Badis was actually a central figure in establishing a program for the reform that successfully envisioned a continuing practice of Islam in the modern world and also underlined the need for religiously-based ethics in any modern system. He also proposed practical means for implementing his program, starting with education. Thus, his influence and importance have been underrated.

Keywords: Ibn Badis, Islam, modernity, Algeria, French decolonization

1. Introduction

The project of Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis (1889-1940) for the reform of Islam as practiced in Algeria posed many daunting questions. How could such aims and objectives be reconciled with the challenges of modernity, further exacerbated by the existence of an oppressive colonial system? Should modernity be rejected altogether? Should the oral tradition that had dominated Islamic intellectual thought for centuries be abandoned altogether in favor of the written tradition? Perhaps, the most central point of contention in Ibn Badis' mind was what should Muslims borrow from Europe and what should they reject--and by what criteria? In addition to understanding his role as a member of the ulama and as an intellectual, this research seeks to survey Ibn Badis' political choices, and to examine the criteria employed by which these choices were informed. By closely reading and analyzing his writings, this study hopes to establish the extent to which Islam acted as the central anchor in Ibn Badis' worldview and in his attempt to articulate a response to the challenge of modernity. Any study of French decolonization of Algeria cannot be complete without an analysis of the dynamics of the Islamic movement as well as the study of the interplay between local forces of transformation and the larger global winds of change.

Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis was also concerned with the education of children and the roles of women in Algerian Muslim society. Attitudes of Muslim and European men toward women of the opposite cultures can help to illustrate the differences between Muslim and Western civilizations, and can be seen as a major source of cross-cultural misunderstandings. As Heggoy has observed, "Indeed, the topic of women probably caused more bitterness in Muslim-European relations than any other except Islam itself. It remained a bone of contention and of reciprocal insults throughout the colonial period and it has not abated since."¹ The fact that the veil or scarf or hijab, for instance, was debated nationally in French schools, major newspapers, and courtrooms in the 1990s testifies to the legacy of this issue. In the 1920s, Ibn Badis was motivated to discuss the veil vigorously, among other women-related issues in French Algeria, but not from the standpoint of cultural authenticity.

On the subject of the status of women in Algeria, Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis had been, certainly, deeply influenced by Islam rather than the liberal voices and ideas of his time. It can be argued that Ibn Badis was hardly influenced by modernity. The issue had been raised by young Algerians who deplored what they believed to be degradation, which the society and its interpretation of Islam had imposed on Muslim women. In many ways the discussions of the status of women represented an unambiguous divide that existed between modernity, in its essential character, and not only Islam but most major world religions. Islamic

reformists made similar arguments regarding Islam and modernity. For reformists, Islam, unlike modernity's hostility to the suprarational, is in its essence a divine revelation of the laws for every sphere of human life. For Ibn Badis, as a member of the ulama, Islam was disinterested truth, impervious to any challenge. Islam presented a challenge to all systems of thoughts and beliefs; it was not to be regarded as a passive respondent to challenge. Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis felt his duty was to expound the Islamic view and, simultaneously, he discerned that it was necessary and advisable to refute these charges to dissipate criticism that women alone experienced a depressed place in society. He retorted that all of Muslim society in Algeria was in a state of depression--a virtual condemnation of French rule. It would be senseless to expect women to enjoy any other status under these circumstances.

The Evolues raised a wide range of concerns about women's rights in Islam, including concerns about polygamy, divorce, the hijab or veil, and the inheritance system. In reaction, Ibn Badis embarked on the defense of his perception of women's rights under Islam. While *al-Shihab* had earlier limited itself to reproducing articles on the subject from *al-Manar*, its tone became angry and hostile as soon as the Evolues made this issue their own. Ibn Badis fought the liberals on this issue, seeing tradition as a shelter against French cultural imperialism. Questions about the status of women were regarded as undermining Islam. Ibn Badis regarded such questions as yet another French attempt to undermine Islamic culture and thus open it to French political domination and economic exploitation. Such questions were also considered to be yet another French attempt to undermine Algerian family traditions.

The debate over women's roles was an illustration of the failure of the French policy of assimilation. At this juncture, the roots of the French decolonization of Algeria were planted. The small minority of Muslim Algerians who received a French education and adopted the French way of life were rejected by the French; they were also shunned by their co-religionaires. They were fighting for a lost cause.

According to Ibn Badis, the message of Islam had liberated women from the brutality of men. Ibn Badis' interpretation of Islam held that a woman, whether single or married, was an individual in her own right; women had the right, for instance, to own and dispose of property and earnings. This was the view held by almost all Islamic reformists, and it was shared or sometimes reiterated in its entirety by Ibn Badis in *al-Shihab*. On numerous occasions, the Quran reminds people that God makes no distinction between human beings, be they men or women, except between those who do good and those who do wrong.² The position into which the Sharia placed women folk was ruled by God, whose reasons could not be appreciated or comprehended by all people. Ibn Badis saw little need to stand in defense of the divine law that affirmed the eternal principle of equality before God. The Quran states that man and woman were created from one single being,³ equal in dignity and differing only in their functions. According to Ibn Badis, men and women complemented one another. He objected to suggestions, on the part of the Evolues, that European laws regarding women should replace Islamic law (the Sharia). *Al-Shihab* had reproduced Rashid Rida's articles on the liberation of women with the coming of Islam, on the Islamic view of polygamy, and on the use of the veil.⁴ In addition to republishing articles from Egyptian journals, Algerian ulama, especially Ibn Badis, took part in these debates which generate endless, energetic discussions even today.

Wearing the veil is a pre-Islamic tradition that originated in different regions of the world. Certainly the Quran ratifies this tradition in several verses. For example, in a widely cited and interpreted verse, after morally admonishing men,⁵ the Quran says: "And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty; that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what (must ordinarily) appear thereof; that they draw their veils over their bosoms and not display their beauty except to their fathers [and] their sons."⁶ This Quranic statement and more explicit elaborations from the Quran⁷ and the Prophetic traditions provided the guiding principles for Muslim women who choose to wear hijab, jilbab, or the veil. The fundamental message of the Quran expounded by Ibn Badis is that women should not use their natural beauty, be it their face, their figures, their breasts or their legs, as well as their artificial embellishments, to seduce men, distracting them from carrying out their duties. These precepts imply a universal moral code of behavior, not linked to any particular region or people. Legal scholars, including the Prophet's companions, differed about whether the veil or hijab covering of the body must include the hands and the face. Ibn Badis agreed with the position that the face of women must be covered, as he detailed in his discussions of the tradition of the Prophet. He said it is permissible to uncover the face of the woman as long

as there is no fitna or temptation, meaning anything that leads to sexual intercourse or its usual preliminaries. If there is likelihood of temptation it is unlawful for a woman to unveil her face. Temptation, he said, differed from time to time, from region to region, from one person to another, and according to circumstances. The ruling should take into consideration these differences.⁸ Ibn Badis concluded by warning his audiences against emulating European women by unveiling the hair, neck, and arms and legs. He also warned against following Muslim political leaders of the East, such as those of Egypt, Iran, and Turkey, whose women appeared unveiled in public. Thus the veil symbolizes an Islamic value, not Algerian cultural tradition as Fanon maintained.⁹

