

Abstract

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Title: 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs (1889-1940):
ideologist of Islamic reformism and
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Degree: Ph.D.

Summary

From 1925 till his death, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, an Algerian who trained in the traditional Islamic sciences, set to reconstruct his society from the decadent state in which traditionalism and colonialism plunged it into to one in which Islamic principles and modernism could be reconciled. His ideas on the causes of decline, on the conditions for regeneration, on the relationship between Algeria, the East and the West, are to be found in the newspaper he edited, al-Shihāb. It is the purpose of this thesis to make these ideas known. Their relevance for present day Algeria have also been considered. This study rewrites an important page of the history of change in Algeria. It also contributes to the further understanding of Islamic reformism which swept all Muslim countries after the nineteenth century.

'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs fut éduqué dans une institution traditionnelle musulmane. De 1925 jusqu'à sa mort, il s'efforçait pour tant à reconstruire la société algérienne de l'état de décadence où l'avaient plongé l'âge médiéval et le colonialisme à un état nouveau dans lequel l'Islam et le modernisme seraient accommodés l'un à l'autre. Ses idées sur les causes de la décadence, sur les conditions pour toute renaissance ainsi que sur le rapport entre l'Algérie, l'Occident et l'Orient, ces idées sont reflétées dans son journal, al-Shihāb. Cette dissertation se propose de les présenter au lecteur ainsi que de mesurer leur signification pour l'Algérie contemporaine. Cette étude contribue à la décolonisation de l'histoire algérienne aussi bien qu'à l'appréciation du phénomène réformiste musulman qui se déclenchait à partir du dix neuvième siècle et qui continue de s'étendre en terre d'Islam.

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by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

Institute of Islamic Studies,
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Montreal.

March 1971.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The idea for this study arose from the remarks pertinent to 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs which professor Jacques Berque had made in Le Maghreb entre deux guerres. I was encouraged to pursue my interest by professor N. Berkes, to whom special gratitude is conveyed, as well as by messieurs A. Abdel-Malek, I. Abu-Lughod, A. Hourani and R. Le Tourneau. I wish to thank these gentlemen for their encouragements and their useful suggestions. I also wish to express my gratitude to Muḥammad al-Fāḍil al-Shaykh ibn 'Ashūr, to 'Abd al-Ḥaqq ibn Bādīs, to al-Zuwawī ibn al-Jayshī, to 'Uthmān Ka'āk, to Muḥammad Tawfiq al-Madanī, to Mukhtār al-Shaykh ibn Maḥmūd, to Na'īm al-Na'īmī, to Ṣāliḥ al-Shaykh al-Nayfar, to Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ Ramadān and to Muḥammad Thaminī who graciously shared their memories and their private notes with me. The micro-films of al-Muntaqid and al-Shihāb were ordered for my use by the Institute of Islamic Studies, Mc Gill University. To its director, professor C. Adams, and to its library staff, my sincere thanks.

TABLE OF CONTENT

I. Introduction:	p. 1,
Definition of Terms	
The Notion of 'ilm	
The Significance of Change	
The Meaning of Islamic Reformism	
The Old Perspective	
A New Perspective	
Objectives	
Sources	
II. The Nineteenth Century Scene in Algeria:	p. 21,
The Tribal Reality	
The Significance of the Cult of Saints	
The Heirs to the Beyliks	
'abd al-Qādir ibn Muhiyi al-Dīn	
The Meaning of 'abd al-Qādir's Sultanate	
The Opposition from the Tijānīs	
Bugeaud's Arab Policies	
The French Makhzan	
The Religious Policy of Bugeaud	
The Muslims of Algeria in 1850	
III. The Creation of French Algeria:	p. 53,
The Aimless Algerian Campaign of 1830	
The Colonization of Algeria	
Action Civilisatrice Française	
A New Role for the Church in Algeria	
The Era of the Protectorate	
The Economic Foundations of French Algeria	
The Defeat of the Protectorate	
Attempts at Assimilation	
The Rejection of Assimilation	
IV. The Consequences of the Impact of France for Muslim Algeria:	p. 91,
The Desintegration of the Bourgeoisie in Algeria	
The Collapse of Traditional Algerian Society	
The Peculiar Constantinois	
The Insurrection of 1871	
The Brief of the City of Constantine to the Governor-General Hamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī	

The Evolués
The Meaning of Change for Muslim Algeria

- V. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs: the Formative Years, 1889-1925.... p. 128
Prologue: the Son of an Illustrious Family
The Ben Bādīs at the Service of France
The Years of Alienation
Training at the Olive Mosque
'ilm at the Zaytūna
Discovering Fundamentalism
Prelude to Publicity
- VI. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs: Public Life, 1925-1940.....p. 162
The Educationist
The Algerian Muslim Press
The Call for Algerian Unity
The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā
The Controversy over true Islām
The Algerian Muslim Congress
'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and France
Epilogue
- VII. The Meaning of Algerian Reformism.....p. 203
The Implications of Innovations for Algeria
The Reason for Algerian Decadence
The Condition for Algerian Regeneration
The Return to the Sources of Islām
The Renovation of the Islamic Sciences
An Islamic-Ethic for Algeria
The Sociology of Islām
Islām and Christianity in Algeria
- VIII. The Meaning of Algerian Nationalism.....p. 275
Algeria is not France
Algeria cannot be France
Algeria does not will to be France
France and Algeria
Modernism and Algeria
Secularism and Algeria
Algeria and the East
The Meaning of Nationalism
- IX. Conclusion..... p. 331

Appendix: the Aftermath.....	p. 337
The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' joins the Revolution	
Ben Bella and the Constitutional Issue	
The Boumedienne Interlude	
Validity and Limitations of Islamic Reformism for Algeria	
Beyond 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's Reformism	
Bibliography.....	p. 359

Map of the Department of Oran.....	intra pp. 52-53
Map of the Department of Algiers.....	intra pp. 90-91
Map of the Department of Constantine.....	intra pp. 127-128
Photograph of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs.....	intra pp. 202-203
Front pages of <u>al-Muntaqid</u> and <u>al-Shihāb</u>	<u>idem.</u>
Map of Algeria.....	intra pp. 330-331

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In as much as Western concepts have proven, in great part, misleading when applied to the understanding of non-Western situations, it now appears evident that the study of one Muslim area in terms of the conceptual framework of another Muslim area can prove as misleading. Within the heterogeneous area which is commonly referred to as the Muslim World, the time, the reasons and the pattern in which various peoples chose to submit to the civilization of Islām made unitary Islām a myth rather than a reality. The growth and the decay of Islamic civilization, in each of the parts of the Muslim World, also showed their own individuality. The process of modernization which the nineteenth century inaugurated in one corner of Muslim lands and which steadily spread, by the same token, is peculiar in each case to its own historical precedent as well as to its particular encounter with Western civilization. This dissertation, on the role of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Badī in the modernization of Algeria, was written with these observations in mind. The foll-

owing introduction to what will appear as the presentation of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's ideas aspires to elaborate on the absence of homogeneity among the Islamic peoples while focussing specifically on the phenomenon of sulafism in Modern Islām. The rest of the study will speak for itself and substantiate the generalities which are being presented here.

Definition of Terms

The civilizational aspects of Medieval Islām have often tended to overshadow its cultural ones. This observation is best illustrated in the common identity of the Muslims from the seventh century till the eighteenth approximately. During this period of time, which stretches from the instauration of the Umayyids to the Caliphate till the desintegration of the major Ottoman, Safavi and Mughal Empires, to belong to the area which extended from the shores of the Atlantic, at Sūs al-Gharb, till the island of Mindanao, in the Philippines, meant that one identified in belief, in ritual, in attitudes and in

values with any of the inhabitants of the vast Muslim lands. The tie which bonded the Muslims to one another had rested upon the Sharīʿa.

Islamic Law had been derived essentially from the revealed Qurʾān and from the words and deeds of the Prophet. During the third century of Islām, Muslim jurists sought to encompass by their thinking most of the aspects of the Believer's life. In a relatively short time, they had succeeded in integrating much of the civilization of Arabia, Byzantium and Persia and the cultures of the neophytes themselves into a code of life which conformed with the precepts of religion. The civilization of Islām was being born.

The spread of Islām, westwards to Morocco and eastwards to Indonesia, succeeded the making of Islamic civilization. That the peoples of these areas did embrace the new religion meant that they had surrendered as much to the will of Allāh as to the civilization of the Muslims. Their own cultures had, meanwhile, to be reconciled with Islām. In the cities of the Muslim World, many of the mores

of the urban peoples were fused into the values which the madrasa upheld. In the countryside, the customs of the nomads and the peasants accommodated themselves to the rulings of the Sharī'a. Throughout the mediæval age of Islām, the process of acculturation of religion was being realised with relative success.

One of the main features of the mediæval order had been its traditionalism. Mediæval authority was derived from the notion that the way of the ancestors ought to be followed. Mediæval values and mores were those which had been inherited from the past. Mediæval identity was linked with that of the earlier generations. At the core of mediævalism, among the Muslims, stood, of course, their religion which remained the source of all tradition. Under a tradition-bound system, from the 'Urf of the Tawāriq to the matriarchy of the Bataks could be reconciled with what may have appeared to be a rigid Islamic law. The way of the ancestors was equated with that of the Prophet, his Companions and their Followers so that what mattered became the proper relationship between the civilization of Islām and the various

cultures of the Muslims.

The Notion of 'ilm

In a system where the knowledge of religion and tradition were essential to their perpetuation, the institution of the madrasa was most important. In the madrasas were the precepts of medieval organization elaborated and from them did the various guardians of the medieval institutions of government, justice, belles lettres and the sciences emerge. The madrasas remained the backbone of Islamic medievalism.

The role of the madrasas, during the Middle Ages, had fundamentally concerned itself with the civilization of Islām. 'ilm, or knowledge, which the 'Ulamā had derived principally from the Scriptures revealed in the Arabic language to Muhammad, was essentially pertinent to the values of the Muslims. This knowledge was, of course, religion based. During the height of the medieval period, the more profane subjects which the Muslims borrowed from the Greeks,

the Persians and the Hindus had, in turn, been integrated to religious tradition. The sum-total of madrasa teaching which, by then, had become uniformly applied to all institutions of learning throughout the Muslim World, founded the link which expressed the sense of unity among all Believers.

The body of 'Ulamā' had taken upon itself the responsibility of spreading ʿilm over the Muslims. The madrasas, indeed, fell under their jurisdiction. At the same time, the 'Ulamā' assumed the role of waiting upon the Sharīʿa. In so doing, they appropriated the right of interpretation of the Divine Law. In terms of Islamic civilization, the 'Ulamā' had emerged, in the true sense, as its guardians. The relationship between civilization and culture, at the level of the madrasa, had provided the 'Ulamā' with their main source of concern throughout the Middle Ages. The Sharīʿa could not incorporate the cultures of the latecomers to Islām and it had to be reconciled to their own mores. From fear of sectarian breakdowns in the Community, the 'Ulamā' more than less withheld their criticisms

of such customary practices as were often fortified by the will of the ruler or the ethic of the mystic. Various devices were refined so that the rapport between the Sharīʿa, on the one hand, and Siyāsa or Haqīqa, on the other, be established for the sake of shielding the seeds of ʿĀda from the civilization of Islām. Harmony between the Divine Law, political expediency and mystical truth was maintained as long as the Order remained stable.

The Significance of Change

The change which occurred in the Muslim World, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, resulted from the prolonged impact of a modern Europe upon the main medieval institutions of the Muslims. In the wake of growing military and commercial challenges from Europe, the equilibrium which Muslim societies had achieved by way of their institutions was disturbed. Collapse was soon to follow.

One of the major features of the Medieval Order had been its stability. The various mechanisms which perpetuated Muslim medieval-

Islam upheld its stable social organization. All attempts at disturbing this organization were invariably checked, diverted or defeated by the system itself. The disequilibrium which hit the Muslim World was either triggered by certain reforms which Muslim states had chosen themselves to introduce or else it was brought about by the presence of Europeans on Muslim soil. In each case, the measures which were being taken in the name of reform precipitated the collapse of stable organization. It is clear that the medieval institutions, which had been geared throughout the Middle Ages to accommodate innovations as long as these innovations were traditional, could not reconcile to novelty which condoned change.

The gradual breakdown of medieval institutions bears consequence when one realises that the values and the mores of the Islamic middle ages were being affected most. The old concepts which had been rested on religion and tradition appeared no longer useful to an ever growing number of Muslims. New concepts ought to be formulated which were being derived from change itself. These concepts would help promote

the transformation of society further. The advocates of change in the Muslim World had, no doubt, been inspired from the European example and they sought to borrow as much from Europe as they were permitted to by circumstance. In their own view, modernization to stand for the condoning of change would not but bring advantages to the Muslims.

The Meaning of Islamic Reformism

Opposition to modernization came from the 'Ulamā' when it was realised that the institutions which rested upon the principles of religion were being replaced by those which the modernists borrowed from the franj. The controversy between themselves and the modernists over new and old brought forth the validity of the Sharī'a for Muslim society. The question had arisen as to whether or not Islām permitted change.

The 'Ulamā' who were bound to the medieval outlook rejected all change on the basis that Islām had forbidden it. Modernity became the

synonym of apostasy for the traditionalists. The modernists, on the other hand, condemned traditionalism as the force which was responsible for the decadence of the Muslims. Their position vis-à-vis Islām ranged from mild secularism to overt atheism. A third element emerged among the Muslims which sought to repose the question of modernity in its own perspective. They were the Islamic reformists of whom ‘abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs is considered a member.

The reformist attitude towards traditionalism had been greatly influenced by the view which the modernists held of decadence. To be held responsible for the state of decay of the Muslims was primarily the medieval system which the traditionalists upheld. At the same time, the reformists objected to the implications which such an opinion would have had on religion itself. While the tradition-bound ‘Ulamā’ should be blamed for the decline of the Muslims, it could not be argued, as the modernists tended to do, that Islām itself was at all deficient. On the contrary, the true teachings of Muḥammad had been a force of betterment for mankind. It is to the extent that

the Muslims will have allowed themselves to drift away from such teachings that they will have invited decay upon themselves. By the same token, the return on their part to the correct path of Islām was the sole guarantee for their renaissance. In other words, the yardstick for grandeur lie for the Muslims neither in their traditions nor in the blind imitation of Europe. Rather was it derived from the principles of Islām itself.

The Old Perspective

The phenomenon of Islamic reformism arose first in the Arab Near East towards the middle of the nineteenth century. Its main spokesmen were the controversial Ḥalīm from Irān, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, and his associate, the one time azharī Muḥammad ʿAbdū. Both men had posed as Salafīs in the loose identity they established with the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers. In fact, they were being directly influenced by the so-called Wahhābīs of Najd in the attitude which the latter adopted towards Ottoman traditionalism.

The followers of the House of Su^ḥūd who chose to support the Ḥalīm Muhammad ibn ʿabd al-Wahhāb against the Caliph in Istambul had rallied to the notion that the Ottoman interpretation of Islām represented an innovation which ought to be abolished. They derived this idea from ibn Taymiya and from ibn Hanbal who called respectively for the return of the ʿUlamā to the founding principles of Islām which only the Qurʾān and the Sunna contained. The Wahhābīs worked to purify Islām of the later features which had entered it. The editors of al-ʿUrwa al-wuthqa applied the same technique to encompass the traits of modernity into their religion. At a time when it was being argued that ignorance reigned supreme among the Muslims, they retorted that pristine Islām invited knowledge. At a time when it was remarked that reason had no place in Islām, they emphasized its rationalism. At a time when disunity among the Muslims enhanced the interests of the Europeans to the detriment of their own, it was believed that the purification of creed would bring the barriers between one Believer and the other down thus strengthening the Community in the

face of European interference.

The main issues which the Salafis considered, the reasons for decadence, the place of rational thinking and the question of disunity against colonialist Europe, had soon found favourable response elsewhere in the Muslim World. The breakdown of Islamic medievalism had, indeed, been expressed by a general state of decay, an incapacity on the part of most Muslims to comprehend the achievements of Europe and, finally, an invitation to European powers to set foot on Muslim lands. The trend of thought which indiscriminately came to be referred to as salafi, therefore, spread to all those areas where change was being introduced under the aegis of Europe. In each area of the Muslim World, the Salafis advanced the conceptual framework which belonged to the reformists from Cairo. It appeared as though the seeds of Islamic reformism were transplanted into the far corners of the Dār al-Islām from minds around al-Azhar.

A New Perspective

The study of the Salafī movement had tended, throughout, to concentrate on the seemingly common attitudes of Islamic reformists who, wherever they were, called for the regeneration of the same Islam. Whether in Indonesia, in the Indian sub-continent, in the Near East or in the Maghrib, the same reasons were being given for the decline of the Muslims as had been publicized in al-Afghānī's journal, the same medication was prescribed for the recovery of the Muslims, the same apologetics were propounded in the face of Europe. Rightfully so, therefore, could the French observers of the movement of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs in Algeria interpret the acts of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' which he founded in the light of the studies on Salafism. In the terminology of early twentieth century French Algeria, the reformist 'Ulamā', disciples of the Wahhābīs and agents of the Pan-Islamic movement, had intended to recreate for the Algeria the elements of puristic religion and fanaticism which would trigger the revolt of the Muslims

in favour of a rehabilitated Islamic empire.

The study of Islamic reformism, no doubt, was of great concern to the Colonial Powers whose interests lie at stake in the wake of religious nationalism. The British, the Dutch, the Italians and the French had invariably perceived Islamic reformism in their Muslim territories primarily in its political perspective, the propelling forces from within always overshadowed by the subversive influences from without. The demerit of this approach has led to the fact that the process of modernization of the Muslim peoples, to which the rise of Islamic reformism belongs, was necessarily misinterpreted. The prejudicial attitudes which the Colonial Powers cultivated against this stream of modern Muslim thought was carried into secular nationalist thinking thus perpetuating the misconceptions of the past. It remains the task of the student of modern Islām to recast the process of change in its right perspective while baring in mind that as the modernist position draws its impetus from and against traditionalism, so does Islamic reformism in each particular historical case reflect

the relationship between the above-mentioned two.

Objectives

The objectives set by the study of the role of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs in the modernization of Algeria are simple. They aim at reconstructing the emergence of the reformist idea in a situation which, to say the least, was unique in Islām. The aims which France had chosen to achieve in Algeria by-passed colonial exploitation and pointed towards the assimilation of a Muslim people to a civilization and a culture which were alien to them. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs challenged this French dream by propounding, propagating, cultivating and elaborating the elements for an Algerian civilization and an Algerian culture. In the particular case of Algeria, therefore, reformism meant far more than a reaction to the modernism of the secularists. It filled the vacuum which France had successfully created on the plane of ideology. To a great extent, it helped create the Algerian nation by providing, at least, the important component of cultural

difference between Algerians and Frenchmen. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs aimed at rehabilitating Islām in Algeria. Although he failed in bringing religious nationalism about, he had undeniably contributed to the creation of a sense of Algerian nationhood among his countrymen.

The reformism movement of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' had, meanwhile, remained essentially religious and the limitations it showed in the range and depth of its ideas brought about its collapse after the death of its leader, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. During the struggle which opposed France to those Algerians who had espoused the idea of a separate Algerian entity, the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' lacked intellectual originality. After independence, the shallowness of the Islamic ideology, the rise of Socialism and the international position of Algeria dealt the Islamic reformists their greatest blow. It remains, however, to be seen how much 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's ideas about culture, about the place of Islām in the nation, about the role of religion in the modern civilization

of the Algerians will be taken over by the coming generations of Algerian intellectuals. That so many Algerians are unaware of the name of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs today is significant in itself. That such a great number of them ignores its religion, its language and its place in history provides one with some of the clues to the problems which the still unknown 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs sought to solve.

Sources

The student of Algerian Islām has been endowed with most valuable resources on the history of that religion in Algeria as well as on its state and its transformation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. French Islamology recorded, edited and analysed the features of Islām among the various strata of Algerian society. Their aim had, no doubt, been to better comprehend in order to better control and affect the destinies of North Africa. It remains that all post-independence research finds itself privileged with the necessary

material to reconstruct the steps of the past in the far more objective and disinterested manner which changing times have made, for the first time, possible and desirable.

Colonial rule had, meanwhile, formulated the kind of regulations which aimed at collecting and organizing all publications which arose to challenge the grip of the Government on the Colonies. It is so that the Prefecture of Algiers, for instance, received and classified pamphlets, newspapers and books which concerned every aspect of Algerian life. The writings of 'abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs, in al-Muntaqid and al-Shihāb, fell under this category. They represent the main source for this study. The lectures which 'abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs gave his students and his own hand written comments of the books in his personal library have been lost and were not recuperated nor collected. It is so that the only part of his commentary of the Qur'an and his study of the Muwatta' of Malik which we have were those reproduced in al-Shihāb. His students displaced their own notes and much material was destroyed by its owners during the struggle for independence. The National Library in Algiers

has embarked on an ambitious effort to recuperate its national heritage. The doors of research have been thrown wide open as a result of this prise de conscience on the part of Algerians. Only the future will tell whether or not the material which was gathered in each of al-Muntaqid and al-Shihab render justice to 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis.

CHAPTER II

The

Nineteenth Century Scene

in

Algeria

As soon as the rule of the Beyliks had been ended by the French Decree of 15 December 1830, a number of independent polities emerged in Algeria to claim sovereignty over their territories and their peoples. A few such polities had, meanwhile, aimed at inheriting the State of the Regents of Algiers. French presence on Algerian soil thwarted their intentions and triggered an internecine war which opposed the various alliances to France and to one another.

The rise of the tribes to statehood had not represented a new phenomenon for the Maghrib. From the time of early Islamization, this pattern of state formation had been witnessed. Nor was the religious spur towards state organization new. Religion always had remained the main stimulus for tribal political pretensions. The Algerian situation of the turn of the nineteenth century remained, however, different in that a modern power now arbitrated all such developments to its own colonial interests.

The Tribal Reality

The Ottoman Regency, which the sons of Baba Oruç helped bring about over Algeria, had been motivated by the threat which the Spaniards posed for the Race in that part of mediterranean Africa ¹. Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa and his elder brothers were among the captains who operated along the Coast of Barbary against European shipping. They had sought to extend their naval operations and were being endangered by Spanish presence along that coast. They received the support of the Ottoman Sultān, Sulaymān Qanūnī, and were successful in driving away the Infidels and in establishing the new State of Algeria ².

The weakness of the Muslims of the Maghrib in the face of the

1. Neither the Merinides of Fās nor the Hafṣides of Tūnis and the Ġabd al-Wādides of Talamsān had been able, after the thirteenth century, to contain the Spanish reconquista of North Africa. See P. Boyer, La vie quotidienne à Alger à la veille de l'intervention française, Paris, 1963, p. 17.

2. Further information is given about the establishment and the achievements of the Regency in P. Boyer, ibid., pp. 18-19.

designs of Christianity had been a result of their own disunity ³. Ever since Islām had settled in this area, no durable state of unity had come into being between its peoples. The reason for this has been attributed by ibn Khaldūn to the persistence of tribal organization.

The State, to be known in North Africa as the Makhzan, featured the rule of one or more tribes over the remaining tribal and city peoples ⁴. The relation between ruler and ruled was determined by the tax which the Makhzan collected. At no point was the effort ever made to alter the social organization of the polity. The establishment of Barbarossa's polity had been made possible by the disunity which existed among the tribes, members of the Makhzan of the Banū Marīn and the Banū Hafṣ. Expanding from his base at Tījal, Khayr al-Dīn eliminated the remnants of Almohade rule. He was assisted in so doing by the army of Janissaries which the

3. P. Bourdieu reports, in The Algerians, Boston, 1962, p.xi, that the Caliph ʿUmar attributed the name of Ifriqiya to the Arabic root fraq (to divide). ibn Khaldūn's Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique septentrionale, trad. de Slane, Paris, 1925-1926, I, p. 218, substantiates this idea.

4. See M. Buret, "Makhzen", E.I., III, pp. 166-171.

Ottoman ruler had provided for him and by the tribes, members of the Siba⁵.

The main concern of the Regents of Algiers had been the successful enterprise of the Race⁶. The taxes which the State collected from its subjects helped equip that race. The revenues from it would be shared between the Sultān and the rulers themselves. The difficulties which, after the seventeenth century, Algerian piracy

The word comes from khazana (to hoard). It applied, in the second century, to an iron chest which Ibrāhīm ibn Aghlab kept to store his taxes. The Makhzan, or Bayt al-Māl, is organized in the Maghrib under the Almoravides. Bilād al-Makhzan will come to mean the conquered territories. The taxes being legalized for the ruler by the Shari'ā, those areas which will refuse to pay them will come to be known as Bilād al-Siba, or the land of schism and dissension. The word siba is probably Berber. It should not be confused with sibah.

5. In time. Khayr al-Dīn moved his capital from Jijel (the Gigerly of J. Morgan's Map of Barbary, 1750, and the Djidjelli of L. Bouffard's Carte de la Province de Constantine, 1847) to Algiers. See P. Boyer, La vie..., p. 19, and H. de Grammont, Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque, Paris, 1887.

6. Until 1510 when Khayr al-Dīn established his government over the Algerian coast, the Race was being undertaken by private entrepreneurs. The Ottoman Sultān had chosen to make use of the Muslim pirates in the Mediterranean. The Race became institutionalized. In the state which Khayr al-Dīn establishes, the administration which will equip and exploit this enterprise is set up. The office of the khawaja al-ghana'im coordinates the Race effort which is presented as a jihād on sea. See P. Boyer, La vie..., pp. 237-238. His bibliography refers to studies whose titles are worth noting: A. Devoult, "La marine de la Régence d'Alger", R.A., XIII, and "Les registres des prises maritimes", R.A., XV and XVI. Also. Ch. Feraud, "L'émigration d'un secrétaire officiel sous la domination turque à Alger, de 1775 à 1805", R.A., XVIII. Figures appear to show that the profits

faced in the Mediterranean had affected the State's income. New sources of revenue were now tapped inside the country itself.

The Algerian territory was being administered by a system of Beyliks⁷. Each Bey relied upon his Ocak anatolian troops and upon the tribes submitted to him to insure the order of his province. Besides the task of collecting taxes, the Bey also managed the lands of the State. Public owned, or makhzan lands, had been appropriated from the Carsh, collectively owned, lands of the weaker tribes. The creation of makhzan land ownership had been novel to North Africa and upset the traditional land tenure system of this area. The crisis which it generated in most provinces initially took the form of stimulated maraboutism. In time, these marabouts reconstituted the Siba around themselves.

from the Race declined continuously, after the middle of the seventeenth century until, during the middle of the nineteenth century, they would not sustain the ruler any longer.