The Evolues' press had, meanwhile, been showing enthusiasm for the feminist movements of Turkey and Egypt. In 1925, the Turkish Revolution abolished polygamy and instituted civil marriage. In 1934, women in Turkey received the right to vote before their French counterparts. The Arab women's movement started in Egypt with the unveiling of Sharawi. Huda Sharawi, (1882-1947) the founder of the first Egyptian feminist union, dramatically shed her face veil in 1923 upon her return from an international women's conference in Rome. The controversy that Islamic reformists now faced was of a judicial and social nature. A Tunisian writer, Tahir Haddad (1899-1935), presented a liberal interpretation of some Quranic passages dealing with women. He lost his job in Zaytuna because of this book. In a review of this book, Ibn Badis honestly criticized Haddad. He thought the book called Muslim women to follow Western civilization and eventually deviate from the tenets of Islam. According to Ibn Badis, Haddad altered several Quranic rules and verses and scholarly consensus, which entailed disbelief in Islam. To show how Haddad had strayed, Ibn Badis affirmed that to deny a single verse of the Quran entailed leaving Islam.¹⁰ According to Ibn Badis, a compromise on the well-established legal status of women was unrealizable. Revelation had been explicit on the general differences between the sexes. Ibn Badis made enormous contributions to the revival movement by expounding his views on women's rights, and these discussions also inherently influenced the area of Islamic education.

According to Ibn Badis, the decadence of women accompanied that of men. Ignorance and superstition characterized women's beliefs. This was most serious because of women's role in the upbringing of children. The champions of the feminist cause among the Evolues now hoped to draw women away from the responsibilities of the home. Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis resisted these efforts and concentrated on what he saw as the proper education of women. Men and women were created to complement one another, in the opinion of Ibn Badis. The aim of religion and of the law was to maintain the complementary roles of the sexes. The campaign to emancipate women, as he saw it, was a divisive force in the community. It could not bear fruit, since it would be resisted by men and women alike who were believers. Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis made al-Shifa bint Abd Allah as his model of the virtuous Muslim woman. She was one of the first to convert to Islam and to follow the Prophet in his flight to Medina. Layla al-Shifa could write and read and had been asked by Muhammad to teach other women the language of the Quran. She was a woman of great intelligence and many skills. Ibn Badis saw in her an example that could inspire the women of his own time.¹¹

Ibn Badis explored the rights and duties of women and concluded that they were equal to men, according to the Sharia code of law. Just like men, women should abide by their Islamic responsibilities. The function of men and women in society could meanwhile not be the same. Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis conceded that this would be reflected in the education of the women. He supported the separate education of boys and girls. The education of girls would essentially prepare them to understand their religion and to abide by its laws. According to Ibn Badis, girls should be trained to be the mistresses of their homes, and to perform the roles of mother and wife that they had been created for. Ibn Badis thought that the early education of children was a key responsibility for women, but without training this cannot be achieved. On the right of the wife to choose her husband, Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis pointed out that this was indeed her right.¹² In Algeria, the example of the Evolues may have suggested to him that women could soon follow in the wake of the French-educated Algerians and adopt European ways. Therefore he took on this issue, opposing the menace the French represented to what he viewed as Muslim tradition.

Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis' concern over the status of women in Algeria appeared to grow over the years, in reaction to the liberal press in Constantine. While Ibn Badis' views were conservative in comparison to

those of the liberals, they were much more emancipatory than those espoused by the traditionalists. Judging from the newspaper itself, there does not appear to have been any strong traditionalist reaction to *al-Shihab's* views on women. One cannot imagine complete traditionalist agreement with reformists on such a contentious issue. The value of Ibn Badis' debate with the Evolues may have been that his own call for the education of girls in Algeria became more agreeable to the alienated traditionalists. He no doubt enlightened Algerians in general and women in particular about Islamic values. More importantly, he helped raise awareness about the effects of alien influences, and he consolidated his own intellectual and political leadership within his society.

The timing of Ibn Badis' reform movement is noteworthy. Ibn Badis' leadership toward reform surfaced at a time when the notion that Algeria existed as a nation with a character distinct from that of the colonizers remained far from clear in the minds of the majority of Algerians. Ibn Badis conceived of an independent Islamic-Arabic Algerian personality, and he strove to bring it to its fullest maturity. There can be no doubt that Islam, which he personally and his peers and students expounded, provided the ideological foundation for the final confrontation with France once peaceful means failed to bring any result. Nowadays, it is clearly recognized that Ibn Badis was a true harbinger of Algerian independence.¹³ It is as a result of his commitments to Algeria and its people that the Algerian Revolution was born in 1954, after one of the most savage wars of decolonization in this century. The sovereign state that came into being in 1962 derives many of its ideals from *al-Shihab*, although some of the secular leaders of independent Algeria did not recognize this debt.

The involvement of Ibn Badis and his followers in the national question emanated from their own reformist concerns. In their determination to rehabilitate Islam in Algeria, they entered into conflict with the French protectors and supporters of the colonial Algerian religious establishment. At the same time, the controversy which raged between the Association of Algerian Ulama and the Federation des Elus over the final objectives of representation and reform induced Ibn Badis, the leader of the ulama, to spell out his ideas on the future of the Algerian people. His assumption of the separate identity of Algeria was a result of his discontent with the prevailing miserable order and his determination to offer an alternative vision of Algeria.

In the July 1925 premiere issue of *al-Muntaqid*, Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis became the first Algerian Muslim leader between the two world wars to express convictions about the existence of an Algerian nation.¹⁴ Ibn Badis spoke out even before the establishment of Etoile Nord Africaine,¹⁵ the first Algerian nationalist organization. Ibn Badis concentrated his efforts on the reconstruction of this *umma jazairiyah*, or the Algerian nation. Such an assertion that Algeria, though still part of the French empire, constituted a distinct entity made clear the political consciousness behind Islamic revivalism. Ibn Badis stated unmistakably that he was serving, in his own words, Islam, the truth, and *al-watan* (the equivalent of country or the fatherland, in Arabic). Regarding these terms, the distinguished French historian of modern Algeria C. Ageron correctly observed, "Several words with new meanings appeared in Algerian Arabic."¹⁶ Ibn Badis used *umma* to refer to the Algerian people and *watan* to refer to the territory that lies west of Tunisia and east of Morocco, between the Mediterranean Sea to the north and the Saharan Desert to the south. Sometimes he used both terms interchangeably. Ten years after *al-Muntaqid* was first published, a prominent Evolue, Farhat Abbas (1899-1985),¹⁷ openly questioned the existence of an Algerian identity.

The failure of the French to institute necessary political changes in Algeria caused unprecedented disturbances. This reluctance was also responsible for the change in Ibn Badis' vision of a workable negotiation between the French and the Algerians. At one point in time, Ibn Badis believed that Franco-Algerian relations could possibly improve through dialogue. A lack of empathy on the part of the French seriously jeopardized any such peaceful resolution. Consequently, Ibn Badis' position resembled that of the one adopted in 1926 by the radical nationalist Messali Hajj. This shift in policy allayed the anxiety of the reformers' adversaries--the unyielding marabouts, partisans of full assimilation, and colons. Under such unbearable conditions, the ulama were forced to change their tune as well. Ibn Badis read the following verses on the month of Ramadan 1937, in a school celebration.¹⁸

Let the highest sky bear witness
And the whole existence mark it down:

That we shall be to our land
The defenders and the soldiers,

Alleviating our plight
And breaking the shackles,

To the pleasure of those
Who fulfilled their covenants.

We'll make every ungrateful tyrant
Try the taste of bitter death.

Our generation will look back
At memories from their ancestors,

And our people will look up
To their banners flying on high.

Our star will be seen
Steadfastly soaring even higher.

Thus, this way and in a such a manner
We shall return [to our homeland].

So let the highest sky bear witness
And the whole existence mark it down:

That we are destined for the sublime
And destined for eternity.

In spite of the fundamental change in the tone of *al-Shihab* in 1938, Ibn Badis remained tolerant, trusting the evolutionary political process more than any other. He preferred to withdraw from public life in 1939, although he retained his complete faith in Algeria's eventual independence from France.

Algerians were acutely aware of their secular weaknesses and, for once, chose to confront the lag between them and the West. While the underpinnings of the reform were predicated upon issues of religion, there was a ready acknowledgement of the possibility of intellectual borrowing in secular areas of study such as science and technology. After all, like other nations, Muslims had already appropriated knowledge from sources other than their own in the past. Nothing prevented them from repeating this exercise yet again. Hence, there was no inherent requirement to abandon religious principles or allegiances in order to bridge the gap. This was a pre-condition that had been overlooked by young Algerians. Ibn Badis identified the source of European scientific achievement and compared it with the causes of decadence among the Muslims. According to Ibn Badis, the European renaissance stemmed from the liberation of the Europeans from the shackles of the Dark Ages. The contributions of Muslims at that time were significant. The Europeans did not abandon their own identity for the sake of revival. Likewise, Ibn Badis taught, modern-day Muslims should not be expected to surrender their own values and principles for the sake of this kind of progress.

Ibn Badis articulated the fallacious association between the adoption of French habits and norms and the adoption of French technological advancements. He thought that the Algerian popular affinity for France was

ephemeral and superficial at best. The Evolues borrowed the language of the French, their ways and their habits, their attitudes and their mentality. Ibn Badis maintained that the advancements of the Europeans ought to be found in their mastery of scientific knowledge and technology, and unless this feature of Europe attracted the Muslims, they were assured of little success in this world.¹⁹ While his analysis was sound, Ibn Badis failed to make the connection between the superficiality of the Westernization of colonialism and the inherent nature of colonialism. What is particularly remarkable is that, despite the Islamic basis of his training, Ibn Badis had sensed the colonial situation correctly. Evidence of this awareness can be found in his writing as early as 1926.²⁰

Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis was committed to the transformation of Algeria. By this he explicitly understood that the sciences which were hitherto solely in the possession of the French had to be also within the grasp of Algerians. Ibn Badis' advocacy of contact with and borrowing from Europeans to be on a par with them contrasted starkly with the position of most Algerian traditionalists, who resisted any contact with French civilization.²¹ Ibn Badis contended that the universality of Islam was broad enough to empower believers to utilize resources from all domains.

Part of Ibn Badis' contributions consisted in arousing Muslims and stirring them to the core so that individuals could find for themselves--amid the bewildering maze of modern theories, doctrines, and practices--a definite direction with specific policies to realize Islam on earth. Ibn Badis wrote these revealing lines, entitled, "A greeting on the occasion of the anniversary of the birth of Prophet Muhammad".²²

A greeting to this assembly of belle arts
May your rank be the noblest of all.

May God protect you from the evils
Of conspiring, contention-seeking enemies.

And may you be granted in the highest
The fulfillment of the goals to which you aspire.

You're celebrating the birth of the One
With whom people have lived throughout the ages.

You're celebrating His birth with that which
Heals the souls from sickness and fatigue:

With science, the literary, and excelling manners
All in one wondrous, young generation.

A generation whose high-rising edifice
Took Islam as firm basis.

A generation who was fed the love of Muhammad
At the hand of their refined senior teachers.

His life they follow as an example
And to Him they, rightly, attribute themselves.

With hearts yearning to Him
I've seen this generation working hard.

They offer their lives as sacrifice
And never fall to temptation nor snares.

With their manners they defend what's theirs
Or with the blades of glittering swords

Until their people regain
The glory that has once faded away.

And until Algeria claims back
The right to live which was taken away.

Oh young generations you are the reserve
Of Algeria in times of distress and calamities.

Your eloquent nightingales have chanted
And ecstasy overwhelmed our gathering.

You gave us a taste of the Arabic of the letters
That was more pleasing than the beats of music.

**“The people of Algeria are Muslim
And they lay claim to the Arab nation”²³**

**Whoever says the Algerian people is far from its origins
Or has lost its life is uttering lies.**

**And whoever seeks to ‘assimilate’ it into some other nation
Seeks an impossible goal to achieve.”**

Oh young generation: you are our hope
With you the breakup of dawn draws nearer.

Arm yourself this life
And venture into perils without fear.