7. Several accounts of the Turkish administration of Algeria exist. On the land tenure system in the Regency, see J. Mirante, 'La France et les oeuvres indigènes en Algérie', Cahiers du Centenaire de l'Algérie, Alger, 1930, X, p. 97. In the Mashriq, the equivalent to makhzan lands would be the lands known as miri, or public owned. Meanwhile, Ch.A. Julien reserves his entire introduction to his Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine, de la conquête et les débuts de la colonisation (1827-1871), Paris, 1964, to the Regency.

The Significance of the Cult of Saints

As was the case with the political realities of the Maghrib, so
were the religious ones closely tied to its tribal organization .⁸

In the particular case of Algeria, the significance of the Cult
of Saints was a measure of the religious temperature of the tribes
in the face of crisis. It had its roots in the manner in which
Islām entered North Africa and established itself there.

The Islamization of the tribes of the Maghrib had been the work
of mystically inclined missionaries from Arabia who attached them-
selves to the ribāts that stretched from Cyrenaica till the Andalus .⁹

He as well as M. Colombe (see "'L'Algérie turque'", Initiation à l'Algérie, ed. R. Le Tourneau, Paris, 1957, pp. 106-107) rely upon P. Dan, Histoire de Barbarie et de ses Corsaires, Paris, 1649, and D. Haëdo, Topographia e Historia General de Argel, Valladolid, 1612, who travelled to Algeria. The country had been divided into three administrative units, liwās or beyliks. The representatives of the ruler, the Dey, the Beys, headed each of them. The entire government rotated around the levy of taxes. The military institution, composed of Turkish imported troops and of the jund from the tribes policed the country and collected the tribute in kind and in money.

8. This has well been described in E. Dermenghem, Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin, Paris, 1954, and A. Depont and X. Coppolani, Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes, Alger, 1847. Also consult A. Bel, La religion musulmane en Barbarie, Paris, 1938, and ibn Khaldūn, Histoire...

9. ibn Khaldūn defines the Maghrib as that area which lies west of Egypt and Cyrenaica (see G. Marçais, "Maghrib", E.I., III, pp. 108-109). There did the ribāt develop as a center of worship and defence. In the Mashriq, the ribāt is synonymous to the khanaga in which mystics of the marshlands withdrew to meditate and prepare for the holy war. To the Maghribis, the ribāt came to mean the

During the process which began for North Africa around the year 681, the defeated Berbers were invited by their Arab conquerors either to embrace Islām or to pay the jiziyā. In less than a century, the entirety of Ifriqiya, the Awrēs mountains and the middle and high Atlas converted to the new faith.

The type of Islām which had found acceptance among the Berbers incorporated many of their own pre-Islamic beliefs¹⁰. Their age-long customs were accommodated to the new religion so as to lead one observer to remark that, in the Maghrib, it is not the Berbers who had been islamized as much as Islām that had become berberized¹¹. One feature of this Berber Islām certainly was the institution of maraboutism.

zāwiya where the Believers gathered around their mystical teacher. See G. Marçais, 'Ribāt', E.I., III, pp. 1150-1153. E. Doutté, Les Marabouts, Paris, 1900, is still more elaborate. He discards the appealing derivative of murābit from rabata (religare, the latin root of religieux). In the Maghrib, ribat and zāwiya are often used alternately (see ibn Khaldūn, Histoire..., I, p.83). The murābit remains peculiar, however, to the Maghrib (including Egypt, according to M. Hartmann, 'Aus dem Religionsleben der Libyschen Wüste', Arch. f. Rel. Wiss., I, pp. 272-273). It combines the qualities of the ghāzī and the sūfi of the Mashriq.

10. A. Bel is most revealing on this subject in his La religion...

11. We owe this observation to A. Berque, 'L'épuration de l'Islām', R.A., XCI, p. 264.

The role of the Marabout, which some have likened to that of the Berber kahana of olden times, was religious as much as it pertained to the social structure of the Maghrib¹². The Marabout dispensed the spiritual and moral needs of the tribesmen to them. He was teacher, guide and council. He was the bearer of the values of his tribe. Maraboutism had been greatly spurred by the loss of the Andalus to Christianity during the fifteenth century. The world view of the Muslims of the area had to be restated in order for them to trust that Allāh was still on their side. The expulsion of Islām from Spain had been the most spectacular sign of the collapse of the Almoravide and the Almohade dynasties. Decline, meanwhile, set in for Maghribī Islām already earlier and was furthered by the succession of polities. The systematic impoverishment which accompanied this political decline gave the Marabout further opportunities to emerge as the sole interpreter of this state of affairs for the Muslims of North Africa.

12. See R. Basset, "al-Kāhina", E.I., II, pp. 626-627. She was defeated by the Muslims at the Battle of Tabarqa (701) and killed in the Awrās mountains. The conversion of the Berbers to Islām, at the same time, was not followed by the significant transformation of their social organization.

The Heirs to the Beyliks

The opposition to Beylical authority had risen from the land and fiscal policies of the Regents towards the tribes¹³. It was given religious content when the Marabouts questioned, on Islamic grounds, the validity of the collection by the delegates of the Dey of the alms taxes. The formation of a Sība in Algeria had, meanwhile, brought various Marabouts to ally themselves to one another into Mystical Brotherhoods. By the nineteenth century, scores of tarīqas had appeared throughout Algeria which combined religious identity to social and political unity¹⁴.

The phenomenon of Mystical Brotherhood had not passed unnoticed to the State. As early as 1785, the Bey of Mu^caskar clashed with a

13. The schismatic nature of the Sība has well been studied by ibn Khaldūn. In Les prolegomènes, trad. de Slane, Paris, 1863, I, p. 297, he remarks that the tribes feel diminished if they submit to the payment of taxes. In another context, in I, p. 324, he indicates that all dynasties relied upon religion for their own legitimization. It is therefore normal that opposition to the State will have taken religious colouring as is shown in A. Bel, La religion...

14. M. Colombe, 'Algérie...', p. 118, mentions the Darqāwīyya by name. Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 17, suggests that rebel and darqāwī became synonymous in Regency circles towards the close of the eighteenth century. Except for the Rahmānīyya, all Algerian tarīqas were in open rebellion against the State towards 1830.

community of Tijānīs over payment of the zakāt. The inhabitants of al-Aghwāt reaffirmed their submission to Muḥammad Bey yet they resisted his efforts to exact the alms tax from them. The same Tijānīs caused another incident at ʿAyn Maḥdī in 1788. Their example was soon followed by the Dardāwīs of the Awrās mountains who spearheaded the revolts against the Beys of Qussanṭīna and ʿInnāba. The adepts of Mawlay al-ʿArabī ibn Aḥmad al-Dardāwī were challenging the foundations of the State of the Regency.¹⁵

On 15 May 1830, Ḥusayn Dey, the Regent in Algiers, was deposed by the French and his polity abruptly brought to an end. Throughout Algeria, independent polities sprang which all set to consolidate their position until the day when the French would withdraw.

15. Information in this section is borrowed to J. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya, London 1965. Reference is here made to his pages 59 and 60. About the cities which are here mentioned, they are more commonly known as Mascara, Laghouat, Constantine and Bône respectively. Awrās is known as Aurès among French historians and geographers. As to ʿAyn Maḥdī, it is transliterated both by J. Abun-Nasr and by all French historians and geographers as ʿAyn or Aīn Maḥdī. I could not locate this town on the official map of Algeria and have taken the liberty to opt for Maḥdī rather than Maḥdī. Over the rebellion of Mystical Brotherhoods in the Awrās, see G. Yver, "Aurès", E.I., v. 522.

In Talamasān, the Banū Nūnah posed as the deputies of the Sultān of Morocco. In the vicinity of Wahrān, the makhzan chieftains, Muṣṭafa ibn Ismāʿīl and al-Mazzārī, perpetuated their hold on their subjects and proclaimed their sovereignty. In the south, the Banū Anjād had rallied around their Marabout, Shaykh al-Ghumārī. In the east, the tribes of the Shelf supported yet another Marabout, Sī al-ʿArabī. Near Muʿaskar where a jamaʿa of notables ruled in place of the Bey, an alliance was arranged with the newly born Qādirīyya Mystical Brotherhood of the Marabout of the Banū Hāshim, Shaykh Muḥiyī al-Dīn. It appeared as though the recurring pattern of Makhzan breakdown and Siba growth were being rehearsed once again ¹⁶.

16. The termination by France of the rule of the Dey has been narrated in Ch. A. Julien, Histoire... Over the rebellion against State rule throughout Algeria, I have relied upon A. Bellemare, Abd-el-Kader, Paris, 1854, pp. 40-41. The cities mentioned in this paragraph are better known as Tlemcen and Oran and the Shelf valley is more often than not referred to as the Chélif. Over the formation of Makhzan and Siba, see ibn Khaldūn, Les Prolégomènes, II, pp. 131-132.

ʿabd al-Qādir ibn Muhiyī al-Dīn

In 1832, in the plains of al-ʿArīsh, the chieftains of the Banū Gharrāba, the Banū Hāshim, the Banū Sharrāqa, the Banū ʿĀmir and the Muhājirs met to elect one of their members to lead them against the advancing French armies. Their choice fell, on 22 November at Khāsībiyya, on the youngest son of Muhiyī al-Dīn, the Marabout of the Banū Hāshim¹⁷.

Muhiyī al-Dīn's opposition to the Makhzan had well been established among the tribes of Oranie. Imprisoned by Hasan Bey of Wahrān, the Shaykh had been released to perform the pilgrimage. In the Mashriq, he was initiated to the Qādirīyya. Back in Algeria, he resumed his fight against the Regent until, under the auspices of his new patron-saint from Jilān, he succeeded to defeat his forces in 1830¹⁸.

ʿabd al-Qādir, his son, had distinguished himself at the siege of Wahrān and his reputation as a warrior had become widespread

17. A. Bellemare, Abd-el-Kader, pp. 30-34. The meeting of these tribes is said to have taken place in the plains of Gharīs by this author. I was able to locate those of al-ʿArīsh, in the Province of Wahrān (Oranie) and presume that there is where the election of ʿabd al-Qādir did take place.

18. J. Abun-Nasr has much to say about ʿabd al-Qādir in The

among his tribe. He accompanied, meanwhile, his father to the East and was given wholesome training in the religious sciences there. Back in Algeria, he witnessed the circulation of rumours which predicted that the venerated twelfth century 'Iraqī mystic, 'abd al-Qādir Jilānī, anoint him one day with the sceptre of the Maghrib. Another such legend predicted that the son of Zuhra become Sultān of Algeria. At the chieftains meeting of Arsabiya, in 1832, the Saint from Jilān once again appeared to the Marabout of the Banū 'Arrāsh, this time in favour of the election of 'abd al-Qādir. He was appointed military commander over the main tribes of Oranie¹⁹.

Tijaniyya, p. 64.

19. idem. According to him, a black slave had appeared to the Marabout carrying two oranges. When asked who they were for, he replied: "For the Sultan of the Maghrib". See also A. Bellemare, Abd-el-Kader, pp. 19-20. Besides the military capacities of 'abd al-Qādir ibn Muhiyī al-Dīn al-Hasanī (1807-1883), capacities which were publicised in the correspondence of Generals Damrémont, Clauzel, Valée and Bugeaud and from his own Wishāh al-katātib wa zīnat al-jaysh al-ghālib wa huwa mulakkhas al-qawānīn al-lati sannahe al-magfūr lahu sakin al-jinān mawlana al-amīr (in Ph. de Cosse-Brissac, "Abd al-Kadir", E.I., I, p. 68), the Amīr's name is evoked in Algeria's traditional learned circles. He is the author of a treatise in philosophy, Dhikr al-'aql wa tanbīh al-ghāfil. His Nuzhat al-khatir fi qasid al-amīr in poetry won him praise. Also to be mentioned are his Rihlat al-amīr, his Law'at al-dam'ir wa dam'at al-nawāzir fi rithā' al-amīr, his A'yān al-bayān and his

The rise of ʿabd al-Qādir to power was well in tune with Māghribī tradition. It combined military intimidation with religious persuasion. It represented a phenomenon which the tribes of North Africa knew well and which they either accepted or bitterly opposed. From the outset of ʿabd al-Qādir's rise, the Marabouts had been instrumental in the spread of the Qādirīyya. In 1833, for instance, the submission of Muʿaskar to his rule was their own doing. They spread his reputation to all the parts of Algeria.

Opposition to the Qādirīyya had, meanwhile, not failed to mount, mainly in the al-Aghwāt district and in the Awrās mountains. The Marabouts of the Tijānīyya and the Darqāwīyya had rebuffed ʿabd al-Qādir's khalīfas. They also rejected the contents of the khutba which he had given in Muʿaskar and in which he reminded the people

al-Yawaqīt al-thamīna. His biography was written by his son, Muhammad ibn ʿabd al-Qādir al-Hasanī al-Jazāʾirī, and is entitled Tuhfat al-zāʾir fi maʾāthir al-āmīr. See K. Brockelman, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur, S II, pp. 886-887.

of the oppressive Turkish rule and warned against the consequences of French occupation for Islām. His call for the Algerians to forget their differences and to unite under him would not be shared by all²⁰.

The Meaning of ʿabd al-Qādir's Sultanate

The difference which arose between the various Algerian tribes derived from their conviction that French presence was not the main problem for them to solve. The resentment which had emerged against the Beyliks as a result of the rule of the Regents induced the tribes to rid themselves of their governors. At the same time, each tribe set to establish the sovereignty and independence of its members. ʿabd al-Qādir's ambitions to rule over them were therefore being rightfully contested by most.

From the time he had been appointed to command the tribes of Oranie, ʿabd al-Qādir combined the titles of Amīr of a tribal conf-

20. The propaganda of the Qādirīs was being undertaken by their khalīfas who travelled about Algeria and invited the various tribes to join their Mystical Brotherhood. Their activities displeased the main tarīqas whose own ambitions were being threatened. On the text of the khutba which ʿabd al-Qādir made before sitting to write all the tribes and invite them into submission (action which is reminiscent of that of the Prophet), see A. Bellemare, Abd-el-Kader,

ederation and Shaykh of the QādirIyya. His claim to the Saltāna followed suite and posed the question of allegiance of all Algerians to his authority. The notion had already been spread by his khalīfas that ʿabd al-Qādir's war was a jihād in which it was the duty of every Muslim to partake. Those who refused to do so and accepted to live in the territories which the French controlled were liable to the fate of the kāfir. The implications of this were political, fiscal and religious besides being military. ʿabd al-Qādir chose to begin his military operations in order to enforce these principles ²¹.

First to be submitted by force were the tribes of the Shalf. Then followed those of the Awrās and the Titrī areas. On 26 February 1834, General Desmichels had extended the recognition of France to his polity. They had directed their own operations against the Bey of Cussantīna, Ahmad, who had succeeded ever since

no. 42-44.

21. idem. The holy war was proclaimed by ʿabd al-Qādir from his capital of Muʿaskar. He addressed it to all Algerians.

1830 to retain control over his province. The French action was motivated by their fear that Ahmad Bey unite with ʿabd al-Qādir against them. Meanwhile, the Amīr had moved against the dissenters to his rule in central Algeria. In the summer of 1838, he had marched against the tribes which rallied around the Marabouts of the Tijāniyya and the Rahmāniyya. The Gharrāba of al-Aghwāt had become his main concern²².

The Opposition from the Tijānīs

Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr, son of Ahmad al-Tijānī, had become the head of the zāwiya of the Tijāniyya at ʿAyn Maḥdī after his elder brother was executed by ʿUthmān Bey of Wahrān²³. During the campaign which the defunct Muḥammad al-Kabīr had waged against the Makhzan, the Banū Hāshim of ʿabd al-Qādir assured him of their assistance

22. Reports of ʿabd al-Qādir's earliest military activities are to be found in the second and third chapters of A. Bellemare, Abd-el-Kader. On 30 May 1837, the Treaty of al-Tafnā with France had given him the opportunity to move against the Tijānīs while the French were busy conquering the Constantinois (the Beylik of Qussantīna).

23. Undoubtedly, J. Abun-Nasr's study of the Tijāniyya provides one with the most adequate relation of this period of Algerian history.

against the city's governor. His capture resulted eventually from their unwillingness to carry out their promises and the Tijānīs blamed all the members of that tribe for the death of their Marabout. Besides this serious contention which rested upon tribal custom were the far more challenging objectives of ʿabd al-Qādir to Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr's own. From a letter which the heir to Aḥmad al-Tijānī sent the French Army Commander in Algeria, it had appeared that his ambitions had become to create his own State after the collapse of the Regency. On 8 March 1833, the Marabout of ʿAyn Maḥdī requested that France assist him in this scheme and provide him with the help he needed against the Qādirī usurpers. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr's realisation that he, alone, could not eliminate ʿabd al-Qādir from the political scene of south-western Algeria had brought him to ally himself with the French .

In the wake of Maḡhribī history, the rise of competing polities to succeed a decaying order was reminiscent, in the middle of the nineteenth century, of the times of the Ḥammadides, the Almoravides,

24. The letter sent to General Valée on 12 July 1838 is reported in J. Abu-Nasr, The Tijaniyya, p. 68.

the Almohades, the Merinides, the ʿabd al-Wādides and the Hafṣides²⁵. Confederations of tribes arose to impose their rule over others. In all such instances, the revival of religion remained one of the major aims of the emerging polity. Twelve centuries later, in a corner of the Maghrib, a new coalition perpetrated the political act of its Zanāta predecessors for the sake of an ideology which had its roots in the Mashriq. The only new element on the North African scene was France, a modern power for whom the conflict between tribes provided the time for it to entrench itself into northern and eastern Algeria. The expedition against the Tijānīs had, meanwhile, harmed ʿabd al-Qādir's own position. His inability to storm the stronghold of the Tijānīyya had undermined his own ranks and most of the Sharrāqa tribe of al-Aghwāt reverted to his own Siba. After the resumption of the jihād, in 1839, the French now turned against him. Abandoned by his own allies, rejected by Mawlay ʿabd al-Rahmān of Morocco, ʿabd al-Qādir was finally captured with

25. Refer to ibn Khaldūn, Les Prolégomènes, II, pp. 131-132. A comparison between state-formation from the tribes remains to be made for the Maghrib and the Mashriq. One could, meanwhile, compare ibn Khaldūn's study to A. Musil, The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins,

the assistance of the same Tijānīs in 1847 and sent into exile ²⁶.
France could then pursue its conquest of the entire Algerian territory.

Bugeaud's Arab Policies

In 1844, General Bugeaud, then Commander of the French Armies in Algeria, founded the Office of Indigenous Affairs to study the indigenous situation and advise the military on policies to adopt towards the Algerians ²⁷. This concept had arisen from his observations that the French may take advantage of the tensions in the country if they became aware of their significance. In 1836, the French chose to move against the Constantinois. The city of Constantine fell the following year. While its Bey was deposed by General Valée, the

New York, 1928, and H. Dickson, The Arabs in the Desert, London, 1949, as well as the writings of W. Barton, J. Burckhardt, W. Blunt, C. Doughty and V. Monteil on the subject. Also, the rise of the Qādirīyya, the Tijānīyya or the Sanūsīyya polities to that of the Safavīs of Ardabīl.

26. See A. Bellemare, Abd-el-Kader, pp. 192-193 and 285, and J. Abun-Nasr, The Tijānīyya, p. 68. The powerful Awlād Nāḥil, Awlād Mukhtār, the Dawa'ir of Tiḡrī, the 'Abīd, the Awlād Mūsā and the Zānākhira were among those. Only the Banū 'Arrāsh agreed to continue payment of the tribute after the siege of al-Aghwāt was lifted.

27. General Bugeaud was appointed to serve in Algeria on 23 February 1841. On 15 April 1845 and until 11 September 1847 he became

Makhzan tribes of the Banū ʿĪsa, the Hamlāwis, the Banū Muhammad, the Muqrānīs and the Banū Saʿīd were reinstated and their vassalage transferred from Ahmad Bey to the French²⁸. In the city of Constantine itself, a jamāʿa of notables was encouraged to rule as long as it recognized the ultimate authority of France.

In 1841, Bugeaud replaced Valée in Algeria. The conquest of the whole of the country was now inaugurated and the tribes were invited, one after another, to pay tribute to the French. The alternative remained, of course, that they suffer the consequences of defeat at the hands of armies which had by then proven superior to their own in armament and in efficiency. The question of whether or not the Algerians could become the vassals of Christians had remained a

first Governor-General. This was during the July Monarchy at the time of the government of M. Soult. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 501 and 503-504. On the Office of Indigenous Affairs, see X. Yacono, Les bureaux arabes et l'évolution des genres de vie dans l'ouest du Tell algerois, Paris, 1953, and V. Monteil, 'Les bureaux arabes du Maghreb', Esprit, Novembre 1961, pp. 575-606.

28. More will be said about the Constantinois in a later context. The Makhzan tribes cited above have been mentioned in M. Lacheraf, 'Le Nationalisme Algérien: sens d'Une révolution', Les Temps Modernes, 1956, XII, p. 236.

major point of contention among the peoples of Algeria. Soon after his appointment, Bugeaud sought to provide himself with a fatwa that would legitimize French rule over the Algerians. Muḥammad al-Saghīr Tijānī, whose relations with General Valée had invited cooperation between France and his tarīqa, was fully prepared to ensure that Bugeaud succeed. Previously, he had offered to pay his contribution of taxes to France in return for military assistance against ʿAbd al-Qādir. In August 1841, he had convinced the ʿUlamā of the Madrasa in Qayrawān to issue such a fatwa. Besides undermining the claims of ʿAbd al-Qādir for the jihād, the Tijānī ʿUlamā from the celebrated Tunisian center of learning had found it most acceptable that Muslims become the subjects of Christian France as long as they were assured that their rites would be safeguarded .

29

29. A Frenchman converted to Islām, the controversial Léon Roches, is mainly responsible to securing this famous fatwa. On him, see J. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya, pp. 69-71, and M. Emerit, "La légende de Léon Roches", R.A., 1947, pp. 81-105. The question of recognition by the Muslims of French rule had posed great problems to France. ʿAbd al-Qādir always challenged the right of the Infidels to rule over the Believers. The great majority of Algerians agreed wholeheartedly to this. The greater antipathy they, meanwhile, held for the tarīqas which were not their own had induced them to comply with the content of the fatwa.

The policy of Bugeaud had sought to restore the Makhzan. One tribe after another, one area after another, were realigned as the vassals of the French State. Bugeaud's initial aim was military. In the seven years of his governorship, the greater part of Algeria had submitted to his rule.

The French Makhzan

It had become clear to the French government that 'abd al-Qādir's role in Algeria was an important one³⁰. His polity had, indeed, been the most significant feature of the transition period from Regency to Colony. France's representatives in Algeria adopted many of the reforms which the Amīr introduced. Bugeaud went as far as extending these reforms to the whole of the territories which he controlled.

30. This is evident from R. Germain, La politique indigène de Bugeaud, Paris, 1955. The Amīr had an undoubted appeal to the French generals. E. Daumas quoted him extensively in Les chevaux du Sahara, Paris, 1853. Bugeaud acknowledged the inspiration of 'abd al-Qādir in the fields of combat. He also praised his administrative abilities and reverted many of the policies of his predecessors as soon as he took notice of the Amīr's experiences in government. See Ch-A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 222-227.

Around Mu^ḥaskar, where ʿabd al-Qādir had established his capital in 1833, many of the institutions which he introduced were in clear response to the requirements of Algerian society ³¹. The disruptive policies of the Beyliks had affected the population adversely. The Makhzan ceased to provide the stability which the Algerian economy strived for. Throughout the country, decline became apparent among the city dwellers, the peasants and the nomads. Dissension between the various segments of the population naturally followed.

ʿabd al-Qādir set to reintegrate Algerian society ³². His adm-

31. One of the main features of the latter part of the rule of the Regents had been the disequilibrium which became characteristic of the times. In traditional Muslim political thinking, this could only lead to decadence. The terms inhiḷāl and inhiṭāt are correlated in the minds of all reformers of Islamic society. A return to pre-decline times could not be achieved now that the French had entered the Algerian scene. The polity of ʿabd al-Qādir, which conformed with ibn Khaldūn's pattern of political generation, will have succeeded to a large extent because French influence had not yet made itself felt in Algeria until 1852.

32. Makhzan and Siba have implications which are mainly fiscal. While Makhzan tribes were dispensated of payment, the raḥāya in the Beyliks bore the entire weight of the tax. ʿabd al-Qādir held every subject responsible for the kharaḷ tax on land, the ḥushr tax on produce and the zakāt tax on animal husbandry. He furthermore had imposed the maḥṭūna contribution to the holy war costs. Evenly spread on all, these taxes felt lighter. The Amīr had levied, according to L. Roches, the impressive sum of 1.500.000 Fr. from these taxes and from incomes provided from the ajār, or rent of mīrī lands and from the khafiyva fines. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 184.

inistration was organized to suit the tribal majority. Its main concern was fiscal. One of the Amīr's first actions was to render the incidence of the taxes lighter and fairer. Against the uneven imposition of taxes, all the tribes and cities of his State were now on equal footing. Followed the administration proper of the polity.

The Beyliks had been replaced in the territories which the Amīr held by eight khalifaliks³². Each of these administrative units carried the responsibilities of the holy war effort. Internally, the dispensation of justice and the responsibilities of government were carried by the urban bureaucracy.

32. See Ch-A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 182-183. Compared to the rule of the Beys, these khalifaliks reverted the administration of the tribes to the tribes themselves. We notice from ibn Khaldūn, Les Prolégomènes, II, pp. 271-273, that this did not represent any novelty in the Maghrib. The emergence of the Regency, in fact, had been an innovation in the political history of North Africa. 'Abd al-Qādir's State appears to have linked the nineteenth century with the sixteenth when the Regency was instaurated. It was the conception of rule by jama'at a Maghribī political reality until political life was blurred into imbalance by the various empires. Ch-A. Julien, op. cit., pp. 184-185, related that 'Abd al-Qādir had erected in the cities which he controlled the workshops which his armies relied upon for the supply of their arms. Renegades from Europe had initiated techniques in smelting and fortification. The many artisans who fled in front of the French were welcomed in the Amīr's industries. They were offered protection and remuneration by a tribal society whose needs had, for long, been ignored by the Beys and had consequently retaliated by withholding its goods and smuggling them to more remunerative spots for Algerian trade.