Raise the lighthouse of justice and benevolence
And violently shock the ravishers.

And give the souls of the unjust
The taste of poison mixed with fear.

Pull out the roots of the traitors
For they are the source of all the rot.

Shake the spirits of transfixed men;

May be even wood would come to life.

Oh my people this is your young generation
Leaping higher to the noble ranks.

Be there for them and they will be there for you
And march forward father and son.

We are first; Time has witnessed
Our history filled with nobility.

The fountain of this glory
Still overflows through the blood of Arabs.

Our eyes are open now to life;
We are totally prepared for it,

To occupy our position
That we deserve among the nations.

To add to these people
An honorable, chosen member.

We call for good manners
And reward the good-mannered with what they desire.

He who seeks our friendship
Is met with kindness and hospitality.

And who seeks to humiliate us
Receives disgrace and bitter wars.

This is the system of our life
Drawn from light and flames.

And this is my covenant to you
Till the day I am buried under the ground.

Should I perish with my words,
Long live Algeria and the Arabs.

According to a prominent French scholar, “The Shaykh, while taking care not to defy French sovereignty, insisted on an ‘intellectual and moral reform,’ and in so doing raised the question of identity, touched on the impulses of the majority, and echoed similar movements in the Middle East. He thus appealed to a model which compared well with that of western democracy.”²⁴ Using his Arabic rhetorical and oratorical skills and wide and deep knowledge of Islamic tradition, Ibn Badis addressed himself to a wider audience and important issues of great concern to all of them. Through his Friday sermons, lectures in clubs, and during his lessons in classrooms and mosques, Ibn Badis discussed moral, legal, economic, political, and cultural

issues alike. As the prominent French Arabist Jacques Berque noted, “Claiming Algeria as his homeland or watan [but not openly as a ‘state’ or dawla], Islam as his religion, and Arabic as his language, he combined tactical subtlety with foreknowledge of the role that culture could play in decolonization.”²⁵

As a result of long contact with Europe, some Muslim intellectuals (even some ulama) were influenced by European ideas. Ail Abd al-Raziq (1888-1966) studied at al-Azhar and Oxford and was a judge in Cairo. In 1925, he published his provocative book, *Islam and the Principles of Government*, in which he argued that Muhammad had not established a formal system of government and that no such system was defined in the Quran or the Sunnah. Therefore, the caliphate was a product of special historical circumstances and not an inherent part of the faith. Abd al-Raziq said: “The truth is that the Muslim religion has nothing to do with the caliphate, which the Muslims generally recognize. The caliphate is not at all a religious office; neither are the offices of qadi and other posts of the state. All these are simply administrative offices with which religion is not concerned.” Abd al-Raziq also said, “The organization of armies, the building up of cities and ports, or the organization of government does not concern Islam.”²⁶ Following World War I, Egypt had become at least nominally independent with a constitutional monarchy. This line of thought was necessary for the legitimization of a parliamentary, constitutional regime of the type supported by the Egyptian liberal secularists. Nothing similar existed among the ulama in Algeria in the interwar period. Ibn Badis’ analyses of the relationship between Islam and politics were articulated in religious terms, and secularism as an ideology was hardly mentioned.

The discussion of the caliphate was one of the most important political topics for the Muslim world in the interwar period. *Al-Shihab*, and Ibn Badis in particular, was silent about this serious issue until 1938. One explanation is the risk involved in raising this sensitive issue publicly due to the oppressive nature of the colonial administration in Algeria. Unlike the majority of his contemporary Muslim intellectuals, scholars, and religious leaders,²⁷ who condemned Turkey’s abolition of the caliphate, the most important political institution in Islam, Ibn Badis made on several occasions a clear distinction between the Islamic concept of the caliphate and what happened in Turkey in 1924.

Like the majority of political jurists of Islam, Ibn Badis perceived the caliphate as the office of supreme leadership in Islam, meant to preserve and uphold the Sharia (the religion), and meant to manage the affairs of this world. The umma (or Muslim community), according to the principles of *Shora* (consultation), chooses someone qualified to fulfill the duties of the caliphate.²⁸ For instance, Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), a renowned historian and political jurist, stated that “[the caliphate] in reality substitutes for the Lawgiver Muhammad, in as much as [the caliphate] serves, like him, to protect the religion and to exercise political leadership of the world.”²⁹ From the political point of view at the time, this implied Ibn Badis’ rejection of French political ideas, and his rejection of institutions that victimized and alienated Muslim people in their own land, depriving them of basic rights. In advocating the spiritual and temporal role of the political leader in Islam, Ibn Badis indicated his opposition to the major secular political idea of separation of church and state. Furthermore, his attitude presented an authentic political alternative of political identity rooted in historical experience and religious expression. In his article, “Principles of Government in Islam,”³⁰ Ibn Badis established what could be called his political theory as expounded by the Inauguration Speech of the first caliph of Islam, Abu Bakr (573-634). The Prophet’s successor, and the first of what Muslims believed to be the Rightly Guided Caliphs, said in what became a political proverb: “Oh Men! I am assigned the duty of leading you when I am not the best of you. Therefore, if I do well, help me; if I do wrong, redress me. . . . The weak shall be mighty in my eye until I have restored to them right; the mighty shall be weak until I have restored from them the rights of the weak. . . . Obey me as long as I obey God and His Prophet. But if I disobey them, then no obedience is incumbent upon you.”³¹ The caliphate was founded by the companions of Muhammad in Medina in 632 and fired the imaginations of Muslims across history; it was abolished in 1924 as a result of the involvement of the Ottoman Empire in the first World War in 1914.

This concept was further elaborated on in Ibn Badis’ discussion of the caliphate. Ibn Badis accepted the elimination of the caliphate by the Turkish Republic on the grounds that the Turks did not abolish the effective and memorable Islamic caliphate; rather, they abolished a unique Turkish political system. He added that the Turks eliminated an illusory symbol that confused Muslims. Sometimes this “illusory” caliphate was used as a tool in the hand of European powers, especially the British. Ibn Badis ridiculed some

Egyptians, including educated people who were deceived by the British, who for political reasons advocated the reinstatement of the caliphate in Cairo. He also protested to the rector of Al-Azhar against such notions.³² Ibn Badis suggested instead that all Muslims should establish groups of ulama and (other experienced Muslims) to look after Muslim religious and cultural interests. This group, he added, should be separate from and independent of Muslim and non-Muslim states. Ibn Badis distinguished cultural or religious identities from political identities. By distinguishing religion from politics, he allowed for Algerian identity under French rule. Since most of the Muslim population was under European dominion, they could benefit from this group of caliphates. Ibn Badis argued that religion, culture, and ethics united all Muslims, free or colonized, while political unity was an issue that should be addressed by independent Muslim states.³³

Nothing can be more difficult for us to understand decades later than Abd al- Hamid Ibn Badis' admiration for two opposing political characters, King Abduaziz Ibn Saud (d. 1953) and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (d. 1938). Ibn Badis found in Ibn Saud an exemplary Muslim leader. He admired his energy, his application of Islamic law, his fight against popular religion, and most important, his independence. *Al-Shihab* devoted a long article to Ibn Saud,³⁴ and went so far as to call him the "king of Islam."³⁵ This is understandable, since Ibn Badis and Ibn Saud shared a similar world view, but it is more difficult to explain Ibn Badis' admiration of Ataturk, one of the most secular figures in the Islamic world of the 1930s.