Qādīs and kātibs administered the various departments which catered to the well-being of the entire population. One of 'abd al-Qādir's main concerns had been the revitalization of manufacture and commerce in the cities and of agriculture and trade in the countryside. Only a harmonious rapport between the jama'as governments, which represented the notables of the cities, and the tribal chieftains could achieve this. It became the responsibility of the khalīfas that such directives be carried out.

The external policies of 'abd al-Qādir had had serious tribal implications. During the times of the Beylik, the so-called Makhzan tribes had enjoyed privileges which were uncustomary. Their chieftains were encouraged to drift closer to the level of the Beys as they became honoured by the Regents, often to the detriment of their own tribe. 'abd al-Qādir had set to restore custom as he demoted the bashāghas to the benefit of the aghās and the qā'ids. This was, of course, aimed at primarily excluding those who may have favoured the Regents over and against the Amīr. In practice, the tribes appear to have welcomed such actions. 'abd

al-Qādir's State gained greatly in repute from such policies as tribes and urban peoples continued to join of their own accord the polity which he headed ³³ .

ʿabd al-Qādir's reforms had attracted the attention of the French. Bugeaud chose to implement them in the areas which the army controlled, thus repudiating many of the policies which his predecessors upheld and which he noticed had harmed rather than helped the cause of France in Algeria. He recognized the rule of the jamāʿa over urban Algeria. In the countryside, he had favoured the lesser aghās and qāʾids over the traditional rulers of Beylical times.

In the field of taxation, the same taxes were collected which had been imposed by the Amīr. Bugeaud's sole concern was the absolute loyalty of Algeria's indigenous community. It appears as though the Governor-General succeeded in achieving this task ³⁴. Remained France's attitude towards the Marabouts.

33. M. Leclercq, "Le nationalisme...", pp. 237, sees ʿabd al-Qādir's reforms as democratic. Readings from R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen, Paris, 1930, or from E. Evans-Pritchard, The Sanusi of Cyrenaica, London, 1949, rather suggest that it is customary egalitarianism which lies at the basis of his actions.

34. This is portrayed by P. Azan, L'émir Abdel Kader, Paris, 1965.

The Religious Policy of Bugeaud

ʿabd al-Qādir's khalīfas were being tracked down throughout Algeria when Bugeaud proposed to adopt his relation with the Tijānīs of ʿAyn Maḥdī as the blueprint for French relations with the various tarīqas³⁵. The Tijānīs had, from 1844 till the final defeat of the Qādirīs, been gradually moving closer towards the side of the French. They submitted to the force of General Marey-Monge which had been sent to storm ʿAyn Maḥdī and offered to pay tribute to him. Their zāwiyas, in the south and the east, extended their cooperation to the French armies. Last but not least, they committed their own fighting forces to the disposal of France.

In sign of goodwill, Bugeaud had refrained from occupying the capital of Muḥammad al-Saghīr and his share of the tribute was being

and by M. Emerit, L'Algérie à l'époque d'Abdel Kader, Paris, 1951. Bugeaud, himself, had commented upon the Amīr's State in his Lettres inédites and his Quelques reflexions sur trois questions fondamentales de notre établissement en Afrique as well as in his speech of 8 June 1838 to Parliament, all mentioned in the bibliography of Ch.A. Julien's Histoire...

35. See J. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya, p. 69, and Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 222-223.

returned to him. In gratitude for his numerous services to France, the Marabout of ^ʿAyn Maḥdī was appointed Commander-of-the-Desert within Bugeaud's administration. News of the Tijānī collaboration with the Infidels had certainly greatly perplexed the common folk. The Marabouts of the Tijāniyya stood nevertheless strongly behind their Shaykh. They argued that such was the will of Allāh as they had done before over the loss of the Andalus. They contended that evidence was daily being given by the French that they intended to respect the religion of the Algerians ³⁶ .

Bugeaud had, in fact, stood by all the commitments which the fatwa from Qayrawān posed. His government's policies towards the Muslims were those of absolute non-interference. He had, meanwhile, noticed the danger which the Marabouts had posed for France. Their role should be redirected in view of eliminating their political powers. The wholehearted use by the French of ^ʿAbd al-Qādir's reforms had aimed precisely at separating the religious functions

36. See J. Abun-Nasr, The Tijaniyya, pp. 69-71, A. Depont and X. Coppolani, Les confréries..., p. 136, and E. Doutté, Les Marabouts, p. 82.

of the Marabouts from their political ones. At the helm of 'abd al-Qādir's system stood, of course, the Amīr who combined the powers of commander and of spiritual leader. The French had aimed at replacing 'abd al-Qādir in the system which they now extended to the entire country. In little time, the Darqāwīyya, the Rahmānīyya, the 'Isawīyya and ultimately the Qādirīyya itself were being wooed to the side of France by the Office of Indigenous Affairs 37. The French who had established their control over all representatives of Algerian traditional authority made sure that Religion and State remain apart from one another in Algeria.

The Muslims of Algeria in 1850

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Algerian society had

37. A. Deront and X. Concolani quote, in Les confréries..., pp. 274-275, a General de La Roque as saying: "Plus que jamais, je crois que nous devons persévérer dans la ligne politique qui a mené dans le Sud-Constantinois les ordres Tidjanīa, Rahmānīa et Qādirīa à un état complet de confiance vis-à-vis de l'autorité".

been gradually rehabilitated to its own traditional norms and the scars of the war had, in great part, disappeared. Under what amounted to a pax gallica at the time of Bugeaud's governorship, a new Makhzan had become reconstituted to include all of Algeria's urban and tribal peoples. The main feature of this Makhzan was that of Berber times. It deserves that we recall it.

In the social interplay between the various elements of Algerian society an equilibrium had been reached between the various tribes, and between tribalism and the cities and towns of Algeria. In the economic life of the country, each of these factions performed its own role. This role, meanwhile, was senseless unless it had become integrated into the economic process which drew goods from the countryside and returned commodities to it. At the various market spots of Algeria, sūcs which were held at different days of the weeks in different parts of the country, the flow of goods and commodities was continued. Its regularity rested upon the political realities of the time.

Until Bugeaud had restated the equality of all tribes in the

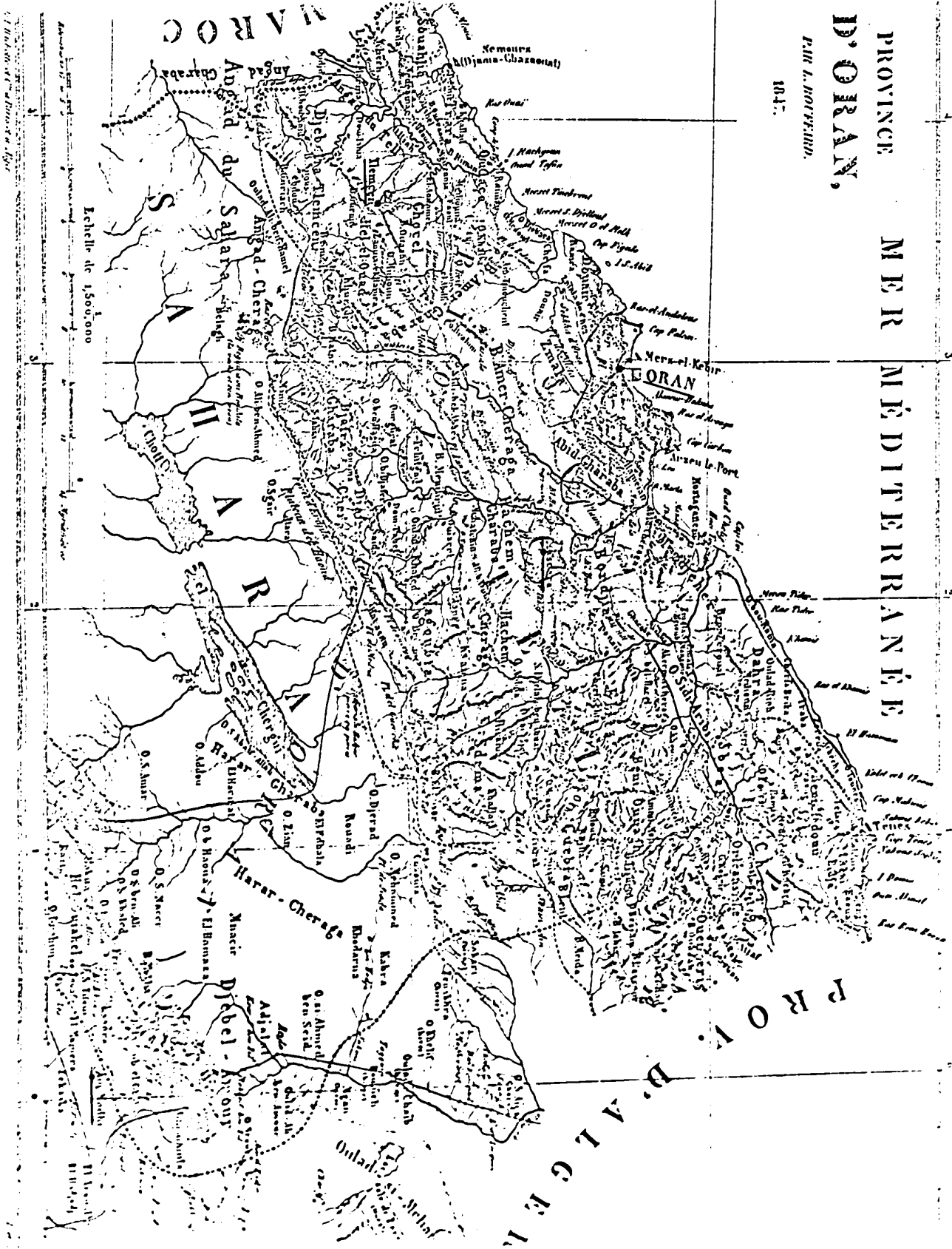
face of France, the political tensions which were translated into Makhzan and Siba invariably disrupted the normal patterns of economic life of the Algerians. The oppression of certain tribes by others carried within itself the economic repercussions of lower productivity. The exchanges which habitually took place between the various segments of the economy were upset and the prosperity based on barter was consequently reduced. Bugeaud's successful pacification of the Algerians brought normalcy back to the nomads, peasants and city dwellers³⁸. For France, this restoration of stability meant that the tax which was now being collected in its name could remain remunerative. For the Algerian traditional society, the new order implied that the medieval organization of society had been rehabilitated almost completely.

38. This is, of course, relative to the earlier periods of the downfall of the Beyliks and the restricted occupation of Algeria by the French. More will be said on this in chapter IV of this dissertation.

DOZ.

181

2.1. Habitat and climate



CHAPTER III

The

Creation of French Algeria

The creation of French Algeria had not been forecast by those who planned the landing of Sīdī Farrūkh, near Algiers, in 1830. Not until 1841 did the notion become clear to the French and the Algerians alike that European populations would be settled side by side with the indigenous ones.

The settlement of Europeans in Algeria had been motivated by the measures of expediency which tended invariably to replace the absence of policy from Paris. The French had had no significant interests in North Africa. The involvements of the war affected their national pride and prevented them from withdrawing their soldiers. Until such a purpose as the will to civilize the Algerians had been attained, the initiatives of rule were left to the military who identified the interests of France with their own.

The conversion of military rule to civilian government coincided with the emergence in Algeria of a modern European society whose aims were different in most cases from those of Metropolitan France and Muslim Algeria. The initial civilizing mission of

the French changed in meaning depending upon those who used it.

In terms of the traditional Algerian society whom Bugeaud had succeeded to pacify by 1848, the existence of a French Algeria meant that its medieval values and mores would eventually be undermined.

The Aimless Algerian Campaign of 1830

At a time when the restored Monarchy struggled to survive in France, an affront which was made by the Algerian Dey to France's own consul in Algiers gave the Restoration government the opportunity to embark the imagination of its subjects on what would have been the most exciting adventure on African soil¹. French armies were landed around Algiers on 14 June 1830 and set to avenge the insult inflicted upon the Monarchy.

1. The second restoration of the Monarchy, in revolutionary France, was as short-lived as had been the first one. Charles X ruled from 8 August 1829 till 29 July 1830, when Louis-Philippe was elected the first Constitutional Monarch of the French. During the rule of Charles X, many of the democratic principles of the Revolution were abolished by his minister, Polignac. The Algerian Campaign was planned at the height of constitutional debates in Parliament. Polignac, who was aware of the tension which grew between his consul in Algiers and the Algerian ruler, Husayn, chose to divert the debates in the House and his

The Algerian Campaign was planned to be short and limited².

The overthrow of the Restoration by the July Monarchy and the failure of the French to break down opposition to their conquest further involved the new rulers of France in Algeria. As in the case of the Restoration, the Constitutional Monarchy saw its prestige being jeopardized in the campaign which it waged against the Beyliks and the tribes. After each victory and after each defeat, the French grew deeper entrenched into their Algerian odyssey.

France's victories over the Algerians had affected mainly the

government stood behind Consul Deval whose unethical dealings with the Algerian wheat merchant, Bakri, led to the famous stroke of Deval by Husayn Dey. On 7 February 1830, the King ordered the mobilization of his army. It is clear that the aim of the Government was to provide the Monarchy with prestige, to obtain favourable elections and to suppress the Charter. Neither Metternich nor Wellington appeared to object to the French move. On 5 July, the Dey abdicated. For a detailed survey of the events that led to the French conquest of Algeria, see Ch-A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 20-63.

2. Maréchal Bertier, a staunch monarchist is quoted, op. cit., p. 38, as having said: "Nous allons escarmoucher contre le dey mais la vraie et bonne guerre sera au retour...". The Restoration ended before any such attempt could ever be made. In Algeria, meanwhile, General Bourmont, the Commander of the Expeditionary Force, was being replaced on 12 August 1830 by the more able General Clauzel. Louis-Philippe had denounced the african policy of Polignac yet his instructions to Clauzel remaind vague and he was urged to act to the best of his ability. ibid., pp. 64-65.

central and eastern cities of the coast. After the fall of Algiers, each of Wahrān, Mustaghānim, Innāba and Bāja^C surrendered in turn ³. In most cases, the representatives of the Dey were instrumental in bringing about their capitulation. Most of these governors were retained in their positions while the French awaited guidelines from the Metropolis.

On 26 November 1830, in and around al-Bilīda, the Algerian tribes had organized to resist the French conquest ⁴. A while later, in the Fall, the Cabd al-Qādir beril emerged in all its seriousness. The French had grown more determined than ever to remain in Algeria and their contingents were raised from the initial ten thousand soldiers of General Bourmont to one hundred thousand under General Valée and to one hundred and sixty thousand under General Bugeud. Meanwhile, the interests of France had become those of the military.

3. In most of Algeria's cities, the above-mentioned Oran, Mostaghanem, Bone and Bougie, in particular, the French encountered little resistance. On the fall of these cities, see M. Lacheraf, "Le nationalisme...", p. 223.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 220-222. The interpretation which M. Lacheraf gives of the Blida (al-Bilīda) incident in which he sees the beginning of Algeria's present revolt which finally culminated in the formation of the Algerian National Liberation Front is his own and has not been shared by Ch. A. Julien.

The entire Algerian operation was directly dependant upon the Ministry of War in Paris. On 15 April 1845, the Commander of the French Forces in Africa became Algeria's Governor-General and he combined the functions of military head and civilian administrator.

Until Bugeaud, the French military operations had been restricted to the coastline. Bugeaud converted them into total conquest of what were once the territories of the Dey. At the same time, he had introduced the notion that, if the conquered lands were at all to be retained by France, they had to be opened to settlement by Frenchmen. Bugeaud had visualized the change which would invariably occur in the outlook of the French if and when they became landowners in Algeria. The war he now chose to wage had proven costlier than was anticipated and many political personalities questioned the justification of France's presence in that country. The creation of a significant French settlement in Algeria would, no doubt, resist most effectively all tendencies towards dissociation by the French State from North Africa.

The Colonization of Algeria

Colonization, to mean the settlement of Europeans on lands which had been acquired from the Algerians, had been adopted ever since the beginning of the Algerian Campaign⁵. The Royal Decree of 8 September 1830 appropriated the entire belongings of the Regency to the French Treasury. A Department of French State Domains was created to handle all confiscated property. Minister Polignac distributed a fair amount of land onto the soldiers of Bourmont. Later, those of Clauzel were likewise gratified for their services. The Government, whose holdings were continually being engrossed by a policy of expropriation which the military adopted against the dissident tribes, sought means and ways to relieve itself of the burden of land management.

Until 1840, the settlement policies of the Generals in Algeria had been termed anarchical. The rich plains of the Mitidja had att-

5. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 107-163. In the Convention of 5 July 1830, signed by Bourmont and the Dey, French sovereignty over Algeria was, in fact, achieved. Besides one hundred million francs which reached the Treasury, large landholdings were acquired whose area I could not calculate. The Royal Decree which followed was signed by Clauzel.

racted the attention of the French and a corporation was formed by Clauzel which aimed at tilling one thousand acres with the assistance of soldiers and officers. The experimental farm of Hawsh Hasan Bāshā did, however, fail to attract enthusiasm among the army. The debate of 15 November 1830 in Parliament had indicated, on the other hand, that the Government had not taken any decision as to the fate of its Algerian conquest. General Berthezène, who had succeeded Clauzel in 1831, abandoned all attempts at colonization. Not until General Rovigo replaced him a few months later was settlement resumed.

Clauzel had envisaged to retain in Algeria as many as the three thousand soldiers who were being demobilized each year ⁷. In 1833, a Royal Commission headed by M. de Bonet enquired into the entire matter of colonization. Its findings encouraged it to advise on the complete conquest of the territories of the Regent. Its members also considered that French security could only be achieved

7. During the debate of 1833 on the budget, Clauzel himself appealed to Parliament to increase its assistance to Algeria. Ch. A. Julien quotes him, in Histoire..., p. 107, as saying: "Alger possède tous les éléments de prospérité. Actuellement il ne se produit rien ou presque rien parce que personne n'ose s'y livrer à la culture."

if settlement did accompany the conquest. In 1835, a group of German immigrants who had been stranded in Le Havre on their way to New York were redirected to Algeria and settled in the Algerois. A while later, Italians, Spaniards and Maltese were welcomed to the plains of Oranie. In 1848, a number of workers from the Paris Commune had been located in the Mitidja. The European population of Algeria could then be estimated at above one thousand ⁸ .

Bugeaud had stated that any conquest would remain sterile lest it was accompanied by colonization. He had chosen to rely on veterans in order to settle the lands he conquered. He conceived of three projects of military colonization to cost one hundred and eighty million francs and to recruit ten thousand men over ten years. His legions of military colonists were to spread into the interior and to eventually cover all conquered territories. The Government could not entirely support Bugeaud's attempts at colon-

des terres, ni à aucune branche importante de l'industrie..." .

8. According to M.E.F. Gautier's chart on p.25 of " L'évolution de l'Algérie de 1830 à 1930 ", Cahiers..., III. T. Oberman, Le problème algérien, Paris, 1961, p. 43, gives 152.000 for 1851.

ization. The question of French presence in Algeria remained unsolved in spite of recommendations to this effect from the Royal Commission on Africa⁹. The controversy which the conquest brought about continued to be debated and could not be settled until such policies were formulated in France itself.

Action Civilisatrice Française

The actual colonization of Algeria by the military had been overshadowed in France itself as an array of theoreticians concentrated upon the ideological significance of Algerian settlement and upon its implications for the indigenous society¹⁰. Contrary to the

9. The findings of the de Bonet Commission are interesting in that they will sway French public opinion in favour of complete colonization and free Bugeaud's hands. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire ..., pp. 108-112. Bugeaud succeeded Damrémont in Algeria on 15 April 1845. He had rejected the partial occupation of the country. His ideas on settlement were reflected in his Lettres inédites (?), L'Algérie (1842), Quelques réflexions (1846), Colonisation de l'Algérie (1847) and Observations (1847). His own rural upbringing and his dedication to army life plus an already existing French tradition of settling demobilized soldiers (i.e. the Carignan-Salières Regiment along the Richelieu river, in New France) motivated him. Prime Minister Soult disfavoured his policies and turned down his incessant requests for funds at a time when deputies and journalists were becoming alarmed at the Governor-General's ambitions. ibid., pp. 210-211.

10. The general public of France had favoured the conquest and the colonization of Algeria. Those who feared a deterioration of relations with England and the liberalists were the exception. About the latter, they drew their inspirations from the economist, J.-B. Say and ought

colonization of Britain and Holland in South and Southeast Asia which emanated from deep commercial interests in these areas, France's interests in Algeria did not rest upon any significant mercantile activities. The trade relations between itself and the Regents were always unimportant. For all intents and purposes, France could only justify its presence on Algerian territory in terms of its own internal effervescence ¹¹.

Ever since the Revolution of 1789, French society had been resetting its institutions to suit the developments of the day. On the level of ideas, its concern for reconstruction was being reflected in the theories of Fourier, Saint-Simon and a rejuvenated Catholic Church who, each in their own manner, presented their vision for a new world ¹². The sources of such vision had been drawn from the period of Enlightenment and claimed to be universal. At a time when

to be differentiated from those opponents of colonialism who pointed at France's experiences of the past, in India and the Americas. The liberalists argued that the times of direct exploitation of colonies had passed and trade development would be more advantageous. The 1827 elections brought 170 liberalists to Parliament. The opposition they mounted against Polignac proved much of a nuisance.

11. Effervescence here refers to the clash of opinions as to the future of France in Algeria.

12. If these three have been chosen to the exclusion of others, it is because they are believed to have contributed to the project-

the earliest reports from the Algerian battlefield described the state of ignorance and anarchy of the Muslim enemy, all theories of social reconstruction in France found in the conquered territories their most appropriate field of experimentation ¹³.

ion of the idea of action civilisatrice.

13. It is worth noting here that European idealism shared France's enthusiasm. So did socialism. I refer here to the words of F. Engels (1820-1895) published on 22 January 1848 in The Northern Star and reproduced in part in Shlomo Avineri (ed.), Karl Marx: on Colonialism and Modernisation, New York, 1969, pp.47-48: "And if we may regret that the liberty of the Bedouins of the desert has been destroyed, we must not forget that these same Bedouins were a nation of robbers, - whose principal means of living consisted of making excursions either upon each other or upon the settled villagers, taking what they found, slaughtering all those who resisted, and selling the remaining prisoners as slaves. All these nations of free barbarians look very proud, noble and glorious at a distance, but only come near them and you will find that they, as well as the more civilized nations, are ruled by the lust for gain, and only employ ruder and more cruel means. And after all, the modern bourgeois, with civilization, industry, order, and at least relative enlightenment following him, is preferable to the feudal lord or the marauding robber, with the barbarian state of society to which they belong...". K. Marx (1818-1883) had shared similar views and reflected them in his writings on India and Turkey. ibid., pp. 59-66. In 1882, however, he had visited Algiers and, in his correspondence with F. Engels, he refuted his favourable comments on the French colonization of Algeria (see G.H. Bousquet, "Marx et Engels et les questions islamiques", Studia Islamica, 1969, XXX, p. 130). Engels, himself, had changed his mind on the benefits of European colonization for the non-European colonized peoples. In 1857, he wrote the article "Algeria" in the American Cyclopaedia, in which he condemned the actions of the French in these lands (see H. Davis, Nationalism and Socialism, New York, 1967, pp. 64-65).

Fourierists, Saint-Simonists and the Church had been unanimous in their support of European colonization in Algeria ¹⁴. They encouraged the efforts of Bugeaud and provided the French statesmen and the French public with the ideal framework which had so noticeably lacked at the time of Charles X. In their concept of the phalanstère, the Fourierists sought to rationalize agrarian society in the light of urban organization and to effectuate a reconciliation of capital and labour. They perceived of the institution of highly disciplined social units which would reintegrate the rural areas to the rest of the system. Their ideas appealed mainly to the military in Algeria ¹⁵.

14. Only the Church condoned Bugeaud's actions entirely. He was a devout catholic. During his governorship, he favoured its élan. On the contrary, Fourierists and Saint-Simonists disliked him. In Les socialistes (1848), he had dismissed the value of communal work and in Veillées des chaumières (1849), he warned the peasantry against socialism. Their support for Bugeaud was expression of their support for colonization.

15. The disciples of Marie-Charles Fourier (1772-1837) upheld the theory that the differences between country and city be abolished and that agrarian-cum-handicraft economies be set in Algeria. The deputy, Victor Considérant, author of La doctrine sociale (?) and Fourier's most prominent disciple, had attracted several officers and civil servants to his point of view. Development schemes which would be set and operated by the military were being envisaged. On the phalanstère which was to comprise 1620 people cultivating 5000 acres with each individual following his own impulse and, in so doing, discovering himself to act in the interest of himself and the

The Saint-Simonists, on the other hand, came forward with a system of ideas which was clearly civilizational¹⁶. Fourier and Considérant had stopped at the enumeration of the merits and faults of the ancient and modern orders. In Algeria, the function of the phalanstère was to remedy such a state of affairs and, when Considérant aimed at resetting society on a stable path, he had both the French and the Algerians in mind. The Saint-Simonists rejected Fourierism as utopian. France and Europe, they demonstrated scientifically, had entered a new industrial phase and another civilization, which differed in its structures, its institutions and its values ought to be brought about¹⁷. This civilization was universal and all encompassing. It should be spread to all corners of the world.

community. All such attempts, whether in Texas or Algeria, failed. See E.S. Mason, 'Fourier', Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, VI, p. 403.

16. Studies on Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) and the School he founded are numerous. See E. Durkheim, Le Socialisme, (Socialism, trans. C. Sattler, New York, 1967), F. Manuel, The New World of Henri Saint-Simon, 1963, and A.J. Booth, Saint-Simon and Saint-Simonism, (?).

17. Saint-Simonism is opposed to the notion of dualism. It does not establish the dichotomy between civilization, based on science and technology, and culture, which pertains to language and history.

In 1843, a work resulting from two years of research in Algeria appeared: Father Enfantin's La colonisation de l'Algérie was well received by Fourierists and Saint-Simonists alike¹⁸. Enfantin visualized the settlement of farmers battalions of close to one thousand men who, clad in uniforms and under the command of engineers, could undertake the exploitation of Algeria scientifically. Enfantin's ideas went still further when, in his system of colonization, he approached the indigenous society in a manner which had never been attempted before.

Enfantin's European settlements were intended first and foremost to fuse the local peoples of Algeria into the new society of the French. Indeed, parallel to the European settlements were to be established indigenous ones. The traditional positions of the cādid, the cādif and the tālib would be modified so as to suit the

18. Bathélemy-Prospér Enfantin (1796-1864) remains certainly the most controversial and colourful figure within the Saint-Simonist School. Together with Bazard, he founded the newspaper Le Producteur and directed the Center, Rue Taranne, where most of the ideas of the School were refined and propagated. See E. Durkheim, Socialism, pp. 149-251. The name of Father Enfantin is misleading. Ch. A. Julien to whom we owe much information on the content of La colonisation de l'Algérie implies throughout that Enfantin was a priest. A. J. Booth tells us that le père stems from the role which Enfantin as-

innovations involved. The tribes, which continued to pose a threat to the French conquest, would become sedentarized and fragmented to match the European battalions at par. At the same time, the European settlements would infuse the values of technology and civilization into the indigenous population and the gap which had, so far, existed between Frenchmen and Algerians would, in this manner, be bridged ¹⁹.

A New Role for the Church in Algeria

The Catholic Church had been swift at hailing the conquest of Algeria in 1830 ²⁰. In Marseille, the clergy had openly stated

umed in the new Christianity which Saint-Simon called for and which the School carried to excess. Enfantin was trained as an engineer. His journey to Egypt, in 1833, interests the student of Arab history. He was the guest of Sulaymān Paşa (Bonaparte's General de Sèvres) and of Ferdinand de Lesseps and aroused interest in France for the development of Egypt. His work on Algeria comes ten years later and the ideas he promotes show familiarity with the Muslim non-European context he chose to scientifically (used in the positivist sense) transform. See A. J. Booth, Saint-Simon..., p. 100.

19. A. J. Booth has neglected to develop this aspect of Enfantin's contribution. Ch. A. Julien, on the other hand, award much attention to such ideas and to the impact they will have had on the French intelligentsia, in Histoire..., pp. 256-257.

20. ibid., p. 62. More specifically and on the question of the

that the new territory would serve to quench the missionary zeal of the French. In 1838, Pope Gregory XVI had reinstituted the Bishopric of Julia Caesarea. Monsignor Dupuch was appointed its head and he vowed to restore the land which Saint Augustine once made famous to the true faith²¹.

The conversion of the Algerians to Christianity had rapidly gained acceptance on the basis of French civilizational action. True, certain prominent figures on the French political scene, definitely voltarian in outlook, deplored the fact that one set of superstitions be replaced by another. Otherwise, even they had secretly hoped that, once the Algerians had been converted to Christianity, maybe would they cease to resist French rule. They rallied to the side of the Saint-Simonists, who openly contended that Christianity and Industrialism were complementary, or

French Catholic Church's missionary zeal, see J.-M. Sédès, Histoire des Missions Françaises, Paris, 1950. The religious fervor of the romantic period is directly responsible for such outburst in the nineteenth century. Chateaubriand's Le Génie du Christianisme, among other works of literature, was greatly influential. The European clergy catered solely to the European captives in Africa until 1801, when none was found in the territories of Barbary, according to J.-M. Sédès, pp. 41 and 54.

21. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 160.

to the Catholic Church itself which, by then, had adopted the terminology of the day and founded, in 1839 in Marseille, the Compagnie Chrétienne pour la Civilisation de l'Algérie ²² .

The company's concerns were threefold: to provide religious services to the existing settlers, to encourage European settlement and to integrate the Algerians to the world of Christendom. It was supported and financed by members of the Royal Family, by prominent politicians and by other benefactors in this triple objective ²³ . Under the direction of Monsignor Dupuch, the company assisted in more than one way the Bishop's own work in this domain. The first two interest us here. Whether the company did attract its own settlers could not be verified. It financed, meanwhile, many agrarian projects which called for religious communities to

22. ibid., p. 161. On the Saint-Simonist contention that Christianity and Industrialism were complementary, see E. Durkheim, Socialism, all of chapter 9.

23. Although many a minister in the governments of the July Monarchy and the Second Republic were avowed secularists and anti-clericalists, they believed Christianity to be a lesser evil than was Islam. In the court of Louis-Philippe, meanwhile, the Queen Mother, Arélie, had catered to the needs of the Church in Algeria.

till the land which the Government had granted them ²⁴. At the same time, and as the Church set to organize its pastoral duties towards the Europeans of Algeria, the State had allowed many Beylical mosques to be converted to churches in the major coastal cities. The future of Catholicism in North Africa appeared for a moment most promising.

The Era of the Protectorate

The Second Republic which replaced the July Monarchy in 1848 had been too concerned about the internal affairs of France to trouble itself over Algeria. During the four years which paved the way for the instauration of Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte as sec-

In Parliament, the deputy M. Courcelle could be mentioned as one who greatly patronized the Compagnie Chrétienne pour la Civilisation de l'Algérie. He was backed by the strong Catholic members of the Assembly. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 243.

24. Bugeaud did not favour unmarried settlers. He was pressured to accommodate the Trappists and granted them a land concession at Stewilli. Under Randon, the Church was treated as never better before. It also received mosques which were confiscated from the Beys. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 160. It should be remarked that the so-called Beylical mosques were those which the rulers frequented. They fell under the supervision of the hanaffi Mufti. They were confiscated together with all Beylical property and could be redistributed as all holdings of the State Domains.

and Emperor to France, the military were given complete liberty in the government of the Algerians. With respect to colonization, its practice was continued. The settlement of Europeans, in 1851, had reached approximately one hundred and fifty two thousand ²⁵.

In 1852, Louis-Napoléon was elevated to the Imperial throne of France. Napoléon III, Emperor of the French, also styled himself King of the Arabs. During a spectacular journey which he undertook in Algeria in 1865, the first colonial policy France had ever formulated towards its North African territories was publicized as the French Protectorate of the Emperor came into being. Napoléon III had been greatly impressed with the ideas of the Saint-Simonists, particularly those of Enfantin. The régime he set to establish in Algeria is indicative of such influences ²⁶.

It will be recalled that, although all of France's Governor-Generals had acted upon approval of the Metropolitan Government

25. See T. Orgeron, Le problème..., chart on p. 43.

26. Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 257, reports that Louis-Napoléon had read Enfantin's La Colonisation... while in jail at the Fort of Ham. On the Emperor's trip see the most interesting Voyage de

and had relied upon financment of their projects from Paris, at no point was Algeria ruled according to a definite colonial scheme.

The Algerian Protectorate of Napoléon III has often led to confus-

ion²⁷. It was attributed to the Emperor's romanticism and tied to his Mexican and Oriental dreams. In fact, the Algerian Protectorate of the Second Empire belongs to the schemes of France's

étatistes who had deplored the lack of state directives in the

development of the North African colony²⁸. France's laissez-faire

had led to little. Under Algeria's new régime, a comprehensive and

S.M. Napoléon III en Algérie contenant la relation du séjour de S.M. dans les trois provinces; le texte des proclamations, discours, adresses etc. qui se rattachent à ce mémorable voyage, Alger, 1865.

27. Protectorate had, indeed, become synonymous to indirect rule, especially ever since Lord F.D. Lugard's experiments in West Africa (see his The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa, Edinburg, 1922).

28. The economic development which the Continental Blockade initiated in France under Napoléon I had become most apparent in the middle of the nineteenth century. There was enough capital formation to invite various enterprises to extend their activities as far as Mexico and the Levant. The writings of Sismondi in 1821 (Etudes sur l'économie politique) followed Saint-Simon's L'Industrie (1818) and expressed it. Under Napoléon III, a fresh vision of what the State ought to do in order to promote the creation of capital was reached. That the Emperor and his closest associates

scientific plan could, at last be implemented.

Napoléon III and his advisors made use of the various reports which, under the Restoration and under the July Monarchy, called for the intensive colonization of Algeria²⁹. At the same time, the excessive and irrational exploitation of the indigenous population were to be avoided. The dichotomy European-Algerian, the Arab Kingdom underlined, would not mean that the indigenous peoples remain the vassals of France³⁰. On the contrary, the Emperor had favoured that the Algerians second the development of the European community. They could, in return, benefit themselves from

were affected by Saint Simonism, mainly, is undoubted. The ideas of this School had become altered to suite the new étatisme of the period. The claim of the policies of the time that they were scientific implies that they relied for the first time on a new research and on the young sciences of economics and social physiology (sociology).

29. Bugeaud, it should be reminded, was not a sociologist and did not abide by the theories that his own activities in Algeria ought to tie with the production and consumption of Metropolitan France. Clauzel, Valée and himself favoured colonization for the military and political benefits they could provide. See E. Durkheim, Socialism, on the economics of that period. The Saint-Simonist newspaper, Le Algérie (1843-?) was being countered by the newspaper, Le France Algérienne (1845-?) which Bugeaud inspired.

30. Reference is here made to Clauzel, Valée and Bugeaud whose indigenous policies only called for loyalty of the Algerians to the Government. The Senatus-Consulte of 1865 had made them French subj-

the growth of Algeria's modern society ³¹ .

The Second Empire had reinstated the position of Governor-General which the Second Republic suspended. The Algerians Departments of Oran, Alger and Constantine fell directly under the newly formed Ministry of Algeria and the Colonies. From the administrative point of view, at least, Algeria was linked to France as never before. The Government in Paris could now proceed with its systematic exploitation of the territory's resources.

The Economic Foundations of French Algeria

Not until the Second Empire were significant efforts made to bring about a modern society in Algeria. The settlement policies of the July Monarchy and the Second Republic may have succeeded to

ects. This did not mean that the rights which the 1830 Convention in which the laws and customs of the Algerians were abrogated. An attempt to make justice equal in Algeria to Europeans and Muslims alike had been resisted in 1841 and the Royal Decree of that year simply gave the King the right to appoint the caïds without changing the Law. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 118.

31. This concept of modern society refers to its Saint-Simonist implications. The major difference between the type of land colonization under the Second Empire and under the previous régimes will become the importance of capital investments which will accompany European settlement.

induce Europeans to migrate to North Africa. These migrations were scarcely accompanied by the comprehensive planning which this necessitated. Napoléon III embarked the French State in the rational settlement of Algeria ³². Imbued with Enfantin's ideas, his advisors combined the acquisition of fertile lands with the capital investments which the modern exploitation of agriculture called for. The injection of capital into Algeria had, meanwhile, not solely aimed at land productivity. The Emperor encouraged the establishment of industries, the development of mineral exploitation and the promotion of trade. The growing capitalism of the Metropolis had been made interested in the potentials of the colony. It responded to the schemes of development which the Government had made available.

Important legislation had been passed after 1856 which opened the way for the establishment of a modern society in Algeria. Land

32. Both de Broglie and Wernier, who played an important role in elaborating and implementing the Emperor's policies, were Saint-Simonists. Others to be mentioned are Urbain, the advisor on indigenous affairs, Poinel, Talbot, Fournel and Luvayrier who, as engineers, contributed greatly towards the exploration and exploitation of Algeria's natural resources. They had served in Egypt

acquisition had remained essential for the development of French Algeria ³³. The Cantonment Law of 1856 delineated the areas in which tribalism would be allowed to function undisturbed. Such areas were to belong to the Arab Kingdom. The remaining lands were being disposed of by the State Domains in accordance with the earlier Ordinance of 1 October 1844 ³⁴. In 1863, however,

under Muhammad ^CAlī. They formed a group of experienced technicians and administrators whose outlook differed basically from that of their predecessors. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., n. 256.

33. The question of land ownership is of prime importance here. Until Warnier elaborated government policy on this matter, land acquisition had remained erratic. First were confiscated the landholdings of the Beyliks. Then, land confiscation was used to penalize dissenting tribes. Lamoricière, who had been converted to Saint-Simonism and swayed many high ranking officers to their ideas, upheld the theories which Le Producteur and Le Globe publicized: that land be owned by those who could exploit it best. "To each according to his ability, to each ability according to its work" had become the School's axiom. In Algeria, it was necessary that the State, and no longer the family, inherit accumulated wealth since it constituted what economists called the basis of production. Change in the rights of ownership were implemented by Warnier who caused three pieces of legislation to come about. More on the subject in the following section. See, meanwhile, E. Durkheim, Socialism, pp. 261, 264 and 280.

34. The Ordinance of 1 October 1844 stated that all uncultivated lands would be confiscated lest their owners justified their rights of ownership within three months. Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., n. 240, estimates that 200,000 acres had been taken over by the State Domains as a result of the failure of the Algerians to produce proofs of ownership. The Cantonment Law diminished the holdings of the Algerians further; as an example, the Awlād Qusayr, in the Shelif valley, were being left with 27,193 acres of their initial 39,000. The Abid al-Farayḍīyya of al-Qantara were spoliated of 5,052 acres of their initial 8,241. In the areas of al-Golma, three tribes lost up to half their landholdings and a fourth one up to four fifths. Such actions

more lands were to be made available to French capitalism. The Senatus-Consulte of that year introduced, for the first time in Algeria, the concept of private ownership of land upon the tribes. As was being foreseen by the jurist, the individual tribesman, having become landowner, did sell his holding to the highest bidder .

The capital aimed at developing a modern sector in Algeria's economy had, meanwhile, come from a group of financiers who founded, in 1853, the Société Genevoise ³⁶ . This corporation had been

on the part of the Government were in accord with the view that: ''... il n'y a en Afrique qu'un seul intérêt respectable, c'est celui du colon... Tout ce qui ne vise pas là, manque le but''. ibid., pp. 405-406. The inventory of 1870 had shown that, of 6.883.811 acres of Algerian land, 1.188.175 were State-owned, 1.336.492 were communal, 2.840.591 were private and only 1.523.013 were still under tribal control. ibid., p. 427.

35. The Cantonment Law of 1856 helped contain the tribes on lands which had been delineated. The tribes retained, however, traditional ownership of their lands, that is they owned them collectively. The Senatus-Consulte of 1863, having introduced the principle of private ownership (mulk versus qarsh ownership), de Broglie commented that the objectives of the Government were twofold: ''to cause a general liquidation of the land...'' and ''to disorganize the tribe...''. See P. Bourdieu, The Algerians, pp. 120-121.

36. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 406-409. Only towards the Société Genevoise, the State had contributed 625.000 francs.

granted the concession over nine hundred thousand acres of fertile land by the Government. Its aims were to settle close to three hundred thousand Europeans, mainly from Germany and Switzerland, in the area of St̄ayf. In return, it enjoyed privilēges which none of the previous concessionnaires reaped in Algeria before, tax reductions, public works and monetary subsidies. Lesser land development companies were also induced to operate in Algeria. Those were the times of major speculative operations. French involvement in North Africa grew deeper as a result of the land policies of the State.

Significant investment had gone into non-agrarian projects in Algeria³⁷. Governor-General Randon, who had been chosen to implement the Emperor's policies, now set to enhance Algeria's product-

37. In 1849, the banking activities of the Comptoir d'Escompte had been extended to Algeria. The operations of this bank, which ought to be differentiated from those of the Crdit Foncier Agricole (capital, 10 million francs), were directed towards trade, commerce and industry. The Customs Law of 1851 had made Algeria the annexe of France. Import figures rose to 66.951.000 francs in 1857. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 381. In 1850, H. Fournel had published his Richesse Minérale de l'Algérie. In 1851, legislation on mineral extraction was imposed. 1.700 tons of mineral were exported to France that year for a total value of 642.613 francs. ibid., p. 282.

ion and exports. The first rail projects were undertaken when the Chemins de Fer Algériens were created which would link the coast to the cities and the mines of the interior. Algeria's harbours were also being re-equipped at Oran, Algiers and Bône. A road network was developed³⁸ . Except for the factor of labour which was

indigenous to Algeria, all the facilities had been made available for French Algeria to thrive at last.

The Defeat of the Protectorate

The collapse of Napoléon III's régime at the hands of Prussia had brought chaos to Algeria. Algerians and Europeans erupted to challenge the Protectorate of the Emperor. This form of government was eventually terminated when the Third Republic set to restore order to the Colony after 1870.

38. No figures are available on rail and road mileages. Labour for the realization of many of these projects was military. On the social equipment of Algeria, see Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 401 and 421-422.

The grievances against the Protectorate had emanated from those whom this form of administration sought to protect as well as from those whose interests it claimed to promote. The Algerians and the Settlers rejected, each for their own reasons, the role which the State had taken upon itself to play in Algeria. As soon as the news of France's military defeat had reached Algeria, the tribes of the Constantinois emerged around the person of Haj Muhammad Muqrānī, bashāghā of the Mijāna, to overthrow the yoke of France. In no time, the entire tribal areas of eastern Algeria were up in arms against French rule and against the Europeans settled there. They protested the land policies which had afflicted their livelihood so seriously.

On the Settlers side, their feelings towards the régime of Napoléon III confirmed the attitude they had adopted towards the Second Empire during the plebiscite of 1870: they welcomed the collapse of the Imperial Government and organized to undo all the wrongs which they felt the Protectorate brought onto them.

The division of Algeria into a Civilian Territory, where state interference was being felt most by the Europeans, and into an Arab Kingdom, where state interference was seen to shield the indigenous society from the economic incursions of the Settlers, caused repeated animosity towards the Government of Napoléon III in Algeria. The number of Europeans in Algeria, in 1866, had reached 251.942. They had settled in the major cities of Algiers, Oran, Bône, Constantine, Blida, Miliana, Koléa, Cherchel, Mostaghanem, Arzew, Mascara, Bougie, Philippeville, Sétif and Guelma and had transformed these once upon a time Muslim cities into European ones ³⁹. Their numerous newspapers not only provided them with the media to express their own interest and their own cohesion in the face of adverse government policies or the interests of the Metron-

39. On demographical data, see T. Opperman, Le problème..., chart on p. 43. On the settlement of the Europeans, see Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 252-256 and 444-445. The Algerian names of the above-mentioned cities are, respectively, Qalala, Sharshāl, Arziyū, Skikda and Sṭayf (for those which had not yet been mentioned).

olis but also with the means to promote an identity which, in time, would prove to be not only different from that of the Algerians but from that of the Frenchmen as well ⁴⁰.

The European settlers of Algeria had, indeed, by the time the colonial policies of the Second Empire were formulated, shown their group cohesion as never before since 1830. The opposition they mounted against Napoléon's étatisme conveyed the extent to which they had become representatives of the type of economic activity which the great corporations from France threatened.

The Senatus-Consulte of 1869 awarded the Settlers representation in Parliament in Paris yet had rendered Algeria further prone to the interests of the Metropolis ⁴¹. The practice of the Government to assist the Settlers had been discontinued to the profit of entrepreneurs from France. This disfavourable precedent added

40. Among the major newspapers of Algeria which were published in the French language and which Ch.A. Julien mentions, in Histoire..., pp. 254 and 346, were Le Moniteur algérien, L'Akhbar, Le Courrier d'Afrique and La France algérienne from Algiers,

insult to injury as the exploitative practices of the French corporations often did not spare the Settlers themselves.

At the same time, the military whose role in Algeria had never been appreciated by the Settlers, especially in the field of colonization, were having their rule condoned by the Arab Kingdom. This action by the Emperor, whose dislike for the Settlers was never concealed, had attracted their furores to all his Algerian policies. The abdication of the Emperor, in the fall of 1870, ended the rule which had deprived the Settlers of their political and economic privileges, had entrenched the military in Algeria and had perpetuated Arab society⁴¹.

Attempts at Assimilation

The government instituted in Paris to conduct national defence

L'Echo d'Oran, Le Courrier d'Oran and Le Saf-Saf in Oran, Le Progrès (previously Le Journal de Constantine), La Seybouse and Le Démocrate de Blida in the Constantinois. Those were generally weeklies. An array of less important newspapers, monthlies or bi-monthlies, were also issued which portrayed one or another point of view of this new society of Colons. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 254 and 346.

41. ibid., p. 445.

had decreed that, as far as Algeria was concerned, it would revert to direct rule under a civilian Governor-General⁴². This measure defeated within Algeria the military protectionists who had been closest to the indigenous population and whose Office of Indigenous Affairs played an important role in quelling the rebellion of 1870. It was hailed as a victory by the Settlers and by all those who had opposed the policy of étatist rule over Algeria. In France itself, it marked the return to favour of the civilizing forces, religious as well as secular.

The Church, whose proselytizing campaign had been greatly curtailed by Napoléon III's desire to retain the main elements of Muslim identity to the Algerians, arose to further its religious claims over the natives of Algeria⁴³. In 1867, Monsignor Lavigerie had been seated as Bishop of Algiers. Lavigerie's concern was the

42. Décret du 28 Decembre 1870. See T. Opperman, Le problème..., p. 282.

43. Monsignor Pavy, Monsignor Dubuch's successor, had requested from the Emperor that two more bishoprics be established in Constantine and in Oran. Napoléon III had acquiesced but felt strongly against proselytism. Neither he nor his advisor on indigenous affairs Urbain, were popular among the clergy. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 436.

conversion of the Algerians to Catholicism. Upon the fall of the Second Empire, he is quoted to have said: 'We must cease to commit the errors of the past and contain this people in the Qur'^{ān} and in an Arab Kingdom; we must inspire other sentiments and other principles in them'⁴⁴. He meant, of course, those principles and those sentiments which the Church incarnated and was supported in this by the Catholics of France.

The Secularists in Algeria were as adamant to respect the identity of the Algerians and they shared the zeal of the Church to assimilate the indigenous population into France. Their efforts to civilize Algeria had never been abandoned ever since the Conquest and they had resisted the policies of the Emperor to preserve their traditional heritage for the Algerians⁴⁵.

The thesis of the Assimilationists had certainly been strengthened by the successive rebellions which shook Algeria from 1870 till 1879. It was being argued that the pacification of the tribes

44. My own translation of the quote reproduced in Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 440.

45. idem.

by Bugeaud had not resulted in uprooting the inimical feelings which these tribes entertained against France. At the same time, it was such fantasies as the Arab Kingdom which were at the source of rebellion. As long as the Algerians had not been integrated to European life in Algeria, France could surely expect such troubles to reccur.

The manner in which assimilation would, meanwhile, be carried out had never been made clear. At face value, all the institutions which protected Algerian society were being slowly eroded. In theory, it had become established that the Algerians could now enjoy the same rights in return for the same duties as were granted their European neighbours. The Government should see to it that all prejudice and discrimination be thwarted. In practice, the philosophy of assimilation, whether religious or secular, had condoned prejudice and discrimination from the very start ⁴⁶. The failure of assimilation, which the insurrections of the Constantinois brought

46. On the racophobia of the Settlers, see Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 343-345.

about, indicated finally that three forces had been set to resist the civilization of the Algerians. Besides the Algerians themselves can be mentioned the Settlers and the Military.

The Settlers denied that the political, legal, cultural and economic equalities with the indigenous elements were desirable at all; they feared the implications of such objectives for their own well-being in Algeria. The Military had established, throughout the years, their own supremacy over the Algerians and they were jealous of all attempts to strip them of their position of control of the non-European areas of Algeria. To the Military, association remained the most desirable form of relation between French and Algerians. Ironically, this idea was being shared by each of the Algerians and the Settlers alike.

The Rejection of Assimilation

Opposition to assimilation had risen high from all parties concerned and was rapidly abandoned by the Government. Instead, a policy of association which aimed at satisfying all those who vented their anger at the previous régime was elaborated which culminated

ed, in 1898, in the establishment of Financial Delegations that would represent both the Settlers and the Algerians.

The Europeans, whose numbers had reached, in 1886, the impressive number of 464.820 held fifty four of the sixty seats in the Financial Delegations⁴⁷. The Algerians, on the other hand, were awarded six seats to represent an indigenous population of three and a quarter million. Distribution, as had been remarked by the Government, had not been based on population numbers but on interests. It is clear that, only sixty years after the establishment on Algerian soil of a modern society, its members controlled already the major resources of this land. Algeria had certainly changed ever since 1830.

What then was being expected from the association of the two societies which continued to live side by side while retaining

47. On the Financial Delegations, see L. Milliot, "Le Gouvernement de l'Algérie", Cahiers..., V, pp. 30-34. On population statistics, see T. Opperman, Le problème..., chart on p. 43.

each its own features? At the time of Bugeaud, the French State had willed to keep the indigenous society in submission while the one it set to create could evolve without interference with or from the other. The régime which Napoléon III instituted in Algeria had rejected the artificial state of the French Makhzan. Its authors had believed that the modern European economy of Algeria could not develop unless it became assisted by the traditional Muslim economy. The Arab Kingdom became the reserve upon which French Algeria would draw as it expanded. The first adequate theory of French colonialism in Algeria had been formulated. It would have born its fruits had the interests of the Settlers not arisen to conflict with those of Metropolitan Capitalism.

The Settlers who had witnessed the final defeat of the rebellions of the Constantinois and of Greater Kabylia called for total control over the indigenous population. The outcome of the restoration of law and order in eastern Algeria had reaped their society large areas of fertile lands which were confiscated from

all dissident tribes⁴⁸. It now became the objective of the Settlers to destroy the social structure of the Algerians once and for all.

On the Algerian side, many areas had been swift to denounce the rebels against French rule and they reaffirmed their own allegiance to France⁴⁹. They emphasized, meanwhile, that they expected the treaties which respected their own entities to be retained. Theirs was a call for the status quo ante which provided them with their own place in Algeria. The context they referred to had changed and the times of Bugeaud could not be reverted to anymore. The economic structures of the French territory had been revolutionized by the money economy from France. The changes which now afflicted the Algerians could not be erased and would have to be met with the appropriate adjustments in and outside their society.