Under Ataturk's leadership, Turkey abolished the caliphate, replaced the Muslim calendar with the European calendar, and more important, replaced Islamic law (or Sharia) with European laws. Ibn Badis deplored all of these decisions as being against Islam, but he added that Ataturk could not be held solely responsible. Ibn Badis thought that others were also responsible for these actions, including: the caliph, who was a puppet in the hands of the English in his occupied capital; the ulama around the caliph, who performed subservient roles and became tools of the caliph; and Sufi leaders, who blindly supported the caliph and his English masters. According to Ibn Badis, these individuals all shared responsibility with Ataturk for the de-Islamization of Turkey. Ibn Badis stated that Ataturk was a hero of the East. Although Ataturk regrettably replaced Islamic law with European laws, Islamic laws could be restored. Ibn Badis stated further that Ataturk contributed several very important things to the Turks and Turkey: "Freedom, independence, sovereignty and greatness among the nations of the earth."³⁶ Under these conditions, Ibn Badis added, Islam could be reestablished in Turkey. He castigated other nations--referring to Egypt--who substituted Sharia with Napoleonic code and who lost their independence, which could not be easily regained. Ibn Badis thought that Turkey remained in a better position. Ibn Badis emphasized Turkish independence, but failed to mention anything about the dismemberment of the empire of which Algeria was a part before the French invasion a century before. Unlike other scholars, Ibn Badis showed understanding for Mustafa Kemal, whom he felt had been judged harshly and misunderstood by many people. Thus the characteristic of Saudi Arabia and Turkey which Ibn Badis venerated most under both leaders was independence, an idea that Algerians yearned for.

However, Ibn Badis warned the supporters of the Turkish revolution and their admirers throughout the Muslim world that excessive reforms could turn Muslims away from their religion and their national identity. The trend in various countries had become that of re-interpreting religion to mean individual faith in extra-terrestrial powers. In Algeria, the separation between earthly things and things of the after-world gained popularity among an ever-greater number of Muslims. Ulama battled these subversive forces which would ultimately cause a national identity problem.

In the first half of our century, the impact of French colonialism made itself felt in all its intensity in Algeria. Muslim traditional society no longer existed in its intact form, and Muslim Algerians were still far from having entered the modern age. At this moment of great crisis, Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis' role became prominent in two areas. He aimed to purify Islam in Algeria from the shackles of traditionalism and popular religious practices, and he presented Islam as a way of life in the modern age.

Revival of Quranic exegesis has been part of the larger Muslim revival since the latter half of the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that modernity presented some challenges, it also contributed to the development of this science. In addition to some unique local conditions, several general factors contributed immensely to the growth of interest in and spread of this science. The popularization and increased

accessibility of tafsir, and its growing importance as a means of disseminating religious or social ideas, coincided with the spread of literacy and the proliferation of new means of communication (such as print and broadcast media), and the spread of a new type of education influenced by the European model as well as traditional Islamic models. In French North Africa, the formidable task of tafsir (which had been relinquished for almost four centuries, especially in Algeria), was undertaken by Ibn Ashor in Tunis and Ibn Badis in Constantine.

Ibn Badis adopted a methodology of exegesis that followed the classical school of interpretation by tradition as opposed to interpretation by opinion. It was fundamentally literalist in that it depended upon the semantic value of words. This school was also basically scripturalist in that it sought, as much as possible, to interpret the Quran by way of the Quran, which Ibn Badis perceived as the best way, according to the Prophet. This method was also based upon hadith material transmitted through a chain of authorities from the earliest period of Islam, including Muhammad himself and his companions, rather than through personal opinions. According to Ibn Badis, the message of the Quran was universal and only with the passage of time could it be comprehensively interpreted.³⁷ The Quran's message was applicable to all times and all places. Although Ibn Badis followed the earliest and the most prominent school of exegesis, and its encyclopedist scholars such as al-Tabari (d. 923) and al-Shawkani (d. 1839), Ibn Badis' real contribution, in what survived of his popular exegesis in *al-Shihab*, lies in his disclosure of the hideous realities in Algeria under colonialism. Furthermore, the *al-Shihab* school left a remarkable impact on the twentieth century phenomenon of exegesis through the use of print media.

Ibn Badis selected particular surah (or chapters) from the Quran (and sometimes specific verses), then used them to interpret the problems of society. In so doing, he meant to convey to his contemporaries the relevance of Quranic revelation as a guide to social, economic, and political issues. He invoked the Quran against assimilationists, feminists, and especially against Sufis. For Ibn Badis, tafsir not only was an important vehicle for advancing ideas but could also bring about reform and revival. He did not, however, offer new interpretations of the whole Quran. Ibn Badis, unlike Muslim modernists,³⁸ accepted and appreciated the value of the historical tradition of tafsir. He informed his audience³⁹ that he based his interpretations on the foremost authorities on the subject, for instance Tabari. Notwithstanding, Ibn Badis presented most of his material on moral matters, legal issues, social legislation, and Islamic beliefs in relatively straightforward and non-technical language.