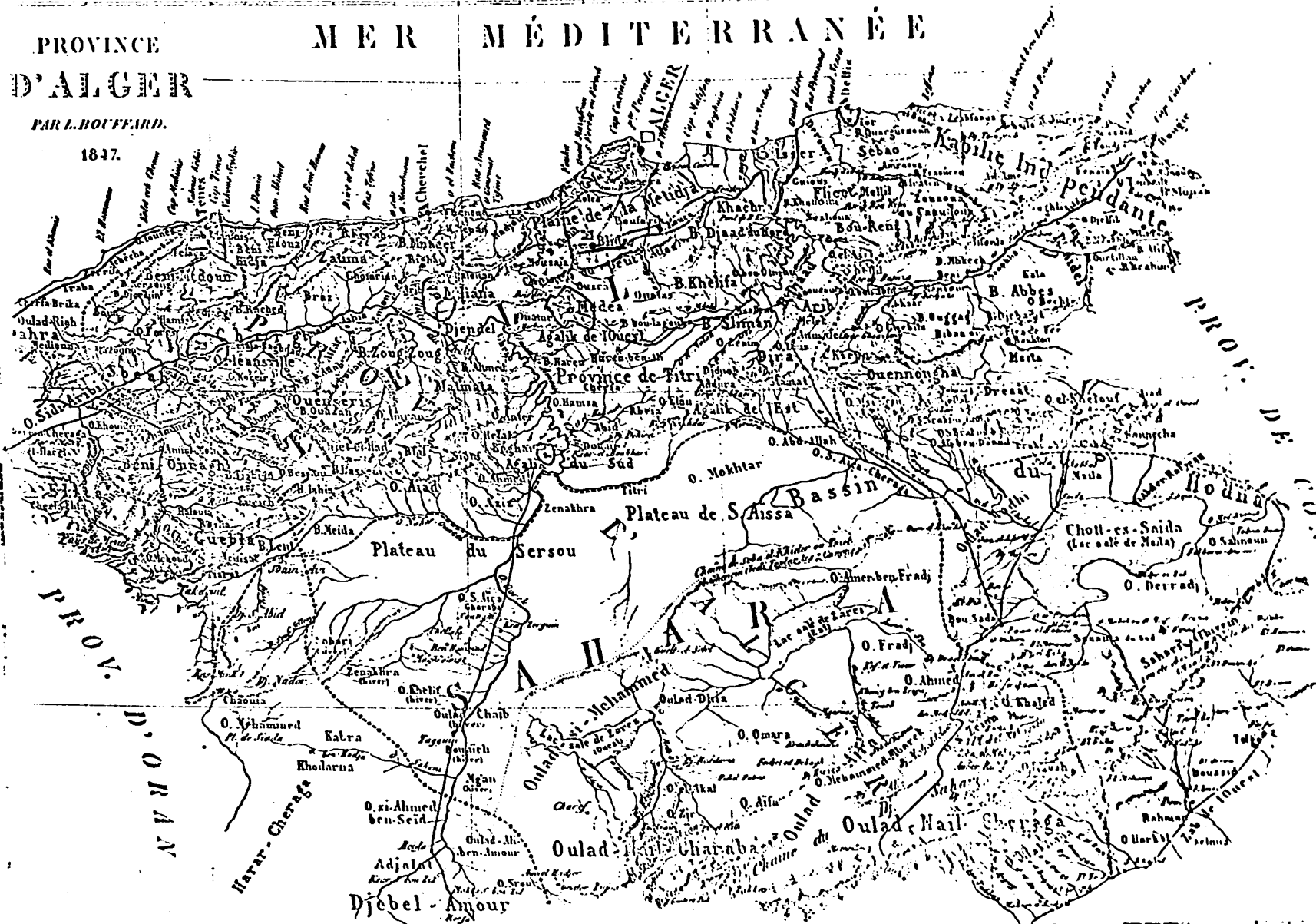
48. 574.000 more acres of land were acquired from 1870 to 1875, all in eastern Algeria. A fine of 36.500.000 francs was also imposed on the rebels. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 493-494.

49. A reference to the Constantine Brief of which more will be said in the following chapter.

PROVINCE
D'ALGER

PAR J. BOUFFARD.

1847.



CHAPTER IV

The Consequences

of

the Impact of France

for

Muslim Algeria

The establishment of a modern French society in Algeria had damaged beyond repair the traditional institutions which, in the past, had secured stability to the Algerians. The well integrated traditional society which had once harboured these institutions had been disrupted. Medieval Algeria could exist no more.

Change, to mean the accomodation on the part of the Algerians to French presence in their lands, had characterized the turn of the century in Algeria. Some aspects of their traditional past had been left to them and they continued to nurture them. Alien values were also being instilled in Algeria and the Algerians catered to them as well. In contrast with medieval times, the era of French Algeria portrayed the absence of the social integration of the past. The Algerians had entered their own period of transition in which the values of Islām and those of Europe would co-exist with one another. The history of modern Algeria stems from the impact of the French on the indigenous Algerian society.

The Desintegration of the Bourgeoisie in Algeria

In 1835, Baron Pichon, a French administrator in Algiers, had witnessed the depletion of the city's population. Its inhabitants had been reduced by two thirds. They had either fled or else they succumbed to famine and disease ¹. Pichon's description of the capital of the Dey, five years after the Conquest, had well indicated that the new rule had not solely been aimed at deposing the governors of Algeria. It dealt the conquered territories their deadliest blow when French occupation of the cities of Algeria undermined the indigenous Algerian bourgeoisie.

In 1830, an important migration of Algerian city dwellers had been recorded by the French. The city dwellers fled the advancing French armies and sought refuge in the safer cities of Morocco and Tunisia. Two years later, more urban Algerians had joined the em-

1. Quoted by M. Leclercq, "Le Nationalisme...", p. 215. The population of Algiers had been estimated at 75,000 (see X. Yacono, "Peut-on évaluer la population de l'Algérie en 1830?", R. A., XCVIII, chapter 12). Reports by Le Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Poujoulat and Marius-Nicolas Paul, also mentioned by M. Leclercq, substantiate the claim made by Pichon in Alger sous la domination française, Paris, 1833, that the urban population of Algiers was being undermined by the Conquest.

igrants in the neighbouring Muslim lands. They feared not so much for their lives as for the future of the trade and handicraft which had been their own for many centuries².

The Algerian bourgeoisie which the French aimed at displacing had been established, along with the State of the Regents, in the sixteenth century³. It was associated with the Race. Its members

2. The 1830 and 1832 migrations were described by L. Veuillot, Les Français en Algérie; souvenir d'un voyage fait en 1841, Tours, 1845. Other migrations followed in 1854, 1860, 1870 and 1875 (M. Lacheraf, 'Le Nationalisme...', p. 234). The cities of Wahrān, Talamān, Mu'askar, Innāba, Arziyū, al-Qall, al-Qalma, Qalala, al-Midiya, al-Aṣnām and others suffered the same fate.

3. The choice of the term bourgeoisie ought not be misleading. It is not used here in its Marxist European sense. It does not refer to the class which emerged, in the European cities, as a result of Feudalism and in opposition to it. The bourgeoisie of Islām had arisen in its cities. Its role in the administration and economic activities of the Islamic Empires, had not been in conflict with the role of the non-urban elements of Muslim society. In Algeria, such a bourgeoisie had existed ever since the State had made its needs known. It resulted from the type of economy which the Regents initiated. Algiers had emerged as the entrepôt of the Western Mediterranean. The successful conduct of the Race required that administrators, jurists, merchants and artisans assist the navies of the Dey. In time had their cohesion, as a class, emerged which was expressed by common values among the upper population of the cities. ibn Khaldūn refers to this class as that of the acyān, the notables of the city. Another common appellation is that of ashraf. It should be distinguished from his concept of madanīyya which essentially refers to urbanity in general.

provided Khayr al-Dīn and his successors with the administrative cadres which the new polity required. Amongst them were also the merchants which the prosperous trade, off the coast of Barbary, benefited. Whether kuloğlu or moorish, whether their trade was with the seafarers or with the caravans of the hinterland, the bourgeoisie of Algeria identified with the Beyliks. Its values were those of the State. Its interests, also, were those of the rulers⁴.

The decline of the Algerian bourgeoisie had accompanied the decline of the Regency of Algiers during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries⁵. The persistence of government, however,

4. The division of the Algerian bourgeoisie into kuloğlu (koulou-ghli, in the writings of the French) and moorish had stemmed from the establishment of the Regency. The Regents continued, up till 1830, to rely upon Janissaries from Istambul for their soldiery. The sons of these, born of Algerian mothers, could not qualify for military duty. They assumed roles which were similar to those performed by the moors (from the morisco appellation which the Spaniards gave the Muslims). They became government officials and clerics. They represented the bulk of the banafi community in Algeria and Tunisia. In 1830 when the Janissaries were repatriated by the French, the kuloğlus migrated or remained, depending upon their wealth. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 9-10.

5. We are informed in G. Fisher, Barbary legend, war, trade and piracy in North Africa, 1415-1830, Oxford, 1957, pp. 189 and 192,

perpetuated the status of the bourgeoisie. In 1830, the rule of Husayn Dey had been ended. The new French State which came into being undermined the political basis of the Algerian bourgeoisie. Many of its members were dismissed from their positions in the administration. Soon, the trade of the Algerians was curtailed. When the local currency was abolished, many of them who had already lost their property were bankrupt. Their attempts to restore Husayn Dey to power brought further calamities upon them ⁶. In

that the welfare of the Regency had been in tune with their ability to control the Western Mediterranean. During the middle of the seventeenth century, the British had shown their capability to outpace the French, the Spaniards, the Venetians and the Barbary-escues (also known to the Europeans as the Algerines). Algiers, which was invested many times by the ships of the Stuarts and the galleys of the Regents of England, proved finally unable to check Sir Robert Mansel in 1620. The trade which the Algerines practiced with Civita Vecchia, Livorno and Palermo, in the Tyrrhenian Sea, with Venice and Anco, in the Adriatic Sea, and with Ragusa, on the Straits of Sicily, and which caused goods from the Eastern Mediterranean and the Maghrib to be exchanged against those of Europe (the terms of trade remained for long favourable to the Muslims as is indicated by the capture of a Dutch ship by the British in 1621. The ship carried some cloth and some porcelain and much precious metal from Leghorn - Livorno - to Algiers) had dwindled by the 18th. century. Algiers, once the most important port of call in the area, had ceased to attract the attention of Europe.

6. A certain Si Sa'ad had followed Husayn Dey to Livorno, where the latter lived in exile and invited him back. The conspiracy to restore the Regency in which at least thirty notables were implicated failed. The conspirators were arrested and their prop-

1834, the municipal reforms introduced by France striped them of their last powers and made way for the settlement of Europeans in the cities of Algeria. In 1838, French trading establishments had become noticeable in each of Algiers, Oran and Bône⁷. The economic collapse of the Algerian bourgeoisie resulted in further migrations to Morocco and Tunisia.

The systematic weakening of the Algerian cities may have met the political and economic objectives of France in Barbary. The role which the city in Algeria continued to play could not be retained. The centers of learning which urban Algeria nourished were affected as well. The values of Algerian society found their expression, to a large extent, in these centers. They were upheld

erty confiscated. M. Lacheraf, "Le Nationalisme...", p. 214, records that 3.000 buildings, out of a total of 5.000, had been confiscated in Algiers from the Dey, his followers and the bourgeoisie. For a contemporary view of these events, the moorish Sī Hamdān ibn ʿUthmān al-Khawāja, who welcomed the French landing in 1830, seemingly wrote in 1833 about his impressions. His Mirʾāt, translated into French by Hassūna Daghlīs of Tripoli under the title of L'Après historique et statistique sur la Régence d'Alger, n.d., criticizes the harsh treatment of the Algerian bourgeoisie by Generals Clauzel and Valée. Yet another indigenous critic of France is Ahmad ʿabū Darbā (Bouderba). See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 72-75. None of the two are mentioned in C. Brockelman, Geschichte...

7. The "Tableau des Etablissements Français en 1838" indicated that, by then, the French had instituted their own companies.

by the Algerian bourgeoisie. The loss of their leaders had afflicted all Algerians. For a while, the urban resistance to French rule continued to find its expression among the lower strata of the cities. Eventually, the effort of the Algerians to resist the infringements on the part of the French of their institutions was sustained no more. Algeria became the prey to the civilizing forces from France. ⁸

The Collapse of Traditional Algerian Society

The traditional role of the cities of the Maghrib had been to regulate the social life of their rural and nomadic surroundings.

The prominent merchant families of the Yahiyā Aghās, the Kababtīs, the Ben al-Ṣājī, the Ben al-Jiyār, the Ben Ghashūt, the 'Umar al-Qubbīs, the Ben Sisi, the Sī Lamalīs and the Ben al-Nabī went bankrupt. It should be noticed that these families displayed great wealth at the zenith of Regency rule. At the turn of the 19th. century and long before the coming of the French, they had already betrayed great financial difficulties. This led A. Berque, an apologist of colonization, to claim in "La bourgeoisie algérienne, ou à la recherche de César Biroteau", *Hesperis*, XXV, 1948, pp. 1-29, that the French had displaced no bourgeoisie in Algeria (see pp. 4 and 17).

8. M. Rodinson tells us, in "Le théâtre d'ombres orientales", *Les Lettres Françaises*, 20 August 1953, that the karagöz served this purpose during the early period of the Conquest in Algeria. On the popular level, sentiments were aired which deplored the loss of Muslim lands to the kāfir, praised the valiance of the mujāhid in

The interflow of goods and values had been institutionalized in the polities which arose around the trading centers of Islām. It is the very role of the Algerian cities which the Conquest had brought to an abrupt end. The State of the Regents was being swept away. The political role of Algiers was terminated. The French also altered the life of its immediate environment. The desintegration of the traditional Algerian society had become a reality⁹.

The control by the French of the Algerian coast had caused the trade from the hinterland to recede. Soon, the policy of land spoliation which the government instituted had curtailed productivity in the agricultural and pastoral areas. The famine of the year 1867

his struggle against the rūm etc. On 6 April 1832, the Ouffia tribe (Banū Awfiyā²) had been treacherously exterminated by Rovigo. The cities of Mu^caskar and Talamsān were set ablaze on 6 December 1835 and 15 February 1836 respectively. In 1843, the karagōz was finally forbidden by the French for the very ideas it vented.

9. A study along the lines of M. Weber's The city, New York, 1958, remains to be made for the non-European urban settlements. Sparse information can be drawn for the Muslim city from R. Levy, The social structure of Islam, Cambridge, 1962, from H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, London, 1951, and from P. Bourdieu, The Algerians, Boston, 1962. ibn Khaldūn's Les Prolegomènes represents an important source of information on the role of the Muslim city in Medieval times.

had afflicted an estimated half million Algerians¹⁰. A Commission was appointed to look into its causes. It decreed that the collapse of the traditional Algerian society was in its most advanced stages.

The findings of the Le Hon Commission resume the policies of the French in Algeria from 1830 till 1862¹¹. Under the governorship of Clauzel, Valée and Bugeaud, the traditional Algerian society had submitted to the French Makhzan. Its own institutions were accommodated to the new power which had arisen on the Algerian scene. With the appointment of General Randon as Governor-General in 1851, the very basis of Algerian society had been undermined. Traditional Algeria could be sustained no longer¹².

10. M. Lacheraf, "Le Nationalisme...", p. 235, points out to the omission of this fact by A. Berque, in "La bourgeoisie...", and criticises him for it.

11. On the Le Hon Commission and the Béhic Report which followed, see Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., pp. 442-443.

12. P. Bourdieu, The Algerians, p. 121, relates from Capitaine Vaissière the following quotation from the chieftain of the Awlad Rashā'ish: "The French defeated us in the plains of Sbikha. They killed our young men; they forced us to make a war contribution when they occupied our territories. All this is nothing; wounds

The change in land tenure had been accompanied in Algeria by substantial administrative and fiscal reforms. Each of these was aimed at consolidating the nascent European society on Algerian soil. The three spokesmen for indigenous Algeria, Hasan ibn Ibrāhīmāt from Algiers, al-Makkī ibn Bādīs from Constantine, and Ahmad ibn Awlād al-Qādī from Oran, whom the Le Hon Commission interviewed, were unanimous in criticizing these measures. They advocated a return to the time of the French Makhzan .

13

eventually heal. But the setting up of private property and the authorization given to each individual to sell his share of the land, this means the death sentence for the tribe, and twenty years after these measures have been carried out the Ouled Recha-ich will have ceased to exist''. General Randon was appointed Governor-General on 25 December 1851 by Saint-Arnaud, the head of Napoléon III's Government. His mandate lasted until 25 June 1858 after which he became prime-minister. Randon had been introduced to set an Arab Kingdom alongside the European community in Algeria. He revoked Bugeaud's indigenous policies and tightened his grip on the indigenous leadership. See Ch.A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 410.

13. The Royal Ordinances of 15 April 1845 and 1 September 1847 and the Royal Decree of 9 December 1848 had finalized the administrative reforms of Algeria. Three Departments replaced the Beyliks of Algiers, Oran and Constantine. These reforms were geographical. Demographically, the Algerian population fell under military command while the Settlers were administered by civilian authority. ibid., pp. 353-354. The Algerians had lost much of their land. They were now required to pay higher taxes which, ever since 1840, were being perceived directly by the French. That year, they had paid 300.000 francs in traditional taxes. Ten years later, Randon had

The Béhic Report, which had tabled the findings of the Commission in Parliament, advised that the traditional Algerian society be protected from the inroads of the society of the Settlers into its activities. The Algerian society had lost five million acres of its lands in 1848 and ten more million acres were obtained the following year. A few years later, it lost thirty five other million acres of land. The Report warned against future land spoliations. The State should guarantee the interests of the Algerians.

In terms of the integrated Algerian society of yesteryears, there is no doubt that the process which had dismembered it could not be reverted any more. The gradual loss of its bourgeoisie rendered any role the city could have had invalid. The expropriation of its lands had mutilated the rural and nomadic Algerians beyond rehabilitation. That a semblance of organization may have been retained expressed the indigenous policies of the French in

perceived close to four million francs from the same society. The Algerians protested, yet to no avail, these measures which reduced the powers of their leaders, impoverished them and caused great hardships to befall them. ibid., pp. 230 and 364-365.

the cities and in the countryside of Algeria. It had no sociological basis whatsoever left to it.

The Peculiar Constantinois

The case of the Constantinois, the third and recentmost acquired territory of Algeria, had no doubt been peculiar throughout the early stages of French colonization in North Africa. This peculiarity stemmed from the special treatment which its inhabitants received after the fall of Constantine in 1838. It was also marked by the state of this Eastern Province prior to the Conquest.

The tightly knit Constantinois had successfully resisted the various French incursions into Eastern Algeria¹⁴. In 1836, the arms of Ahmed Bey had rebelled the expeditionary force which General La Moricière commanded. In spite of the economic blockade which the French had imposed upon its people from the north, the

14. Ch-A. Julien best relates, in Histoire..., pp. 132-135, the French assaults on Constantine. The conquest of Algeria was completed in 1857, under Randon, after Great Kabylia, the Mizab valley and the Sahara desert were brought under French control.

Constantinois was able to retain its own independence longer than had other parts of median Algeria.

General Valée had noticed the peculiarity of the Constantinois when he chose to move against its ruler. Elsewhere in Algeria, the Beys had surrendered their governorships by their own accord to France. Or else, the dissension which opposed them to their subjects rendered the task of the French easier than not. In the Constantinois, the Bey continued to assume leadership over his tribal and urban subjects. He enjoyed the loyalty of the Makhzan jund and of the jamā'a alike.

The Constantinois had owed its strength to the traditional role which its main city, Constantine, continued to play. Like the cities of North Africa, Constantine outgrew its initial encampment functions. The military settlement of Roman times became, with the succession of dynasties and orders, integrated into its surrounding areas and regulated the political and economic lives of the countryside¹⁵.

15. A useful history of Constantine is the encyclopedic Histoire

There had, meanwhile, been more to the function of the ancient Cirta than administration of territory, trade and industry. In the centers of learning which, after the spread of Islām, surrounded the city's largest mosque, the social and cultural precepts of the day were elaborated. In this sense was the role which Constantine performed one of providing values for the entire Constantinois.

At the time of the decline of the Beylical order, most evident during the early nineteenth century, deep changes had been witnessed in the province of Constantine. While the territories of the Dey, with the exception of Constantine, felt the impact of Europe in their trade with Marseille and Ragusa and struggled against terms which were unfavourable to them, in the Constantinois, the merchants indicated their ability to continue to trade

de Constantine sous la domination turque, de 1517 A 1837, Constantine, 1867, by E. Vaysettes. Consult also G. Yver, "Constantine", E.I., I, pp. 864-867.

with Tunisia and Italy to their own comparative advantage¹⁶.

The merchants and artisans of Constantine relied for their prosperity upon their skills to meet external as well as internal challenges to their position. Internally, they related to the various elements of their society to the benefit of all these. In the face of the political threat which Constantine faced, after 1830, it became therefore evident that city, tribes and Beylical rule should stand fast and united.

The Insurrection of 1871

General Valée had assured the inhabitants of the Constantinois that their society would be respected by the French. Ahmad Bey was replaced by a governor from among their own. A jamā'a was formed in Constantine to assist in government. The Makhzen tribes

16. A. Barque well underlines, in "La bourgeoisie...", p. 17, that, while the merchants of the coast were gradually impoverished, the Constantine merchants, especially the Ben Bādīs and the Ben al-Afjūn (Lefjoun) accrued their wealth considerably. So were the city's artisans able to find outlets for their products.

were rehabilitated to their previous role¹⁷. The Constantinois submitted with loyalty to France.

In 1851, General Randon's reforms had not spared the Constantinois and European colonization found its way beyond the Awrās mountains to the plateaux of Constantine, the Sahl, the Farjīwa, the Mijāna and the southern plains of Eastern Algeria. In Constantine itself, an insignificant yet unprecedented number of Settlers took residence there¹⁸. The Cantonment Lāw, the Senatus-Consulte of 1863 and the administrative reforms of 1845 and 1848 were also implemented to its people. The Constantinois would become at last a ground for French settlement as were Central and Western Algeria.

17. See M. Lacheraf, "Le Nationalisme...", pp. 235-239. The five bashāghās of the tribes of the Banū 'Isa, the Hamlāwīs, the Banū Abū Ahmad, the Muqrānīs and the Banū Sa'īd continued to collect taxes for the French Makhzan. The Banū 'Isa, who defended Constantine at the Battle of La Brèche, causing the death of three high ranking officers, Generals Damrémont and Caraman and Colonel Combes, were forgiven. So were the qā'ids of the Hananshas, the Harāktas and the Sharrāqas.

18. In contrast to the other Algerian cities, Constantine remained most un-Europeanized in character. Out of a population of 20.882,

As soon as the capitulation of Napoléon III had become clear in Europe, at Aobū in the Kabyle mountains, a meeting of chieftains, notables and marabouts took the steps which would foment rebellion against France ¹⁹. Their grievances, which brought about the 1871 Insurrection, pertained entirely to the colonial policies of France in Eastern Algeria. These policies, which contravened the 1838 Agreements, could not be tolerated further by the traditional leaders of the Constantinois.

only 1919 were European, by the middle of the 19th. century. This nucleus of Settlers had, meanwhile, made its imprint on the city. The first newspaper of Constantine, Le Journal de Constantine (renamed Le Progrès in 1850) was rapidly followed by L'Indépendant de Constantine and La Dépêche de Constantine. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 255.

19. The most complete report on the 1871 Insurrection remains L. Rinn, Histoire de l'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie, Alger, 1891. Also, Comte de Margon, Insurrections dans la Province de Constantine, Paris, 1883. Also, G. Yver, "Awras" and "Constantine", E.I., pp. 519-523 and 864-867. Finally, R. Basset, L'insurrection algérienne de 1871 dans les chansons folkloriques kabyles, Louvain, 1892. In 1840, Farhāt ibn Sa'īd was demoted as bashāghā and replaced by Abū 'Azīz ibn Ghānā. See M. Lacheraf, "Le Nationalisme...", p. 236. Both Muhammad Muqrānī, bashāghā of the Mīlān, and Muhammad Rizaī, qaḍī of Sūc Ahrās, would lose their position in 1870. The tribes of the Constantinois, which had been confined to the arid chotts of the West and had lost their fertile lands to the settlements around Setif, Guelma and the plains of the Keff, followed the call of their leaders. See L. Rinn, Histoire..., pp. 117-118.

The insurrectionists had rallied around the person of Muḥammad al-Ḥajj Muqrānī, the bashāghā of the Mijāna. The war he intended to conduct had taken the character of a jihād when the muqaddam of the Rahmānīyya in the Awrās mountains, Sī Muḥammad Amziyyān al-Haddād, drew his entire ṭarīqa to the side of Muqrānī. The prominent Rizoīs of Sūc Ahrās and the Marabout of the Ḥammārīyya joined the insurrectionists. In mid-February 1871, the tribes from the Mijāna, Sūc Ahrās, Tizwīzū and the Kaff descended upon the European settlements of Sétif, Colo, Milia and Guélma. The day of liberation to which Sī Amziyyān had so often referred was now near. The population of Eastern Algeria had suffered enough. It would undo the wrongs which had been done to its members by the French 20.

20. The jihād was proclaimed on 10 April 1871. In accordance with the fiqh, the French were invited to convert to Islām or pay the jizīya. The tribesmen then descended on the settlements of Sétif, al-Qall, al-Miliya, and al-Qalma. The new settlements of Philippeville, Valée, Damremont and Saint Antoine were also ravaged. See L. Rinn, Histoire..., p. 203. That the Rahmānīyya and the Ḥammārīyya will have been involved is understandable; they remained the main Mystical Brotherhoods in the Constantinois. Under the Beylik, the Rahmānīyya had been reputed for its loyalty to the established order. It remained loyal to the French until its adepts could resist the policies of land spoliation no longer. See O. Devant et X. Comolani, Les Confréries..., pp. 212-213.

France had become once again reminded of the year 1832, when 'abd al-Qādir organized the tribes of Oranie against her. The year of Muqrānī, in reality, differed from the time when the leaders of Western Algeria appointed at Khāṣībīyya the son of Muḥiyī al-Dīn al-Qādirī to lead them into battle against the French. The Qādirī coalition had essentially aimed at inheriting the Beylik of Wahrān while, forty years later in the Constantinois, France's allies of yerteryears rebelled in the face of its betrayal of past commitments. Muqrānī and his allies would have welcomed a return to the days of the French Makhzan. Their frustrations induced them to end by war a partnership which they had freely chosen to enter in the wake of the Qādirī threat against them.

The suppression of the Muqrānī Insurrection was ruthless. France well indicated that, although defeated at Sedan, it remained invincible in Algeria. The insurrectionists were fined 36.582.298 francs and they lost 446.406 acres of their best lands ²¹. The

21. Another 64.583 acres of poor land was exchanged for richer land

uniformity of fate which they dreaded fell on the Constantinois and brought it once and for all in line with the remaining French territories of Algeria.

The Briefs of Constantine to the Governor-General

While it is true to say that the 1871 Insurrection had only involved the Constantinois, well indicating that the rest of Algeria remained submissive to France, it is also significant that, in the Constantinois, the city of Constantine had dissociated itself from the insurrectionists as soon as their intents became known. On 29 April 1871, the notables of Constantine had sent a brief to this effect to Governor-General Gueydon. They wished to reiterate their loyalty to the Government ²².

in the Constantinois. See L. Rinn, Histoire..., p. 649. J. Renouard remarks, in Le régime des terres en Algérie et le décret du 13 Septembre 1904, Poitiers, 1907, p. 31, that the State Domains had run short of land. Such expropriations as did take place in 1870 were welcomed. In the Constantinois, Corsh lands were twice the area of mulk lands: 1.103.363 acres against 523.162. The new government measures had obviously affected the tribes most. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 426.

22. See L. Rinn, Histoire..., pp. 214-215. An excerpt from this letter reads as follows: "Les citadins, sédentaires et lettrés, aimant le calme, la paix, la tranquillité et le bien-être. Désireux de se procurer des ressources, ils se livrent aux professions

The submission of central and western Algeria to France, during and after the Franco-Prussian War, had become understandable. Organized indigenous society had been undermined in these areas. The various traditional leaders of the Algerois and of Oranie were subdued by the Office of Indigenous Affairs. Their social base had been considerably altered. France could fear them no longer. The unprecedented stand of Constantine, whereby its inhabitants disengaged themselves from the destinies of their

manuelles, au négoce, à l'agriculture, à tous genres d'industrie; ils respectent l'autorité, ils sont les amis de l'ordre, ennemis de l'arbitraire, des troubles, de l'insoumission. Ils cherchent à vivre dans l'aisance avec leurs femmes et leurs enfants, voulant pour tous la justice et la consécration des droits individuels... Quant aux bédouins (gens de tribus), Dieu les a affligés de la convoitise du bien d'autrui et de l'incapacité d'acquiescer des biens honnêtement; ils demandent la richesse aux rivalités, aux divisions intestines, à la rapine, à la violence, au pillage, à l'effusion de sang, sans se préoccuper si leurs victimes sont de leur religion ou d'un culte différent... L'insurrection est chez eux une affaire de tempérament, de goût et de tradition, il suffit de consulter l'histoire...'. The signatories of this brief deserve mention: they are 'Alīwa ibn al-Sāsī, Hammūda ibn al-Shaykh and Muhammad ibn Bādīs, members of the municipal council, Muhammad ibn 'Azzūz and al-Makkī ibn Bādīs, qādīs, Sulaymān ibn Sārdū and al-Tayyib ibn Wafdāl, the hanafī and malikī Muftīs, and the kuloğlu merchant al-Hajj Saḡhīr ibn Kushūk 'Alī. This letter is interesting in that it expresses the world view of the Algerian bourgeoisie. Its values on religion, law and economy were shared by 'Ulamā and merchants, by moors and kuloğlus alike. The brief almost reads like a page from ibn Khaldūn's Les Prolégomènes.

natural surroundings was far more significant. It indicated that the desintegration of the Constantinois was in its advanced stages. The language of the 1871 Brief, which is reminiscent of ibn Khaldūn's own plea against the hazards of nomadism for the welfare of urbanity and civilization, acknowledged the breakdown of eastern Algeria into its various and distinct social elements.

The 1871 Brief had salvaged the inhabitants of Constantine from the repression of the French. The Government spared the city at a time when its brutality against the tribal society of the Constantinois had become exemplary. In terms of Constantine's bourgeoisie, this meant that a new lease on life had been granted to them once again. The 1871 Brief paved the way for the second and more important brief which the citizens of Constantine sent the Government in 1887.

The first brief from Constantine had conceded that France was in Algeria to stay; it also reiterated the loyalty of the traditional bourgeoisie to the French. The second brief from Constantine voiced the apprehensions, on the part of its one thousand seven hundred signatories, that the Algerian society

would eventually desintegrate and disappear if France did attempt
to assimilate its members to the civilization of the French²³ .

The importance of the 1887 Brief from Constantine pertains to
the fact that its authors had chosen to speak for all Algerians.

The indigenous policies of France had proven successful in the
political sphere in Algeria. The French divided and ruled over
what was once the Makhzan. The survival of traditional urban
society in Constantine, on the other hand, indicated that the
values of France could not be adopted indiscriminately by the
Algerians. Constantine had succeeded to preserve the heritage

23. This brief is partly reproduced in M. Lacheraf, "Le Nationalisme...", pp. 240-241. It aimed at opposing the Bill tabled on that year by the deputies Michelin and Gaulier. This Bill would have awarded all Algerians the French citizenship. It reads as follows: "Cette proposition (de loi) ne nous convient pas et ne peut combler nos vœux... L'entrée dans la nationalité française aurait pour conséquence à notre égard la suppression complète de notre loi et de notre code, tant au point de vue des questions matérielles (mobilières et propriété) qu'au point de vue du statut-personnel... Notre plus cher désir, la chose à laquelle nous tenons le plus c'est de conserver notre loi... En nous soumettant en bloc et sans restriction à la naturalisation française, on nous entrainerait en outre à l'abandon de nos coutumes et l'on apporterait une perturbation dans nos mœurs". It will be recalled that, both the Senatus Consulte of 14 July 1865 and the Crémieux Decree of 24 October 1870, granted the Algerians the possibility of becoming French if they chose to abandon their own Muslim status. See J.P. Chornay, La vie musulmane en Algérie d'après la jurisprudence de la première moitié du XIXe siècle, Paris, 1965, pp. 252-253.

of traditional Algeria. Its voice was made heard at a time when the traditional cities had been silenced throughout the colony. Its message was a simple one. It called, together with the Settlers, for association with France rather than assimilation into it.

Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī

The 1887 Brief of the city of Constantine has been attributed to the pen of Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī, the ʿālim from the Madrasa of Constantine and ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's most venerated teacher²⁴. It expressed, among other things, the deep apprehensions of the 'Ulamā' in the face of the transformation of their office by the French. It watched the isolation of the madrasa with much concern. It called for an end to direct interference by the

24. The claim is made by M. Lacheraf, 'Le Nationalisme...', p. 243. It has not been mentioned by others. A possible co-author is ʿabd al-Qādir al-Shaykh Majjāwī, a colleague of Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī. He later moved to Algiers to teach in its Madrasa. On Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī, the scanty information we have is owed to ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, his loyalmost pupil. Many of the Shaykh's ideas and attitudes will be adopted by his disciple, as will be shown in the following chapters.

State into the affairs of the 'Ulamā'. It warned that the policies of assimilation which the Government promoted could not be welcomed under any circumstance.

The religious policies of France in Algeria had amounted to institutionalized Islām being undermined throughout the conquered territories. In spite of the assurances which General Bourmont had given the Muslims in Algeria in 1830, various steps had been taken by his successors which interfered with the Mosque, with the Madrasa and with the Sharī'a Courts²⁵. In view of the

25. On the attitude of the French towards the Mosques of Algeria, much confusion has been caused by their misconception of what they considered Beylical property. The Royal Decree of 8 September 1830 had made this property State-owned. Included were all mosques which the rulers used privately. They fell under the administration of the hanafī Muftī. The French invariably allowed these mosques to decay, or else they were demolished or converted into churches. Between 1831 and 1833, for instance, General Rovigo offered many such mosques to the clergy. In 1860, the large Jāmi' Kashshāwa which stands in front of the Saṣaba became the Cathedral of Saint Philippe. It is my own contention that this mosque was under hanafī jurisdiction and that no mālikī mosque was, indeed, desecrated. Beylical mosques were commonly situated near the official residence of the ruler. This one was not. The name of the Kashshāwa Mosque could be derived from the Turkish keçe, keçeci and its Arabic adaptation kecewi would rather have to do with a Janissary corp which wore a felt cap than with the corporation of felt artisans, the makers of shishiyas, Andalusians who were of mālikī rite. The Algerians understandably had resented the fate of these mosques. It is interesting to refer to D. Gordon, The passing of French Algeria, Oxford, 1966, p. 112: "On July 6 (1962) a mob of several hundreds invaded and damaged the Cathedral of Algiers. Soon the Cathedral was reconverted into a mosque...".

overt civilizational objectives of France towards the Algerians, the matter had become a serious one indeed for the 'Ulamā' to consider.

The religious policy of France in Algeria had been to better control and submit the religious leadership of that land. The French Church took it upon itself to spread Christianity among the Algerians. To the average Algerian, the actions of State and those of Church could not very well be differentiated. Civilizing the Muslims and proselytizing Algeria equally threatened the institutions of traditional religion in Algeria. The country's 'Ulamā' were best qualified to notice it.

Over the reform of the Madrasa, those of Médea, Tlemcen and Constantine became the official ones as a result of the Decree of 30 September 1850. They had originated with the establishment of the Regency. Muḥammad al-'Abdārī, while visiting Algiers in the 13th. century, remarked that he could not find one single 'Ālim. The historian ibn 'Alī ibn 'Askar, writing in Dawlat al-nāsir li mahāsini man kāna bi al-maghrib min mashāhīr al-qarn al-'āshir (C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., S II, 678), describes, on the contrary, the flourishing sciences there. In 1855, the Madrasa of Médea was transferred to Blida and, in 1859, it finally was moved to Algiers. See J. Carret, Le problème de l'indépendance du culte musulman en Algérie, L'Afrique et l'Asie, 1957, p. 11. These madrasas became the only centers whose learning was acceptable to the French administration.

The Decree of 3 October 1848 had made all waof property in
Algeria owned by the State ²⁶. Expenditures for the operation
of the various religious offices would be apportioned from the
general budget. Islām was being organized officially in Algeria.
Mosques, Madrasas and Shari'ā Courts became State-run. They were
staffed by government appointed civil servants ²⁷. The Office

On the Shari'ā Courts, the Royal Decree of 22 July 1834 had made French Public Law universal in Algeria. In the Ordinance of 2 February 1841, the qādīs were appointed by the French Head of State. Their jurisdiction was redefined to meet the administrative, fiscal and legal transformations in Algeria. The Decree of 10 October 1886 finally restricted the jurisdiction of these courts to matters of family law. See J.P. Charnay, La vie..., pp. 251-263.

26. The religious endowments, the waqfs, are known in the Maghrib as hubūs (from habasa, to tie). They were finally taken over, in Algeria, in 1848 by the Government. A Tradition attributed to the Caliph, 'Umar, in which he is supposed to have suggested that all property was waof in that it belonged to God, was interpreted so as to make the State the delegate of God on earth and therefore the beneficiary of the land. It is estimated that, in the Algérois alone, waof property for the value of 4.761.547 francs had been appropriated by the State between 1848 and 1891. This excluded the religious endowments which had been identified with the property of the Dey in 1830. See O. Depont et X. Coppolani, Les confréries..., pp. 232 and 235.

27. The institutionalization of Islām in French Algeria differed from medieval times. Official Islām, in Algeria, was State-run and State-financed as never before in the history of Islamic institutions. The dichotomy Shari'ā-Siyāsa existed no longer. In medieval times, the autonomy of endowed religious institutions had, no doubt, been the reason for the uninterrupted tension between Religion and State. With the ending of waof resources, the Mosque, the Madrasa and the Shari'ā Court became the tool of French administration in Algeria. In 1900, E. Doutte counted 1545 officials running the religious institutions of the Algerian cities. See his L'Islām Algérien, Paris, 1900, pp. 127-128.

of Indigenous Affairs supervised their operations for the first time in Algeria.

The Mystical Brotherhoods also had suffered similar changes in their own religious organization²⁸. The appropriation of

waqf property by the State had affected them as well. Their

leaders became the clients of the French. They condoned, in

return for a stipend, French presence in Algeria as having

been willed by God²⁹. They had severed, at the same time, the

last links which remained between themselves and the urban inst-

itutions of the Madrasa and the Shari'a Court. This was very much

in line with the social developments within Algeria.

28. In 1891, the Tariqas had lost 1.574.225 francs, 554.078 francs and 509.702 francs in waqf from Oranie, the Constantinois and the Algerois respectively. The leaders of the Mystical Brotherhoods accommodated to such losses by demanding higher sadaca contributions and ziyāra fees. Besides the 6 million francs which the Tariqas collected from these in 1891, another one and one half million reverted to them from initiation fees. This excluded the voluntary labour which the khouan (ikhwān) offered their respective zāwiyas. See, O. Depont et X. Cornolani, Les confréries...., pp. 238 and 240.

29. As is well expressed by the saying "'rabbī... maktūb". Even the Qādiriyya had aligned itself to the side of the Government by the close of the 19th. century. See E. Doutte, L'Islam...., p. 73.

The 'Ulamā' of Constantine had deplored the rise of a religious institution to cater to the needs of the countryside independently from the centers of learning of traditional Algeria. The Official 'Ulamā' were made powerless in the face of their French employer. Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī and his colleagues appear to have chosen, as a last resort, to preserve the values which their training endowed them with ³⁰. They had become estranged from the bulk of

30. On 10 April 1891, a brief sent by Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir ibn al-Hajj 'Alī Mu'iz, Ḥamīda ibn Bādīs and 'Ammār ibn Aḥmad, all three qādīs serving outside Constantine (cadi de banlieu), had complained of the curtailment of the powers of the 'Ulamā'. This brief is reproduced in al-Shihāb, April 1937, p. 67. J.P. Charnay, La vie..., pp. 238-239, well indicates that the replacement of the Regency by the French State had loosened the ties of city and country in the field of jurisprudence and law and favoured tribal customary law over the Shari'a (he refers specifically to the kanun of Kabylia and to the sijjar of Wādī Mizāb). Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī attempted to salvage the fate of the Madrasa by investing into its students. In this institution of traditional learning, the French modified the curricula and introduced new courses, in the language, the history, the civilization and the law of the French. Europeans were also attached to the staff of the Madrasas, if we rely upon E. Doutté, L'Islam..., pp. 151-156. Judging from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's comments on Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī, the latter as well as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Shaykh Majjāwī, his colleague who moved to teach at the Madrasa of Algiers, attempted to preserve the heritage of traditional education in the wake of such great odds against it. See al-Shihāb, June-July 1938, p. 289.

the Algerian population and from the (Ulamā) of the rest of the Muslim World. As long as they could preserve the traditions of Islām for the Algerians, it could be hoped that, one day, these traditions would become rehabilitated.

The Evolués

The civilizing aims and the practical government objectives of the French in Algeria had caused the traditional institutions of the Algerians to be altered. The values of the past were tampered with. At the same time, new values were instilled into the Algerians. They resulted from the spread of modern education in Algeria.

In 1832, the Government had instituted French primary schools in each of the cities of Algiers, Oran and Bône ³¹. These schools

31. The avowed aim of the Government was: "... d'arriver à l'instruction des indigènes: c'était le plus sûr moyen de les conquérir à la cause de la France et de la civilisation...". Reported from P. Genty de Bussy, De l'établissement des Français dans la Régence d'Alger et des moyens d'en assurer la prospérité, Alger, 1833, by J. Mirante, "La France et les oeuvres...", p. 77. J. Mirante was Director of the Office of Indigenous Affairs at the time of Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. More will be said about him later.

were open to the children of the traditional leaders of the conquered territories. In 1836, special schools to be known as the Franco-Moorish Schools were experimented with, first in Algiers then in the other major Algerian cities. In 1857, a Franco-Arab College was established in Algiers. It dispensed secondary education. Its example was followed in Constantine and Oran³².

The type of education which was given the Algerians in these various schools had been the same as was offered the French pupils at the time. In 1865, the findings of a commission on education recommended that no change be introduced in this respect³³.

32. ibid., p. 80. The Decrees of 14 July 1850 and 6 August 1850 had brought about six Franco-Muslim schools for boys and four such schools for girls. They were situated in Algiers, Constantine, Oran, Bône and Mostaganem and expanded the type of the Franco-Moorish school. After the Decree of 14 March 1857 founded the Franco-Arab College, another decree, that of 16 June 1865, extended this type of institution to Oran and Constantine.

33. On 20 December 1837, General Valée wrote about the educational policy of his government: "... ce serait d'obtenir l'envoi soit à Alger, soit à Paris même, d'un certain nombre de jeunes Arabes qui, après avoir été initiés aux connaissances diverses qu'on peut acquérir dans nos écoles, rentreraient ensuite dans les rangs de la population indigène où leur présence, leurs récits et les lumières qu'ils auraient acquis deviendraient alors la plus haute utilité pour notre cause", ibid., p. 76.

Algerians should become educated in the French language and be exposed to the same civilization of their French counterpart. This ideal had been retained long after all attempts at assimilation were being abandoned. The necessities of rule demanded that a number of Algerians attain the educational standards of the French even if association rather than assimilation would become the practise of the future.

The French educated Algerians had come to be known as the *Evolués* in Algeria. Their number rose rapidly to eight thousand nine hundred sixty three in 1887. By the turn of the century, there were 24,315 Algerian pupils being educated in the French language

34

In 1865, the educational policy of France had not changed for Algeria. On 9 January, the Governor-General, Mac-Mahon, wrote: "Le programme me semble devoir être calqué sur celui de nos écoles primaires, en laissant une place à l'enseignement de l'arabe". The Arabic language was being paid lip-service to. Meanwhile and in order to ease the growing demand for teachers in Algeria, the Decree of 4 March 1865 created a Teachers Training College for Algerians. *ibid.*, p. 82.

34. M. Lacheraf, "Le Nationalisme...", p. 242, remarks that this was out of a population of one half million Algerians of school age. On the term *evolué*, it was coined by the French and attributed to those Algerians whom the French civilization helped evolve. The term was, no doubt, paternalistic. It was happily adopted by the French-educated Algerians whose schooling made them despise their own heritage and aspire for that of France. A fine picture

Compared to the dwindling number of traditionally educated Algerians, this increase in French educated Algerians was bound to carry serious implications for Algeria in the future.

The appellation of the Evolués carried, no doubt, deep civilizational value in Algeria. The Evolués had benefited from the traditions of France. They had surrendered, at the same time, their own Algerian traditions. The language of adoption of the Evolués, the French language, remained of course the sole criterion for civilization. The colonial reality in Algeria tended to limit the benefits of the French civilization to these Evolués. At the same time, the upholders of the principles of association who represented the majority of the Europeans in Algeria had placed the Evolués on the same footing with the bearers of Algeria's traditional values. They were all indigènes in the eyes of the Settlers.

of this group is given to us in Ferhat Abbas, (Ferhāt 'Abbās) De la Colonie vers la province: le jeune Algérien, Paris, 1931. Compare it with M. Chaudhuri, Autobiography of an unknown Indian, London, 1951.

In 1909, the Evlués had organized to demand what they considered the rights which their education awarded them³⁵. The Young Algerians called for the elimination of all impediments to assimilation in Algeria. They had, once and for all, turned away from the medieval values of their fathers and they opted for the modern values of their rulers. Like their fathers and like all those who retained the custody over the traditions of the past, the Evlués were being frustrated in their ideals. They expressed, meanwhile, these frustrations in a more able way than had Hamdan al-Shaykh al-Wanisi and his like.

The Meaning of Change for Muslim Algeria

It had taken the determination of the French Government and

35. More will be said about Evlués organisation later. Suffice it to say that they had founded circles, such as the La Rachidia, La Toufikia and L'Union franco-indigène. Their most important newspapers, L'Akbar and Le Rachidi were published in the French language, in 1919 in Algiers and Djidelli respectively. On the Jeune Algérie movement, see J. Méliès, L'Algérie et la Guerre, Paris, 1918, p. 149.

the drive and enthusiasm of the Settlers to transform the face of Algeria in less than one century. The traditional institutions of government, of land tenure and of religion were the main targets of colonial rule. The establishment of a modern society in place of the existing one ushered change for the first time into the Maghrib.

If one refers to the values of a people as their civilization and to their mores as their culture, then change meant for the Algerians that, both their civilization and their culture would bare the brunt of French presence in the years to come ³⁶. The Algerians, whose number had doubled in 1901, had become the prey to the civilization from Europe. Once they had lost their lands, the Algerians moved closer to the society of the Settlers. Their culture would eventually succumb to the better sustained mores

36. Reference is here made to the meaning which Ziya Gökalp gives these two concepts. See H. Berkes, Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization, selected essays of Ziya Gökalp, New York, 1959. More will be said later on this.

of the French ³⁷ .

The impact of French Algeria on the values and the mores of its Muslim population had remained, in spite of everything, short of assimilating the Algerians into the civilization and culture

37. T. Opperman, "Le problème....", p. 43, gives the number of Algerians for 1856 as 2.307.349. In 1901, it had risen to 4 million. The demography of colonial areas tell us, on this count, that, whereas colonialism interfered with the death rate by introducing modern hygiene, the birth rate remained traditional and therefore high. In Algeria, the population explosion had been followed by mobility for the Algerians. In the departments of Algiers, Oran and Constantine, figures show that the population was distributed in the civilian territories and in the Territoires de Commandement respectively as follows: 1.180.736 and 216.212; 686.444 and 140.312; and 1.625.995 and 223.390. By 1921, all Algerians in the Algerois and in the Constantinois had fallen under civilian administration. The 1926 census indicated that ever Algerian had, by then, become a part of French Algeria. See J. Mirante, "La France et les oeuvres....", tables on pp. 18-19. Concerning urbanization, the figures are also revealing. In the above-mentioned tables, the cities appear to swell in number and size from one decade to another. Even the traditional cities of Tlemcen and Constantine are affected. Their inhabitants rise from 1881 to 1901 from 79.383 to 116.778 and from 334.882 to 443.909 respectively. This increase is in great part due to rural migration. A substantial number of Algerians, especially from Kabylia, had also migrated to the industrial centers of France. On these, see A. Michel, Les travailleurs algériens en France, Paris, 1956. This dissertation will aim at discussing the relevance of the call which 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis made to the transitional type of Algerian society which was depicted above. The Algerians working in France are excluded here. They appear to have responded to the appeal of Messali Hajj, the self-educated worker who founded the Hizb al-Nijma al-Maghribiyya (L'Etoile Nord-Africaine) in 1926. Special attention will be given Messali Hajj in a later context. Suffice it to say that, whether in Algeria itself or in France, the Algerians had undergone serious enough changes for them to respond to an array of modern ideologies which were radically different from their own traditional urban, rural or nomadic ones.

of modern France. While medieval Algeria could be found nowhere in its adulterated form, it is true to say that modern Algeria remained beyond the reach of all Algerians. This abnormal state characterized Algeria's transition from the levels of civilization and culture of the past to those of the morrow. In terms of individual Algerians, their alienation had become unbearable. In terms of the bulk of Algeria's indigenous population, also, were their tensions growing acute with the years. The First World War erupted in 1914 to divert the attention of the French away from the plight of their Algerian subjects ³⁸.

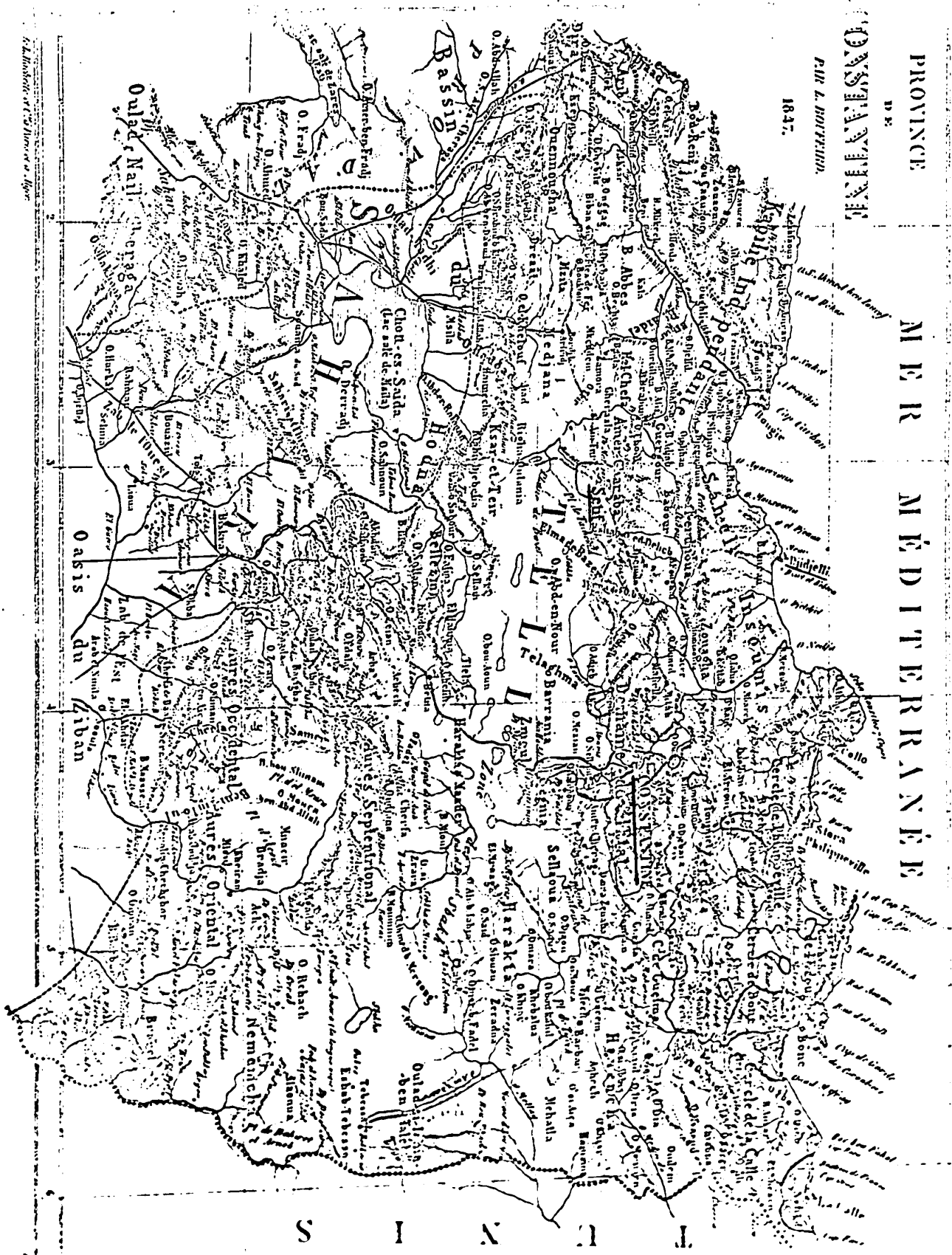
38. In Algeria, controversy over the participation of the Muslims in the war ran high. That many traditional leaders will have sided with France against the Sultan-Caliph was as unexpected as the participation of some Evlués to the 1916 Berlin Conference on Decolonization. See J. Méliá, L'Algérie..., p. 226. On 15 November 1914, in an interview with L'Eclaireur Algerien, Si ibn Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Rizāī, the Malikī Muftī of Algiers, said: "Les musulmans du nord de l'Afrique n'ont rien de commun avec les Turcs que leur religion...". A few 'Ulamā, on the other hand, had chosen the road to exile. Also had most Evlués rallied to the side of France against the Central Powers. The mass of the Algerians, the new proletariat of the cities and the vine growing plantations, remained in the state of despair which colonization causes traditional societies to fall into.