As a member of the mainstream of Muslim scholars, Ibn Badis reaffirmed that the Quran represented the uncreated eternal and literal word of God. He acknowledged the doctrine of the miraculous character or inimitability of the Quran⁴⁰ like other distinguished scholars such as Ibn Khaldun (who stated: "It should be known that the evidence of the noble Quran, which was revealed to our Prophet, is the greatest, noblest, and clearest miracle").⁴¹ The Sunna referred to the tradition of the Prophet that supplemented and explained the Quran. Unlike Muslim modernists who under European influence, relinquished Prophetic traditions,⁴² Ibn Badis and his followers considered the Quran and the Sunna the first and unquestioned sources of Islamic law. Their own treatment of Quran and hadith material well expressed the value they attached to the entire prophetic revelations. Algerian reformism under Ibn Badis' leadership showed its concern by reviving the sayings and acts of Muhammad as standards by which to measure their society's daily affairs. Ibn Badis felt that once the complete sources of Islam were made available, then with right knowledge, Muslims could interpret their meaning to the world. It is erroneous to state that Ibn Badis "offered a modernist interpretation of the Quran and emphasized reasoning and free will."⁴³

Ibn Badis sharply differed from Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), the Grand Mufti of Egypt and the father of Islamic Modernism, about the role of reason in Islam and on, among other issues, magic and angels.⁴⁴ For Ibn Badis, reason should, under no circumstance, receive precedence over revelations. According to Ibn Badis, Islam is based on the Quran and the prophetic tradition as the Quran explicitly states.⁴⁵ Reason would serve, on the other hand, to interpret the Quran as much as human faculties acknowledged. Ibn Badis was more mindful on this subject than were his counterparts in Egypt. For Muhammad Abduh, "Islam depends upon nothing but proof of the reason and human thought."⁴⁶ This issue has constituted a landmark in the ongoing confrontation between traditionalism and rationalism in Islam. On the relationship between revelation and reason, Ibn Badis seemed to follow the proposition of the celebrated

Muslim theologian, Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), who elucidated arguments about the compatibility or incompatibility of revelation and reason in a multi-volume book.⁴⁷ At the turn of the century, argument over the issue intensified as a result of European colonialism and scientific achievements. The impact of European thought, especially science, provoked some Muslims to interpret the Quran in light of modern science. The new approach led to what is called the scientific interpretation of the Quran by scholars in India and Egypt. In his commentary, Ibn Badis repeated several times that Muslims can achieve progress and scientific development within the framework of their historical tradition. He rejected the view that Muslims should renounce their religious principles in order to advance scientifically. Due, perhaps, to the intellectual deterioration into which Algeria had fallen, Ibn Badis disregarded the scientific method in preference for the traditional one and considered the Quran first as a book of guidance for man, not a book of science, although it may contain some scientific facts. Ibn Badis conceived his mission not to be the writing of books, but the teaching and training of Muslims for the future.

Ibn Badis was undoubtedly the most important Algerian intellectual of his time to analyze and to articulate how the French presence in Algeria affected his people. To the Algerians who remained under the influence of traditionalism, he provided cogent arguments for change. His own fundamentalism freed Islam in Algeria from the values of Algerian Sufism and popular religion and helped to convince traditionalists that they could remain loyal to their religious beliefs and practices and still be part of an exchange between diametrically opposite cultures.

Language was another facet of French rule that was criticized by Ibn Badis; he saw the imposition of the French language as a systematic subversion of Muslim subjects by French colonial administrators. At a time when an ever-growing number of Algerians were being assimilated into a French identity, Ibn Badis vehemently resisted the incursions of the French language into Algeria as a replacement for Arabic. No other leader--not Farhat Abbas (who envisaged change to mean assimilation to France), nor Messali Hajj (who grounded his ideology on the yet non-existent class struggle for Algerian independence), nor Ahmad Ibn Aliwa (who advocated the mystical tradition of Algeria)--none of these individuals proved as sensitive as Ibn Badis was to the realities of their time.

Unlike other major ideologues who were his contemporaries, Ibn Badis was successful in formulating ideas that helped transform Algeria. Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis addressed all Muslim Algerians, but especially the urban audience when he advocated reformism. He appealed to deep cultural objects dear to Algerians in a transitional period of their life. Their Islamic heritage had a profound hold on the minds and hearts of this people. Islam, not modernity, remained the most significant driving force for Ibn Badis and his movement. In the most orthodox sense, uncompromising adherence to the Quran, to the Sunna, and to Divine Law were fundamental to his whole manner of thinking. For Ibn Badis, Islam as an ideology seemed not only incompatible with Arab secular nationalism and socialism, but was, essentially, at odds with Western modernity. In short, the core of Ibn Badis' ideas consisted in total rejection of any idea or system of thought that contradicted the Quran and its message. Thus, modernity,⁴⁸ which to Ibn Badis represented the negation of God's sovereignty in all fields of life and the relegation of Islam to the dustbin of history, constituted a clear contradiction of what he believed were transcendental invariables of Islam.⁴⁹ The genius of Ibn Badis consisted in the grounding of his arguments in the thought of prominent classical scholars--such as Abu Bakr Ibn Arabi of Seville (1076-1148), Ibn Taymiyya (1268-1328), and others--through the act of creative interpretation.

While no one can ignore the diversified influences on Ibn Badis' thought, three major factors must be noted. First, in addition to his family (especially his father whom he mentioned several times), the single most important document that molded Ibn Badis at this stage was the Quran and its main principles.⁵⁰ In almost every statement he made, including political ones, Ibn Badis invoked a Quranic passage or its meaning. Second, as a man known for intense piety, Ibn Badis staunchly stated on various occasions that "the reason for my being is Islam."⁵¹ He conceived gradually, through a complex process of transformation, that Islam as he understood it stood as the only way of salvation in this world and the world to come. For Ibn Badis, nationalism, socialism, and liberalism could hardly be compared with Islam, to which all of his energies and his life were devoted. Ibn Badis offered Islam as a substitute to the suffering of the masses. The rich Algerian Islamic experience and culture contributed to Ibn Badis' success in the fight against mysticism

and popular religion in Algeria. His was certainly a different approach from that of the traditionalists, who aspired to perpetuate these institutions, and that of the Westernists, who wanted to indiscriminately adopt the ways of the foreigners.

Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis worked to create a community of believers in Algeria. Ibn Badis wanted this community to share the faith of the companions of the Prophet and their followers. Members of the community would believe in the one God and His revelation. They would also conduct worldly affairs according to the principles that were made known to Muhammad. The community would be bound by the Sharia code of law. All that conflicted with basic Islamic beliefs would be forbidden. Ibn Badis wanted the sins, which were committed by the Muslim Algerians of the time, to cease; under no circumstance would these transgressions be tolerated by the Association of Algerian Ulama under Ibn Badis' leadership. Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis worked tirelessly to revive the faith of Muslim Algerians and to improve their moral character. He used every opportunity to propagate Islamic values through his words and his actions. For example, he urged a group of Algerians on their way to the pilgrimage to reopen their hearts to the Quran and the teachings of Muhammad, and to act accordingly.⁵²

Ibn Badis is best described as an intellectual giant who struck a balance between intellectual analysis and much-needed action. No sooner was he finished with his formal education than he actively sought opportunities to turn his newly-acquired knowledge into intellectual and political mandates. Ibn Badis pursued an ideology and a methodology of Islam that was unprecedented within the Algerian intellectual milieu of his time. Ibn Badis dedicated his life to Algeria's Islamic revival, utilizing various media to spread a liberating rendition of Islam, meant to shrug off the complacency advocated by the dominant Sufi orders of the day. From 1914 until his death in 1940, Ibn Badis traveled throughout Algeria to convey his message. He gave lectures in clubs and delivered Friday sermons in mosques. His interests remained focused on the regeneration of his society according to the Islamic creed, although his concerns ranged broadly from those of an educator and intellectual, spiritual leader to those of a political reformer.

Ibn Badis had a significant impact on the revitalization and restoration of Islam and on the development of Islamic thought and ideology in modern Algeria. His writings and efforts led to the emergence of an organized Islamic movement under his leadership. Between the world wars, the most important Algerian Islamic movement was that of the Association of Algerian Ulama, founded in 1931, and led by Ibn Badis until his death in 1940. In addition, Ibn Badis is regarded as the foremost educator in modern Algeria. By exploring the role of the association of the ulama and the politics of education in French Algeria, our understanding of the colonial factor in the decolonization process may be enhanced.

In more recent times, during student protests in developed countries, one could be sure of finding the name of Frantz Fanon or at least slogans from his work amongst the graffiti on university walls. You could be just as sure that you would not find the name or ideas of Ibn Badis. "Why did one thinker, internationally renowned, find no echo amongst the people about whose struggle he wrote? Why did another thinker, who really did know how to reach the masses in a Third World country, fail to be noted by the international public which is so eager to hear the true voice of the oppressed?"⁵³ The answer to this question can be found in the following statement about the role of religion and how secular scholars have treated it. The American scholar Robert Bellah has observed, "The ethos of the modern university was dominated by an Enlightenment tradition that viewed religion as a negative influence on human culture and one destined to be replaced by science. Even today, university professors are among the least religious people in American society, although, ironically, natural scientists are somewhat more apt to be religious than their humanist and social scientist colleagues."⁵⁴ Whatever the truth of Bellah's assertions, they point to a malaise that academicians in general and historians in particular feel in dealing with religion as a field of study. Most academics implicitly downplay the role of religion because it is peculiarly uncongenial to their own worldview. Generally, religious scholars and leaders have not received as much attention as their secular contemporaries, particularly in the Near East and North Africa.

In order to adequately understand the French decolonization of its most important colony—Algeria—the dynamic interaction between Europeans and Muslims must be deeply investigated. Ibn Badis is one of the most important leaders of modern Algeria; he played a primary role in 1920s and 1930s Islamic culture.

Close and careful study of his life and thought should enrich the understanding of modern French imperial history, as well as modern Algerian history.⁵⁵

Ibn Badis claimed he was creating leaders for the future, and he was right. His students (and theirs) have played a major role in Algeria since the 1930s. The tremendous influence of Ibn Badis is a well-established fact by scholars across the Mediterranean. Most distinguished French historians of North Africa have recognized Ibn Badis' role. For A. Julien, "Le cheikh Abd el-Hamid ben Badis fut la plus forte personnalité de l'Islam maghrebin,"⁵⁶ "pour ses fidèles il fut l'imam du siècle"⁵⁷ C. Ageron concluded. J. Berque went further to say that Ibn Badis was a "precursur profond de L'indépendence."⁵⁸ Although these scholars recognized Ibn Badis' intellectual and political influence, it should be noted that while contemporary Algerian leaders such as Emir Khaled, Farahat Abbas, Messali Hadj, and even the Sufi Ibn Al-Alawi have been studied by French scholars,⁵⁹ Ibn Badis has mostly, unfortunately, been overlooked. Perhaps the strong religious tone of Ibn Badis' discourse, and his use of Arabic as a medium of expression, created obstacles for French writers.

2. References

- [1] Alf A. Heggoy, "Cultural Disrespect: European and Algerian Views on Women in Colonial and Independent Algeria," *The Muslim World* vol. 62 (19): p. 325.
- [2] If any do deeds of righteousness, be they male or female and have faith, they will enter Heaven, and not the least injustice will be done to them. 4:124. And that he may punish the hypocrites, men and women, and the Polytheists, men and women, who think an evil thought of Allah. On them is round of evil the wrath of Allah is on them: He has cursed them and got hell ready for them: and evil is it for a destination. 48:6. For those who give in charity, men and women, and loan to Allah a beautiful loan, it shall be increased manifold {to their credit}, and they shall have {besides} a generous reward. 57:18.
- [3] Quran 4:1.
- [4] *Al-Shihab* (September 1930): p. 485 and (October 1930): p. 557.
- [5] "Say to the believing men that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty: that will make for greater purity for them: and Allah is well acquainted with all that they do." Quran, 24:30.
- [6] Quran 24:31.
- [7] Quran 33:32-33-53-59, and 24:60.
- [8] Ibn Badis, *Athar*, vol. 2 p. 206.
- [9] Frantz Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*, trans. Haakon Chevalier (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 36.
- [10] *Al-Shihab* (December 1930): p. 714. And *Athar*, Vol. 3, p. 475.
- [11] *Al-Shihab* (April 1931): pp. 164-65.
- [12] *Al-Shihab* (May 1931): p. 314.
- [13] Jacques Berque, *L' Islam au Temps du Monde* (Paris: 1984) , p. 17.
- [14] *Al-Muntaqid* (July 1925): p. 1.
- [15] According to J. Ruedy, it was founded between March and July 1926 under the influence of the French Communist Party. *Modern Algeria* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 136-137.
- [16] C. Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present*, trans. Michael Brett (London: Hurst & Company, 1991), p. 94.
- [17] Abbas' political career evolved from an assimilationist to a revolutionary. For example, he enthusiastically embraced the Blum-Viollette bill, which would have granted full French citizenship to 20,000 to 30,000 assimilated Algerians. The failure of the Blum-Viollette bill split the moderates. Abbas organized the Union Populaire Algerien, a party that called for full citizenship for all Muslims and that asserted that Algeria had a separate identity from that of France. This latter position had profound personal and political significance for Abbas because it represented a redefinition of his contention in a famous 1936 article, refuted by Ibn Badis, in the Federation's newspaper, Entente, where he wrote that he was unable to find an Algerian nation and thereby linked

Algeria's future to France. Unlike Ibn Badis, Abbas volunteered for service at the beginning of World War II, but he was alienated by the French defeat, Vichy administration, and then by Free French General Giraud's opposition to reform while he concurrently exhorted Muslims to enlist (though not on an equal basis) and to make sacrifices. John Ruedy, in *Political leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa*, A biographical dictionary, edited by Bernard Reich, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), pp. 1-8.