PROVINCE
D'ALGER
CONSULAT

PUR L. HOFFMANN

1847.

MER MÉDITERRANÉE



à l'échelle de 1:250,000

1847

CHAPTER V

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs:

the

Formative Years, 1889-1925

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, one of Algeria's most prominent modern thinkers, was born in Constantine in 1889. He died in that same city in 1940. His lifetime belongs to the period of Algeria's change. His biography reads out of a page of modern Algerian history.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was the product of the Maghrib's nineteenth century. His ideas and his activities and his commitments stemmed, at the same time from the creation of French Algeria. His formative years are essential for the understanding of the rôle he assumed, after 1925, in Algeria.

Prologue: the Son of an Illustrious Family

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was born to Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafa ibn al-Makkī, the Constantine wool merchant and a descendant of the celebrated Bādīs ibn al-Mansūr al-Zirī. al-Muṣṭafa and his family had honoured the city of Constantine of their presence

ever since the year one thousand and seven when the Zīrī lieutenants of the Fātimīs over Ifriqiya were displaced by their cousins, the Hammādids of al-Qal'ā. For a while, the Banū Bādīs - more commonly known in the Maghrib as the Ben Bādīs - had administered the district of Nijāwūs. The fall of the Maghrib to the Zanāta, after the tenth century, stripped them of their real powers. They settled in Constantine and established their name in the trade which made that city prominent in the plains of al-Hama¹.

The Ben Bādīs belonged to the Talkātā tribe of the Sanhāja Confederation of Berbers². They had become arabized during

1. The Ben Bādīs trace their origins to Bādīs ibn al-Mansūr who ruled over Eastern Algeria during the years 996 and 1016. See R. Basset, 'Badis b. al-Mansur', E.I., I, pp. 556-557. al-Mu'izz Ben Bādīs (died in 1061) is, however, considered the father of the family. See ibn Khaldūn, Histoire..., II, p. 45, and C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., G I, 268 and S I, 473.

2. ibn Khaldūn differentiated between badīs and bādīs. The Ben Bādīs were not, according to him, the dwellers of the city of Badīs but rather the descendants of Bādīs al-Sanhājī al-Qayrawānī (Bādīs ibn al-Mansūr). idem. On the Sanhāja and the Zanāta, see G. Marçais, 'Sanhadja', E.I., IV, p. 152, and 'Zenata', E.I., IV, pp. 1223-1224.

their early association with ʿUbayd Allah. In ʿonstantine, where learning had developed to meet the requirements of rule, the Ben Bādīs who had reverted to Sunnī Islām after the expulsion of the Fāṭimīs from the ʿaghrib emerged as prominent mālikī jurists³. By the year 1241, when the Ḥafṣids inherited the administration of Eastern Algeria from the Almohades, the Ben Bādīs succeeded in monopolizing the function and office of qadāʾ⁴ for the city and its immediate surroundings⁴. The establishment of the Beylik over Constantine, in 1529, had not diminished their position. On the contrary, the status of the Ben Bādīs was enhanced

3. The most prominent of these was al-Ḥasan ibn Abī al-ʿĀsim ibn Bādīs (1301-1385), author of al-Nafahāt al-ʿudsiyya. See ibn ʿĀsim Muḥammad al-Ḥifnāwī, Taʿrīf al-Khalaf bi Rijāl al-Salaf, Algiers, 1909, pp. 118-119, and C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., G II, 166 and S II, 314. Also, G. Yver, "Constantine", E.I., I, p. 866.

4. It is clearly stated both by G. Yver and E. Vaysettes, cited above, that the function and office of qadāʾ had become the monopoly of two families in Constantine, the Ben Bādīs and the Ben-jelloul (ibn Jallūl).

by their own determination to collaborate with the Turkish rulers
of the Constantinois⁵ .

The affiliation which the Ben Bādīs had achieved, in the seven-
teenth century, with the ʿIsawīyya Mystical Brotherhood had done
more to strengthen the trade relations which the family establish-
ed for itself within the city and throughout its surrounding
areas than to simply tie them further to the notability of
Constantine⁶ . By the eighteenth century, the prosperity of the

Ben Bādīs was unquestioned in the circles of Eastern Algeria. As
soon as the French made the private ownership of land possible,

5. The Ben Bādīs had become affiliated to the ʿIsawīyya as early as the 17th. century. The Ṭarīqa, founded by Sīdī Muḥammad ibn ʿIsa (born in Maknās in the 15th. century; died in 1524), had been invited to Algeria by the Regents in order to counter the already existing insubordinate Mystical Brotherhoods. In return for its avowed loyalty to the State, the Ṭarīqa was dispensated of all taxes. In Constantine, merchants and ʿUlamā had belonged to the ʿIsawīyya. The city's zāwiya recorded, in the middle of the nineteenth century, 500 ikhwān. See O. Depont and X. Coppolani, Les confréries..., p. 349.

6. Relations between the ʿIsawīyya and the Raḥmānīyya, the main Mystical Brotherhood in the Constantinois, were always cordial. In terms of city and tribal relations, this meant that Constantine related harmoniously with its surroundings. Such was not the case, for instance, in the Algerois between the ʿIsawīyya and the Darcāwīyya. It can be seen as further evidence of the well knit Constantinois. See A. Cour, "Constantine en 1802, d'après une chanson populaire du cheikh Belqāsem Er-Rahmouni El-Haddad", R.A., 1919, pp. 224-240.

the Ben Bādīs had appropriated substantial landholdings to themselves. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's father, alone, claimed close to ten farms as his property ⁷. The future of the Ben Bādīs could seem but bright and promising.

The Ben Bādīs at the Service of France

al-Qabbān ibn Bādīs, 'abd al-Hamīd's great grandfather, had consented to serve under the French on the jamā'a of his city, in 1838. In 1848, when the indigenous hākim of Constantine was replaced by the city's first French mayor, al-Qabbān ibn Bādīs was retained as municipal councilor ⁸. His son, al-Makkī ibn Bādīs,

7. Most of the information pertaining to this section and to the private life of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs was acquired through conversation with his half-brother, 'abd al-Haqq ibn Bādīs, whom I met during a trip to Algeria in the summer of 1966 and who presently lives in the paternal house, 3 Impasse Georges Constant, in Constantine.

8. al-Qabbān ibn Bādīs was a merchant (his name is suggestive; qabn: to weigh with a steel yard; in Turkish, kapan means whole sale trading). He was among those who shifted their loyalty from Ahmad Bey to General Valée, after the fall of Constantine. See Ch.R. Cadart, Souvenirs de Constantine, Paris, 1894, p. 26.

the grandfather of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd, had meanwhile been confirmed in the position of district qādī for Constantine. The jurist was later chosen to speak for Eastern Algeria in front of the Le Hon Commission of Enquiry. al-Makkī ibn Bādīs had enjoyed, like his father, the trust of the Office of Indigenous Affairs. His report to the commission well indicated that he spoke with their consent. Upon his death, two of his children, Ḥamīda ibn Bādīs, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd's uncle, and al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs, his father, were retained at the service of France.

Ḥamīda ibn Bādīs had trained as a Ḥālim and he was appointed qādī for the city of Constantine. In 1871, he had been the co-author to the Brief which that city sent the Governor-General. In 1891, he had reaffirmed his loyalty to the Government yet he sided with the Office of Indigenous Affairs against those who advocated civilian rule over the Algerians.

al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs's destinies differed from those of his brother. His fortunes eventually surpassed those which had been

his family's. He had remained in charge of his house's trade. In 1902, he was appointed Financial Delegate for Constantine. In 1919, he was decorated with the Legion of Honour. In 1929, he won the title of āghā for services rendered to France. In 1933, he became the bashāghā of the city. He died in 1951 the loyal servant of France ⁹. His name is remembered as a faithful collaborator of the Government throughout the tense period between the two World Wars.

The role of the Ben Bādīs, under the rule of France, had been to set the example of submission to colonialism. It will be recalled that the prestige which the family continued to enjoy among the Algerians of Constantine had endeared them to the Office of Indigenous Affairs. The successive directors of

9. The aghaship and bashaghaship of al-Mustafa ibn Bādīs were reported in al-Najāh, 12 October 1929 and 7 April 1933.

this department, most of all Monsieur J. Mirante, had grown close to the family. They paid their respects to its members and enjoyed the confidence and the response which their work required and which the Ben Bādīs eagerly gave.

In return, the Ben Bādīs had, no doubt, benefited from their connections with the French Administration. At a time when the power of the Settlers grew to the point of threatening the existence proper of the Algerian society, the survival of traditional Constantine could be achieved by way of conniving with the Office of Indigenous Affairs. On the particular issue of civilian rule and the interests of the Settlers, both the leaders of the Algerian society and the Office of Indigenous Affairs were in full partnership. The Algerians knew that well. They entrusted their representatives with furthering their interests. In Constantine, such representatives were none other than the Ben Bādīs whose illustrious past everyone had known and whom the Almighty had rewarded in knowledge and wealth.

Childhood and Commitments

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was born to al-Mustāfā ibn Bādīs and to Zuhayra bint Muhammad ibn Jallūl¹⁰. He was his father's first child. His birth was announced, at their home of Sīdī Qammūsh, to the immediate members of his family. Soon, the entire madīna had heard of the happy event and news spread into the countryside. As in all such moments of birth, betrothal, restoration from illness and death, the traditional society met to celebrate the occasion and to pay renewed respect to its elder.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was reared and bred in the two stories structure of Andalusian design which dominated the marketplace from the east. Although physically a part of the madīna, the Ben Bādīs residence - like all Maghribī homes - served to shelter its occupants from the busy life of the city. Within

10. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd's mother, a Benjelloul, belonged to as prominent and as ancient a family as the Ben Bādīs. Her father was a qādī.

its thick walls and around the central courtyard, there was quietness, freshness and security for the young members of the house to grow.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had spent the first seven years of his life within the parental home. Contacts with the outside world remained few for those who had been born in wealth in Constantine. That outside world may have been perceived through the doorway or from the rooftop; it was usually welcomed into the house itself in the person of visitors or else it was discovered a bit further each time occasions such as the visiting of the dead, on ʿId al-Adḥā¹¹, or some child's prime haircut or circumcision took the family, young and old, out of the home and into the city¹¹.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's early education had taken place at the hands of his mother, herself the member of a prominent family of Constantine. In the organized set-up of family life, the infant

11. Customarily, in the Maghrib, the male infant's prime haircut or circumcision took place at the zāwiya of the family's patron-saint.

was taught the elementary values of the home. He learnt to love his equals, to fear his elders and to submit to God. At the age of seven, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was handed to Muḥammad al-Shaykh ibn Malūs, the elderly ʿālim whose msīd, at the back of the Mosque of Sīdī al-Akhḍar, catered to those whom providence had endowed with wealthy parents¹².

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's upbringing had been in no way peculiar. The type of home he grew in was representative of Constantine's bourgeoisie. His primary education was customary of Muslim societies. That his parents will have destined him to the Madrasa of Constantine to train as a ʿālim was, also, in line with his own family tradition. The sole anomaly was that the year was 1900 and the place was French Algeria.

12. The Maghribī msīd (a deformation of masjid) is the equivalent of the Mashricī kuttab, the Qur'ānic school. See E. Dermenghem, Le culte..., glossary p. 346. On the Mosque of Sīdī al-Akhḍar of which much more will be said later, it was built in 1743 under Ḥasan Bey. It was the second largest in the city after the Bey's Mosque. See E. Vaysettes, Histoire..., p. 303. An interesting picture of Muslim traditional society is given in A. Mazahéry, La vie quotidienne des musulmans au Moyen-Age: Xe au XIIIe siècle, Paris, 1951. Also consult P. Boyer, La vie... and R. Le Tourneau, Fès à la veille du protectorat, Paris, 1965.

The Years of Alienation

Under Muḥammad al-Shaykh ibn Malūs, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been instructed to memorize the Qurʾān correctly, to read it and to write it. In 1902, al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs ushered his son into the Madrasa of Constantine. Unlike the sons of Algeria's traditional leaders who were being sent to frequent the French institutions of learning which were erected to suit France's indigenous policies, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was recommended to the ʿUlamā of the city to train in the religious sciences. At the feet of Algeria's most renowned traditional teachers, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs prepared to become a ʿālim.

The standards at the Madrasa of Constantine had been kept relatively high in spite of France's efforts to restrict religious teaching to the sufficient training of Muslim clerks. The existing teachers were still valuable in themselves. They perpetuated the inspiration which the great centers of traditional learning, in Tūnis and in Sayrawān, once had on Eastern Alger-

13. ia . ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs could not be more fortunate in the time he entered Constantine's traditional secondary school.

During the first year at the Madrasa, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had spent learning the principles of Islām, his relation with Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī proved decisive¹⁴. The latter had noticed the great intelligence of his pupil and was eager to develop it. On the part of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, the growing uneasiness which he felt in the face of his environment

13. Among the teachers at the Madrasa of Constantine were Aḥmad al-Shaykh al-Ḥabībātī, Tāhir al-Shaykh ibn Zaqqūta, al-Zuwawī al-Shaykh Yaḥiya al-Darājī, al-Mawlūd al-Shaykh ibn al-Mawhūb, al-Sālih al-Shaykh ibn al-ʿAbīd, ʿabd al-Majīd al-Shaykh ibn Jāmiʿ and, last but not least, Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī. See al-Shihāb, November 1929, p. 33. These ʿUlamā were probably graduates of the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque in Tūnis although my failure to check their names in Muhammad ibn Makhlūf, Shajarat al-Nūr al-Zakīyya fi Tabacāt al-Malikīyya, Cairo, 1931, cannot make me attest that. The rapport between Tūnis and Constantine had remained close until 1838. ʿUthmān al-Kaʿāk, the Tunisian historian, quotes G. Margais as having said that Constantine was an extension of Tūnis. Historically, this is accurate until 1830. Under the Regency, Constantine remained culturally dependant on Tūnis. Its trade with that city, with Nabeul and with Jerba were never interrupted by the establishment of a Beylik over Eastern Algeria.

14. This has been stated by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs him self in al-Shihāb, June-July, 1938, p. 289. He had rapidly shown an inclination towards poetry. Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī diverted him from sterile pursuits and induced him to indulge in his studies.

found his teacher's explanations soothing and encouraging.

European presence in Constantine had become unmistakable by the turn of the twentieth century. Besides their physical existence, within the madīna, the Settlers were gradually affecting the life of the Algerian dwellers as well. The trend appeared irreversible and upset each and every Muslim in the city. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, whose peregrinations around Constantine can be dated back to his msīd years, had grown familiar with the changes within his city. Daily would he pass by the Hafsīd fortress which once protected the madīna from the plateau of al-Ayfur and be reminded of the Battle of La Brèche which saw Colonel Combes storm Constantine in 1838. Also, his eye incessantly caught the Bey's Mosque, now the city's cathedral and a living thorn in the south flank of Constantine 15.

15. During the period of the Arab Kingdom, the bishoprick of Constantine had been established. Governor-General Randon allowed the Mosque of the Bey, situated within the walls of the city and close to the Beylical Palace, to become Constantine's cathedral. See Ch. A. Julien, Histoire..., p. 437. This entire section is purely descriptive. It paints the picture I got of my visit to Constantine. It expresses, at the same time, the feeling aroused in me by conversations with 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, Muḥammad al-Sālih Ramaḍān and Naḥīm al-Naḥīmī (the last

Outside its boundaries and past Place de la Brèche, a new city had come into being which added enstrangement to the humiliation of the Algerians in Constantine. Here, men with unfamiliar looks were seated along the pavements and watched suspiciously the wandering indigène. They chatted loudly in the presence of women whose faces and arms were uncovered and they sipped fermented beverages which smelt of aniseed. In this area of Constantine, no Algerian was welcome. Although an ever growing number of them entered the European city every morning, they all returned after service to the madīna where they belonged.

The feeling of alienation which caught ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs during his puberty years and which he shared with his favoured teacher differed from that feeling which he experienced

two were pupils of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs; the first is presently Inspector at the Ministry of Education, in Algiers; the second is Director of the Department of Ḥubūs, in Constantine. The picture of the city can be completed by readings in A. Maahéry, La vie..., P. Boyer, La vie... and R. Le Tourneau, Fès...

when he first left the precincts of his home to go to the msīd. On the trip which took him, past the public baths, the neighbourhood baker, the market place and the stores of his father, to the mosque he had been able to integrate without any difficulty the strange world he discovered with the one he belonged to in the house of his father. It was a traditional world in which all one's values fitted harmoniously together, a world which time had built around the mosque and the home. The new world he encountered, past the gates of the city, was different and he could not accept it. Maybe should he leave Constantine after all. His mentor, Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī, had prepared to retire to the Hijāz. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs would accompany him there.

Training at the Olive Mosque

In 1908, al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs had foiled his son's plans and he arranged instead that the youth be permitted to travel to Tūnis to train at the Madrase of the Olive Mosque. ʿabd al-

Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was destined to acquire his diploma of ʿālim from the Zaytūna. The tatwīʿ, as it is more commonly known in the ^{al}Maghrib, required that he spend four years in Tūnis. Although this diploma could not qualify him for employment in either Algeria or Tunisia, it carried much prestige with it ¹⁶. For the son of al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs, here was undoubtedly the best traditional education which the adolescent could be offered in his time.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs entered the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque with high recommendations. Officially, the Department of

16. The Decree of 26 August 1881 had made all traveling to Muslim countries dependent upon permission from the Prefecture. See E. Doutté, L'Islam..., p. 177. al-Muṣṭafa was consequently informed by the authorities of his son's plans. He convinced his son that Tūnis could be a better alternative and secured special permission through the Office of Indigenous Affairs for him to graduate from other than Algerian Madrasas. Meanwhile, the French Protectorate over Tunisia had made similar laws applicable there. The tatwīʿ, in fact, was being awarded non-Tunisians at the Zaytūna while the Tunisians received an ijāza. See al-Shihāb, January 1937, p.440. It is worthwhile noting that Libyians, Sub-Saharan Africans and others were registered at the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque. So were a number of Algerians studying there. One gathers from 'al-Talāmīdhāt al-Jazāʾiriyyūn fi al-Zaytūna', al-Shihāb, 28 September 1927, p. 6, that these were in Tūnis against the will of the Government in Algeria.

Education had introduced him to the institution's nudhdhār ¹⁷ .

As far as his teachers were concerned, no recommendation was needed from him. They welcomed the young Ben Bādīs and settled him and the male servant accompanying him in quarters on Nahj al-Shammā^Cīn, west of the Olive Mosque.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs made the acquaintance of his teachers at the end of the summer. He immediately made a good impression at the Zaytūna. Ṭāhir al-Shaykh ibn ʿAshūr, his Tradition teacher and once the Rector of the Madrasa and the mēlikī Muftī of Tūnis, ¹⁸ praised his appearance and his upbringing . He was a

17. In 1818, the Zaytūna received its first modern reforms. Maḥmūd Bey centralized the education of the Madrasa under the supervision of four nudhdhār. The Organic Decrees of 1875 and 1876, which were passed by Ṣādiq Bey's minister, Khayr al-Dīn Bāsha, put the Zaytūna under the watchful eye of the newly formed Department of Education The French Protectorate which came into being over Tunisia in 1882 continued this practice. See the speech which M. Machuel, Director of Public Instruction, gave and which Revue Tunisienne reproduces in V. 4, 1897, pp. 392-396. Also, Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis, Kitāb Safwat al-ʿItibār bi Mustawda^C al-Amṣār wa al-Intizār, Cairo, 1885.

18. Among the personalities I have met in Tūnis are Muḥammad al-Fāḍil al-Shaykh ibn ʿAshūr, Muftī of Tūnis in 1968, Ṣāliḥ al-Shaykh al-Mayfar, once teacher at the Zaytūna and now retired, Mukhtār al-Shaykh ibn Maḥmūd, a classmate of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, once the editor of Majmaʿat al-Zaytūna and presently a teacher at the Olive Mosque. I also owe much information to ʿUthmān al-Ka^Cāk, once a teacher of history at the Khaldūnīyya, a prolific writer of Maḡhr-ibī history and presently an important official at the Ministry of Information, and to Muḥammad al-Thamīnī, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's friend at the Zaytūna and presently the owner of the al-Maktaba al-ʿAsrīyya at Sūc al-ʿAṭṭārīn, in Tūnis.

reserved young man, slightly shy, who often gave the impression of acting in a haughty manner. His ability to speak and his rhetoric rapidly overcame the unfavourable first impression which he may have imprinted upon those who met him.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs showed much eagerness in his studies. His teachers praised him. In 1910, he was invited to assist in secondary teaching at the Madrasa. In 1912, he graduated as one of twelve tālibs who succeeded in their final examinations. Ṭāhir al-Shaykh ibn ʿAshūr had instructed him in the Science of Tradition and in al-Mustaslah. Ṣādiq al-Shaykh al-Nayfar and ʿAmīda al-Shaykh Bayram guided him through the intricacies of mālikī and ḥanafī Jurisprudence. Salīm ibn ʿUmar al-Shaykh Abū Ḥajīb read the philosophers with him. Muḥammad al-Shaykh ibn Yūsuf lectured him on Tawḥīd. The study of Exegesis brought him into direct contact with ʿabd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī¹⁹.

19. See al-Shihāb, January 1937, pp. 440-441.

¶ Ilm at the Zaytūna

The millenary Madrasa of Tūnis rates as high as its sister universities in Cairo, Makka and Fās²⁰. At the Zaytūna, Islamic civilization and Arabic culture continued to thrive at the turn of the century alongside the prosperous community of traders and artisans whose goods reached Europe as well as the Basin of Tchad. Under Khayr al-Dīn Bāsha, the Circassian minister of Ṣādiq Bey, the administration of the Madrasa had been reformed²¹. Its financial autonomy remained secure. Little could the French Protectorate, which was established in 1881, do to alter the character of the institution and undermine its independence.

20. According to some, the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque was founded by Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Habbāb. ibn al-Mājjī attributes its foundation to Ziyādat Allāh ibn Aghlab. See O. Houdas and R. Basset, Mission scientifique en Tunisie, Alger, 1884, p. 45.

21. In 1842, a Beylical decree, the text of which is engraved in the muḥallāḥ of the Olive Mosque, had mentioned the reforms of madrasa teaching in Tunisia. The intent of the reforms had been to promote the quality of traditional education in the wake of the ever greater European impact on the country. The size of the staff was fixed to thirty (Ulamā) whose qualifications and duties were outlined. The curriculum was also streamlined. The maliki and hanafi muftis and the chief qadis were appointed to supervise the Madrasa. Two delegates from the Maḥarif also acted as inspectors for the Government. See Revue Tunisienne, V. 4, 1897, pp. 393 and 396, and M. Bayram, K. Saḥat..., p. 125.

The Zaytūna belonged, without doubt, to the world of traditional Islām. The scope and content of its teaching were those of the golden age of Medieval Tunisia. Like the Qarawīn and the Azhar, the Zaytūna delved into those subjects which represented the scientific and cultural norms of bygone days. One feature differentiated, meanwhile, the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque from its counterparts in Morocco or Egypt: that was its vicinity to the Šādiqīyya and the Khaldūnīyya.

These two non-traditional centers of learning, the Šādiqīyya which was founded in 1875 and the Khaldūnīyya which was founded in 1893, appear to have had little impact on the curricula of the Zaytūna²². They influenced its teachers and its students

22. Until the Šādiqīyya was founded by Khayr al-Dīn Bāsha, it was believed that the Zaytūna could meet the requirements of the day in the field of education. In 1845, Aḥmad I founded the Polytechnical School at the Bardot (on the school, see R. Drevet, L'Armée Tunisienne, Tunis, 1922). Students who could combine traditional knowledge to modern qualifications were being sought. As the Zaytūna proved unable to train such students, it finally became apparent that a new institution should be established. The Šādiqīyya was born. Muḥammad ʿabbādu, a Zaytūna-trained Calim, was appointed as its first director. See M. Bayram, K. Šafwat..., pp. 126 on.

who could not remain aloof from the new ideas which were being spread and who invariably reacted favourably or unfavourably to the innovations which these two institutions brought about.

One such teacher whom the modern education had affected was ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī al-Qayrawānī who taught ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs at the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque ²³.

ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī, whose teaching was highly praised by ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, was not a modernist. He was not a traditionalist either in that he emphasized the individual mental exercise of each ʿālim as more desirable than not. In contrast with the other teachers at the Zaytūna, the use which ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī made of intellectual initiative stood him apart from his colleagues. The general tendency of the ʿUlamā in Tunis had been to submit to the closing of the doors

23. See ibn Makhlūf, Shajarat..., pp. 485-486. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī taught at the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque from 1886 till 1903.

of ijtihād and to refrain from personal opinion . They were the heirs to a rich tradition in the religious sciences and felt entrusted with the knowledge of their predecessors. They conveyed the norms which they held from afar. They were the guardians of stability and continuity in Tunisia. ʿabd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī, who had been conscious of the great legacy of learning which his position entrusted him with, remarked that the problems of the day had become different from past times. His teaching well reflected this.

ʿabd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī had taught ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn

24. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs stated, in a speech he gave in Tūnis in 1937, that ʿabd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī was among those responsible for the Renaissance of the Maghrib. See al-Shihāb, June 1937, p. 228. In contrast, he had not missed any opportunity to condemn the rigidity in teaching at the Zaytūna. In al-Shihāb, October 1934, pp. 480-481, he had warned the ʿUlamā of growing foreign to the Qurʾān and the Sunna. In al-Shihāb, December 1933, p. 520, he had gone as far as accusing some zaytūnis of ignorance. More pertinent to the state of teaching at the Zaytūna had been the remarks which were made in the Yearbook of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā, their Sijil Muʿtamar Jamʿiyyat al-ʿUlamā al-Muslimīn al-Jazāʾiriyyīn, Constantine, 1935, p. 17: their teachers sink into futile discussions and concentrate on irrelevant controversies which made the student lose track of the important problem to be dealt with. These remarks are not to be attributed solely to the Zaytūna. They characterized all traditional education in the Muslim World in the 20th. century.