- [18] *Al-Basair* (December 1937).
- [19] *Al-Shihab* (October 1938): p. 91.
- [20] *Al-Shihab* (September 20, 1926): p. 2.
- [21] *Al-Shihab* (January 1932): p. 13.
- [22] Mazin Mutabbaqani, *Abd al-Hamid Ibn Badis* (Jeddah: Dar Ukaz, 1990), pp. 212-214.
- [23] This line is perhaps the most widely known of Algerian poetry this century in Arab world. It has become like a proverb, to the extent that some Algerians, when asked about their country, read it with pride. The next is a Badisian verdict on the French policy of assimilation.
- [24] Jacques Berque, "Politics and Nationalism in the Maghrib and the Sahara, 1919-35" Editor A. Adu Boahen, in *General History of Africa, VII Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, (California: University of California Press, 1985), p. 614.
- [25] Jacques Berque, "Politics and Nationalism in the Maghrib and the Sahara, 1919-35" Editor A. Adu Boahen, in *General History of Africa, VII Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1935*, (California: University of California Press, 1985), p. 614.
- [26] Ali Abd al-Raziq, *Al-Islam wa usul al-hukm* (Cairo: Matbat Misr, 1925), p. 103. See also, Ali Abd Al-Raziq "The Caliphate and the Bases of Power" in Donohue, John J. and Esposito, John L. *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 36-37.
- [27] For example, Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) of Egypt and Mawlana Abul Ala Mawdudi (1903-1979) of India were both raised in the shadow of British colonialism in societies where anticolonial national independence movements were active. Mawdudi saw the demise of the caliphate as a consequence of the machinations of Westernized Turkish nationalists on the one hand, And as the betrayal of Islam by Arab nationalists who had rebelled against the Ottomans in collusion with Europeans on the other Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivalism*, (New York: Oxford University press, 1996) p. 20. For a similar view from Egypt, see Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 211-212 and 268. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, by Gail Minault, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
- [28] *Al-Shihab* (August 1938): p.1.
- [29] Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah, An Introduction to History*, vol. 1, translated from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal (New York: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 388.
- [30] *Al-Shihab* (January 1938): pp. 468-71.
- [31] M. H. Haykal, *The Life of Muhammad*, trans. I. R. al-Faruqi (Chicago: American Trust Publication, 1976), pp. 510-511.
- [32] Ibn Badis, *Athar*, vol. 3, p. 411.
- [33] *Al-Shihab* (May 1938): pp. 61-3. And Ibn Badis, *Athar*, vol. 3. p. 410-12.
- [34] *Al-Shihab*, May 1929, pp.25-36. and Ibn Badis, *Athar*, Vol. 4, pp. 230-242.
- [35] Ali Merad, *Le Reformisme Musulman en Algerie de 1925 a 1940* (Paris: Mouton, 1967), p. 218-19.
- [36] *Al-Shihab* (November 1938): p. 130-34. and Ibn Badis, *Athar*, vol. 4, pp. 213-17.
- [37] Ibn Badis, *Tafsir*, Commentary on the Quran. Compiled and arranged by Muhammad S. Ramadan (Libnan: Dar al-Fiker, 1964), p. 637.
- [38] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam and Modernity* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 5-7.
- [39] Ibn Badis, *Tafsir*, p.51.

- [40] Ibn Badis, *Tafsir*, pp.636-37.
- [41] Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah* vol. 1, pp. 191-92.
- [42] Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, 2d ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 219.
- [43] Emad Eldin Shahin, "Ibn Badis," in John L. Esposito, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). And Ali E. Hilal Dessouki, Modernism: Islamic Modernism, M. Eliade, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1987. Voll, O. John, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), p. 220.
- [44] For a very clear example to show the sharp difference between Abduh and Ibn Badis, look at their interpretations of the last two chapters of the Quran. On the basis of recent scientific findings, Abduh rejected the concept of magic. Ibn Badis did not follow this school.
- [45] Quran 53:4.
- [46] Charles C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism In Egypt* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), p. 129. And Muhammad Abduh, *al-Islam wa-al-Nasraniyah* (Cairo: Maktabat Muhammad Ali Sabih, n.d.), p. 52.
- [47] B. Abrahamov, "Ibn Taymiyya on the Agreement of Reason and Tradition," *The Muslim World* 3-4 (1992), pp. 256-273.
- [48] The term "modernity" "refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence." Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 1.
- [49] Ibn Badis, *al-Aqaid al-Islamiyah min al-ayat al-Quraniyah wa-al-Ahadith al-Nabawiyah* (Aljazair: Dar al- kitab al-Jazairi,1970), pp.14-15 and p. 78.
- [50] Ibn Badis, *Tafsir*, pp. 47-637.
- [51] *Al-Shihab* (September 1937): p. 5.
- [52] *Al-Shihab* (April 1930): p. 184-85.
- [53] Ernest Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 150.
- [54] Robert Bellah, Introduction to *Religion and America: Spirituality in a Secular Age*, ed. Mary Douglas and Steven M. Tipton (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), p. ix.
- [55] D. K. Fieldhouse, 'Can Humpty-Dumpty Be Put Together Again? Imperial History in the 1980s', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 12 (1984), 9-23.
- [56] Charles-Andre Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en Marche. Nationalisme musulmans et souverainete francaise*. 3d ed. (Paris: Julliard, 1972), p. 112.
- [57] Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire de L'Algerie Contemporaine*, p. 324.
- [58] Jacques Berque, *L'Islam au Temps du Monde*, p. 16.
- [59] See for example Charles-Robert Ageron's articles, "Frehat Abbas et l'evolution politique de l'Algerie musulmane pendant la deuxieme guerre mondiale", *Revue d'Histoire Moghrebine* (July 1975), pp. 125-144. And, "Une figure du nationalisme algerien: Ferhat Abbas", *Monde Arabe. Maghreb Machrek*, 115 (Jan-March 1987), 75-79. The nationalist Messali has been the subject of Benjamin Stora, *Messali Hadj* (Paris: Le Sycomore, 1982).