Discovering Fundamentalism

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's intellectual experience, at the feet of ʿabd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī, had intensified his initial anxiety. He continued to correspond with Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī in Arabia. He had meanwhile encountered the Ibādī from Wādī Mizāb, Muḥammad al-Thamīnī, at the Zaytūna. The latter, also a student, had introduced him to al-Bashīr Ṣafarr and the Khaldūnīyya. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's first experience with the Salafīyya Movement appeared to quench the thirst which his inner tensions had so far caused him.

The Khaldūnīyya had rapidly developed into a full-fledged
institution of higher learning ²⁶. The subjects it taught were

26. The founder and director of the Khaldūnīyya, al-Bashīr Ṣafarr (1864-1917) had edited the newspaper al-Ḥādīra ever since its creation in 1887. A disciple of Maḥmūd Qabbādu the director of the Ṣādiqīyya and of Abū ʿabd Allāh al-Sanūsī (1840-1901), the editor of the official newspaper al-Rāʾid al-Rasmī (founded on 6 April 1870), al-Bashīr Ṣafarr represented the second generation of Tunisians exposed to the West. Both Maḥmūd Qabbādu and al-Sanūsī are reminiscent, in their response to Europe, of the Egyptian Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahtāwī (on him see A. Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939, Oxford, 1962, and I. Abu-Lughod, Arab

Bādīs the essential methodology about the Science of Exegesis.

In the face of change, he had urged each of his students to make use of his intellect to reconcile the problems of the day with Revelation. About the value of earlier tafsīrs and over the question of conflicting interpretations of the same revelation, he condoned the ra'y of the ʿālim. In so doing, he had severed the chain of traditional learning of his fellow ʿUlamā and injected in the study of religion this element of thaghrīyya which characterized the Andalusian Muslims of yesteryears .

25

25. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs quotes ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī as saying to him: "Ijʿal dhihnak miṣfat li hadhihi al-asālīb al-muʿaqqada wa hādhihi al-aqwāl al-mukhtalifa wa hādhihi al-arāʾ al-muḍtariba yasqut al-sāciṭ wa yabqa al-sāliḥ wa tastariḥ...". See al-Shihāb, June-July 1938, p. 290. It is evident that the type of rationalism advocated here is that of the mujtahid and the opinion that of the usūl. The word tastariḥ is to be attributed to the anxiety which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs continued to display throughout his formative years. A word on the thaghrīyya of Andalusian Islām. It was brought to my attention by Muḥammad al-Fāḍil al-Shaykh ibn ʿAshūr. According to him, the Marshlands of Spain (al-thaghr al-aḥla) had in tilled alertness and relative openness in the muthāghir. The greater the threat, the stronger should the response of the Muslims to the dangers which watched them from beyond the Pyrennees and from Castille become. The problem of the ʿUlamā of Tunis, in the 20th. century, is that they saw not such dangers. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaykh al-Nakhlī, on the contrary, was well aware of the implications of European power for the Muslims, if we judge from what ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs implies.

scientific at first. Soon, the teaching of history had taken precedence over arithmetic, algebra, physics or chemistry. Its teachers were obviously acquainted with the rest of the Muslim World but their knowledge of Europe made them distinct from those of the Zaytūna. In the building which housed the Khaldūnīyya, behind the Qasaba, only two hundred yards away from the Olive Mosque, they lectured on the rise and fall of the Muslims, on the science of the Europeans and on the impact which the French

discovery of Europe, Princeton, 1963). They had published their travellogs. An excerpt from Mahmūd Qabbādu's Diwān, Tunis, 1877, II, p. 21, which well conveys their open attitude towards Europe, deserves reproduction here: 'Faman yajussu khubran urūbba wa mulkaha wa lam yataghalghal fi al-masānī' fahmuhu, fadhaka fi kawni al-balahati dajīnun wa fi majdi al-ġadati yulhihi hulmuhu, wa man lazima al-awtāna asbaha ka al-kalla bi manbatihī manmahu thammata hatmuhu, hum gharasū dawh al-tammaduni marġāhu al-riyāda wa al-ġilm al-tabī'ī khadamuhu, fa kāna lahum fi zillihī mutacayyalun min al-sawli yuhma bi al-makā'idi atmuhu, jā yajmul ya ahla al-ḥāfizati annahum yabzanuna fakhran lana kana fakhmuhu, laqad fataha fi badi al-ra'y sawbuna wa ashfa li 'umri an yufawwat khatmuhu'. al-Bashīr Sefarr had, no doubt, retained such an outlook towards the sciences from Europe. He was, meanwhile, the product of the French Protectorate (See J. Ganiage, Les origines du Protectorat Français en Tunisie (1861-1881), Paris, 1959). He as well as the first batch of graduates from the Sādiqīyya who had returned in 1882 from France were being made aware of the implications of Europe for the Muslims of Tunisia. The Khaldūnīyya, which owed its name to ibn Khaldūn, could in the mind of its members provide the Tunisians with whatever they lacked in the funūn of the Europeans while, at the same time, they could preserve their own identity.

and the British were having on Islām.

27

The Khaldūnīyya was known in Tūnis for its salafī tendencies .

Its library offered up to date material on the fundamentalist literature from Egypt, in particular. Its members professed their allegiance to the ideas of al-ʿUrwā al-Wuthqā. The rift which had begun over the true Islām and which opposed the Salafīs, among the Tunisians, to the ʿUlamā of the Zaytūna grew irreparable in time.

27. Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbdū had visited Tūnis twice, in 1894 when he followed Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī to Paris and in 1903 on his way back to Egypt. He had been the guest of al-Bashīr Safarr and his circle on both occasions. The audience he attracted was mostly from the Ṣādiqīyya and very few zaytūnīs would have attended the talks he gave at the Khaldūnīyya. The last visit the Egyptian thinker made to Tūnis was reported in al-Manār, 22 October 1903, and R. Rida's Tarīkh al-Ustadh al-Shaykh Muhammad ʿAbdū, Cairo, 1931, pp. 870-874. Its impact on the habitués of the Khaldūnīyya was considerable, if we judge from the content of an allocution which ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs made in celebration of the memory of al-Bashīr Safarr (see al-Shihāb, June 1937, p. 227). The Khaldūnīyyahad not only made the sciences of Europe available to the Tunisians. It went to great lengths to show that Islām had never opposed these sciences. On the contrary, it welcomed them. It is the ʿUlamā of the Zaytūna who had opposed progress in Tunisia. Their obscurantist attitude was being coupled with their own un-Islamic views over the problems of faith. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs pointed out, in yet another context, in al-Shihāb, January 1937, p. 442, that fundamentalism only reached the Zaytūna in 1937 when Majallat al-Zaytūna, ed. Muhammad Mukhtār ibn Mahmūd, echoed the first salafī views in the Madrasa. He attributed this change to the influence which the Khaldūnīyya had had on the students and the teachers of the medieval institution.

The Khaldūnīyya blamed the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque for the decadence of Tunisian society. The teachers of the Zaytūna had allowed the Believers to sink into misbelief and ignorance as soon as they abandoned the Word of the Qur^{ān} for the preaching and teaching of Ahmad Tijānī and the example of the Salaf for that of the Mystics. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, who had come to realize that there was no difference between his own faith and that of the Ibādī, Muḥammad al-Thamīnī, was impressed by the position of the fundamentalists on belief. He frequented the library at the Khaldūnīyya regularly and he avidly read the journals which the Zaytūna would order under no circumstance.

Nationalism had also sprung from within the Khaldūnīyya.

The example of France's mischief throughout its Muslim territories was self evident. Europe ought to be repelled for the threat it posed Islām in Tunisia²⁸. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had found

28. During the riots which brought, in 1908, the ṭalibs of the Zaytūna through the tortuous alleys of the madīna to demonstrate at the Porte de France in favour of educational reforms, the Khaldūnīyya had been influential in involving the sādiqīens on the side of the demonstrators. Cries of independence rapidly drowned others. Meanwhile, the Arabic press was being greatly

the members of the Khaldūniyya more acquainted with the situation within Algeria than he himself had ever been. Their interest in his country **stemmed** from its vicinity to their own, from their non-Islamic awareness but also from their apprehension of what they were convinced would eventually happen to them as the French Protectorate over Tunisia became better entrenched. The young constantinois could not but become impressed with all such new and appealing ideas.

Prelude to Publicity

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's formal training had ended. The

influenced by the ideas which prevailed at the Khaldūniyya. The motto of al-Rāʾid al-Rasmī, "Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-imān" emanated from the Khaldūniyya. The journal of the Association of the Sādiq-iyya Alummis, al-Majalla al-Sādiq-iyya (founded in 1906) also reflected the brand of Islamic nationalism which characterized Khaldūniyya thinking. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs remarked in Tunis, on 28 May 1937, that he owed al-Bashīr Saffar to have discovered the history of the Maḡrib. Uṭhmān al-Kaʿāk taught lengthily at the Khaldūniyya. No doubt, the emphasis which this institution laid on the great Muslim past and on conditions for its regeneration will have had their own repercussions on the national awareness of all Tunisians.

experience of life would just begin. In 1912, he had undertaken the voyage to the Mashriq. Performing the pilgrimage to Makkā represented an undeniable experience for him as for every Muslim. He had bid his father, his spouse and his relatives farewell as he embarked from Algiers to Marseille, Alexandria and Jaddā²⁹. Hamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī, his aging teacher, had been expecting him when he reached Ṭiba, near Makkā. As his tutor's guest, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs found there Mawlana Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan Deobandī, the Indian founder of the Jamʿiyyat al-Anṣār³⁰. The encounter with both these ʿUlamāʾ proved decisive to the young Algerian.

29. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had married his cousin Yumna bint ʿabd al-Karīm ibn Bādīs while he was still in Tūnis. She bore him a son, Ismāʿīl, who died while manipulating a fire arm in the family douar (farm) of al-Ḥaria. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs later divorced his wife in order to free himself from all obligations and dedicate his life to his work.

30. See al-Shihāb, June-July 1938, p. 289.

The objectives of India's Muslim Nationalists had been to bury the differences which existed between the various Islamic communities so that Islām stand strong and united against the Christians from Britain³¹. This situation bore similarities with Algeria where the various Tarīqas, Madhhabs and the Ibādīs fought against one another. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs may have become depressed at this situation as indicates his inclination at the time to remain in the Ḥijāz. He was enjoined to return to Algeria where he belonged and where he was needed most by the two elder ‘Ulamā’, Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīsī and Mawlana Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan. His teacher had him swear, furthermore, that he would never accept employment from France in Algeria.

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had stopped briefly in Cairo on his

31. On Mawlana Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan Deobandī (1851-1920), also known as Shaykh al-Hind; see Ziya-ul-Ḥasan Faruqī, The Deoband School and the demand for Pakistan, Bombay, 1963, p. 46. Also, Hafeez Malik, Moslem Nationalism in India and Pakistan, Washington, 1963. He was known as a pan-Islamist and had come to Arabia to establish contacts with the Ottomans against the British.

way home. He visited, in Hilwān, Shaykh Muḥammad Bakḥīt al-Muṭī^CI, the friend of Shaykh Muḥammad ^CAbdū and an eminent teacher at al-Azhar. He may have met with Shaykh Rashīd Rida ³². His concern in Egypt was to strengthen his own Salafī position. He had, indeed, made up his mind to teach Islām upon his return to Constantine.

^Cabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had, no doubt, changed when he reached his father's house. His family had noticed his strange behaviour. He led an ascetic life and would only use objects which were of traditional Algerian manufacturing. He had also developed friendships with Ibādīs from Constantine and his frequent encounters with them embarrassed his entourage ³³.

^Cabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs remained little known, during this

32. See al-Shihāb, February 1936, p. 608. Shaykh Muḥammad Bakḥīt al-Muṭī^CI, a salafī, is the author of Haqīqat al-Islām wa usūl al-Hikam, Cairo, 1926. About any encounter which ^Cabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs may have had with Rashīd Rida, no evidence could be found of it in al-Shihāb. ^Cabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs read al-Manār in Tūnis and there is no doubt whatsoever that he did know of its editor and would have attempted, while in Cairo, to meet him. My guess is that Rashīd Rida may well have been in Syria at the time.

33. The Ibādīs from Wādī Mizāb had succeeded to control the groceries trade of Algeria. A community of their members was settled in Constantine. They customarily left their wives and children in the Wādī Mizāb. They represented a highly well knit group in whatever cities they moved to.

period, and not until the incident of the Mosque of Sīdī al-Akhdar did the general public come to hear of him. He had grown accustomed to spend most of his day at that mosque. He preached and lectured on various subjects in between prayer times. His audience was small and irregular although his reputation had spread to an ever widening circle of people. When the practice was brought to the attention of the Muftī of the city, al-Mawlūd al-Shaykh ibn Mawhūb, the dignitary who had resented the special permission which al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs secured to send his son to the Zaytūna to study took it upon himself to interrupt what was seen as an illegal practice on the part of the young ʿālim. After the ʿashā prayers, when ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had resumed his discourse, al-Mawlūd al-Shaykh ibn Mawhūb ordered him expelled from the

34
mosque .

News of this action by the Muftī had rapidly spread. al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs considered it an insult to his house. During a visit

34. See al-Shihāb, June 1934, p. 345.

which he paid the city of Algiers, he had secured special permission for his son to teach at the family mosque of Sīdī Qammūsh. This was the first time Islām would be taught outside the official schools which the State controlled. Muḥammad al-Sāliḥ Ramadān, one of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's earliest assistants, could remark that, on the day permission was granted for him to spread the knowledge of Islām freely, the French sowed themselves the seeds of Algerian independence.

CHAPTER VI

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs:

Public Life, 1925-1940

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs is best described as a man of action. As soon as he was committed towards dedicating his life to Algeria's revival, he tirelessly had undertaken, from 1925 till his death, to teach, to preach and to write. His interests remained focused upon the regeneration of his society, although his concerns ranged from those of the educationist to those of the political agitator.

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had assumed a role which restricted him neither to that of the ideologue who formulates for his community a new system of thought, nor to that of the activist whose endless energies move the mass of the people from their traditional inertiae. The impact of French colonialism on Algeria had caused any reformism to meet the consequences of Western presence on more than one plane. It is in order to resist the implications of French Algeria for its Muslim population

that ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs would teach at times, preach at times and organize for social and political reforms at times.

The Educationist

It had not taken long before the school which ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had established on the premises of the family mosque of Sīdī Qammūsh reached full capacity. In less than two years, the number of his students rose to forty and more. In 1913, a new authorization was secured to extend ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's teaching to the larger mosque of Sīdī al-Akhḍar¹. He returned to the very place from which the Muftī, al-Mawlūd ibn Mawhūb, had expelled him. The honour of his father was, at last, restored.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's two schools were not the only primary ones in Constantine at the time. The Madrasa, of course, ran

1. See al-Shihāb, June-July 1938, p. 303.

its own, where the youth prepared for higher traditional education. There also existed in the city a branch of the Zaytūna.

The shortage of schools was such that the existing few were being flooded with pupils. Among ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's own, there had been a few sons of mugaddams from the Constantinois whom the reputation of the Ben Bādīs attracted. Most of his pupils remained, however, poor and they welcomed the free education which was being offered to them ².

In 1917, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had introduced secondary education at the public mosque of Sīdī Fath Allah. His reputation was now well established in Constantine. His seniormost students ass-

2. Under the rectorship of Ṭāhir al-Shaykh ibn ʿAshūr, branches or furūʿ of the Zaytūna had been established throughout Tunisia and one such branch found its way into Constantine. It was run by ʿabd al-ʿAlī al-Shaykh al-Akhdarī. The demand for education, which the population explosion and the trend towards urbanization had brought about, could still not be met. Among ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's own students were a few wealthy individuals such as al-Fudayl al-Wartalānī, ʿUmar Dardūr, Saʿīd al-Sāliḥī and Muḥammad ibn al-Zayyān. They were the exception rather than the rule. I owe much of the information on ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs the educationist to Muḥammad al-Sāliḥ Ramadān and to Saʿīm al-Ḥaʿīmī who studied under him. The former later assisted him in his teaching.

isted him in his teaching. In 1918, a French language course was offered for the first time outside government supervised schools. That same year, the first Muslim School for Girls was also founded which was located in a house at Sīdī Bū MazCa. The financial assistance to all these schools was provided by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's father and by contributions from the city's merchants.

The content of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's teaching was as important as was its expansion in Constantine. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had remained critical of that education which was current in the Maghrib. He worked to correct it at all levels in his

3. An Association for Education and Learning (Jamʿīyyat al-Tarbīyya wa al-Taʿlīm) had been founded by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs in Constantine to channel funds for his schools. It provided for up to 360 pupils. In 1934, the student fund (sandūq al-talaba) could be credited with 27,271 francs. When ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs left the parental home, he moved to a house in Sīdī Jālis then to a larger one on Avenue Farolli. In his basement, his poorest students from outside the city were offered free lodging. All his pupils, meanwhile, received bread coupons which were distributed every Friday. See al-Shihāb, April 1936, p. 103. Also, a pamphlet published by Boy-Scouts Musulmans d'Algerie, in a special number of the April-Mai 1950 issue of el-Hayat and entitled "'Autour de l'anniversaire du Cheikh Ben Badis'".

teaching. In the first place, it was imperative that the educator revert to the Qur^ṣān and the Sunna which had been abandoned for subjects which were derived from the Scriptures of Islām. At the same time, there was little point in burdening the mind of the pupil with memorized verses which he could not comprehend. The correct teaching of Islām required that it become understood by the Believer. The purpose of Muslim education was, indeed, that of developing the social consciousness of every Algerian⁴.

In 1936, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's efforts had culminated in the opening of the first non-official Madrasa in Algeria. The breach which the French conquest had caused to grow in Islamic education between lower and higher learning had been mended and Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī's dream could become reality. al-Madrasa al-Bādīsīyya, on Alexis Lambert street, would aim at preparing the students from Sīdī Qammūsh, Sīdī al-Akhdar and Sīdī Fath Allah

4. See al-Shihāb, October 1934, pp. 480-481.

towards higher learning⁵.

As in the less advanced stages of his teaching, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's reformism was also most apparent at the Bādīsīyya. The emphasis on comprehension of the various disciplines was being reiterated. It was of little use that one study the literature about the religious sciences if one failed to understand these sciences. Traditional education invariably congested the mind of the tālib. Many issues which had become irrelevant were still treated in all seriousness and at the expense of the real issues. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs urged his fellow teachers to revert to the sources of Religion. The studies of Tradition, Exegesis or Jurisprudence, for instance, could serve their purpose best if only they were being perceived as the means for achieving knowledge of Revelation⁶.

5. See al-Shihāb, August 1936, p. 43.

6. See al-Shihāb, June-July 1938, p. 188.

The Algerian Muslim Press

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's responsibilities in teaching had not impaired the practice he made of preaching at the Friday prayers, in the mosque of Sidī Fath Allah. In his sermons, he was didactic at times, or else he commented on questions of actuality. He used the classical language and colloquial Arabic interchangeably. This was a novelty among the khatibs and proved refreshing to his audiences who had become accustomed to the type of khutba they could not comprehend. An ever growing number of Believers came to listen to the controversial young ʿālim. They were attracted by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs the more so that the Muftī of Constantine kept up the attack on his person.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, meanwhile, regularly frequented the Café de la Brèche, Alexis Lambert street, where he met with the youth of his liking. He conversed about the decadence of the Muslims and reaped sympathy and recognition in return. In 1921, the editor of Constantine's first daily newspaper in the Arabic

language, Māmī⁷ Ismā⁶īl, had invited him to collaborate with Jarīdat al-Najāh. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs would carry a weekly column in which he would express his opinions.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's association with al-Najāh was short lived. His khatarāt al-usbū⁶ touched upon the controversial Muslim policies of France and brought censorship over him. In 1923, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs who discovered the great value of journalism had discussed the possibility of founding a newspaper of his own with ʿabd al-Ḥafīz al-Jannān and Aḥmad Abū Shamāl, both habitués of the Café de la Brèche. His own father could support the venture financially. al-Zuwawī ibn al-Jayshī, the printer at al-Najāh would assist on the technical side⁷.

7. Information on the Algerian Muslim Press is entirely owed to al-Zuwawī ibn al-Jayshī (Belguechi), presently in charge of the business. Out of the total capital of 7.800 francs, al-Muṣṭafa ibn Bādīs had underwritten one third of the initial investment. The printing press was ordered from France and the Arabic characters were acquired from the Catholic Press in Beirut (probably was the type of printing that of linotype although the date would tend to favour lithography more; it certainly was not of the offset type). ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was the newspaper's main contributor. He wrote about journalism, in al-Shih⁷b, 15 November 1926, p. 1, in 'al-Ṣaḥāfa al-ʿArabiyya mā lāha wa mā ʿalayha': hiya lisān al-damīr al-nātiq...

The Algerian Muslim Press, situated at 13 Alexis Lambert Street, issued its first weekly newspaper on 2 July 1925. Its name was al-Muntaqid, the critic. It claimed to speak for the Algerian youth. It would concern itself with all which could affect the Algerian homeland⁸.

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn ʿadīs was al-Muntaqid's editor. His contributions to the newspaper were also the most important. He had emphasized, from the very first issue, the theme of reform in Algeria's indigenous society. His style was clear and concise. As had been the case in his teaching and his preaching, his object remained to provoke the understanding of the major Algerian issues to his readership.

The criticisms which al-Muntaqid advanced pertained to everyone whose actions concerned Algeria. Neither the secular nor the

8. The caption of al-Muntaqid read as follows: "'al-muntaqid jarīda hurra watanīyya taʿmal li saʿādat al-umma al-jazāʾirīyya bi musāʿadat faransa al-dimuqratiyya jarīda siyasiyya tahdhibīyya inticādiyya shaʿāruha al-haq fawqa kulla aḥad wa al-waṭan cabla kulla shayʾ taṣdurha nakhaba min al-shabība al-jazāʾirīyyin sabihat al-khamīs min kulli usbūʿ".

religious leaders of that country were spared in the newspaper's editorials. The French were also castigated for their share of responsibility to weaken the culture of the Algerians. On 18 October 1925, the ninth number of al-Muntaqid had left the press. The Government seized all its copies and withdrew its licence. No reason had been given although it is clear that the French could not approve of its content any longer.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had remained unmoved by the seizure of his newspaper. On 12 December 1925, a new weekly had been issued. al-Shihāb was its name. Its circulation was increased to fifteen hundred copies from the initial eight hundred of al-Muntaqid. Its objectives would remain the same as those of its defunct predecessor⁹. al-Shihāb left the Algerian Muslim

9. The caption of al-Shihāb (The Meteor) had retained the objectives of al-Muntaqid. On 16 December 1926, only the shape of the newspaper changed. It remained a weekly. In 1929, al-Shihāb was made into a monthly. Its caption was also changed and read: 'al-shihāb majalla islāmīyya jazāʾirīyya shahrīyya tabhath fi kul ma yuraqqi al-muslimīn al-jazāʾirīyyin tuḥḍir bi quṣṣantīna ghurraṭ kulla shahr camari mābduʿuna fi al-islāh al-dīnī wa al-duniyawī'. In April 1939, al-Shihāb had adopted the format of

Press undisturbed by the authorities and was distributed to an ever growing number of subscribers in Constantine and in the Constantinois and, for the first time, throughout the rest of Algeria.

The Call for Algerian Unity

The war of words which ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs kept up with the Muftī of Constantine had interfered little with his own attempts to bring the Algerian factions closer to one another. His numerous contacts with the Ibādīs made him much criticized by his fellow Algerians. al-Muntaqid and al-Shihāb had been carrying the articles of such prominent Khārījīs from Algeria as Shaykh Ibrāhīm Aṭfiyyāsh. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, who failed not to remark the great similarities which did exist between the Muslims of Wādī Mizāb and the Muslims of the rest of Algeria, could not allow their differences to stand in the way

of Rashīd Riḍa's al-Manār. The motto of the journal became: "al-ḥaq wa al-ʿadl wa al-muʿakhaḥ fi iṭṭāʾ jamīʿ al-ḥuqūq li al-ladīnānā cāmū bi jamīʿ al-wājibāt". A quote from Malik ibn Anas also figured under the caption: "la yuṣlah ākhir ḥadhihi al-umma illa bima salīha bihi awaluha...".

10
of unity .

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs also approached the various Mystical Brotherhoods. His friends amongst their leaders extended far beyond the Constantinois. He congratulated their muqaddams for their contribution to the spread of Islām. Their zāwiyas remained important centers of religious learning. If some tarīqas had nurtured ignorance and misbelief among their members, such a situation could be remedied. What counted most was that the various Mystical Brotherhoods work hand in hand with the 11
ʿUlamā so that Islām be regenerated in Algeria .

10. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been acquainted with the ideas of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Aṭfiyyash through his friendship, in Tunis, with Muḥammad al-Thamīnī and through readings of al-ʿUrwa al-Wuthqa. The movement which Aṭfiyyash initiated in Khārijism and whose slogan was "back to the sources" made it fundamentalist. This movement called for the revival of Qurʾānic duties and the eradication of heretical practices of Berber origin. al-Muntaqid reproduced an article by Aṭfiyyash on the unity of the Muslims, in its 27 August 1925 issue, p. 1. On Aṭfiyyash (1820-1914) see J. Schacht, "Aṭfiyyash", N.E.I., I, p. 736, and P. Shinar, "Ibadiyya and Orthodox Reformism in Modern Algeria", Scripta Hierosolymitana, IX, pp. 97-120. On his works, see C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., S II, 893. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's views on the Ibādīs in Islām, of which more will be said, are partly found in al-Shihab, 10 December 1927, p. 5, in "Wa jaʿalnā kum shuʿūban wa qabāʾila li taʿarāfu".

11. See al-Muntaqid, 3 September 1925, pp. 1-2, and 10 September 1925, p. 2. Also, al-Shihab, 23 June 1927, p. 1.

With the Official 'Ulamā', 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been as conciliatory. He could not conceive that his work conflicted with theirs. It was the aim of all 'Ulamā' to spread Islamic teaching to the Algerians. His own work could not in any way threaten the religious establishment in Algeria. In fact, his efforts in education should eventually benefit the institution of the Madrasa as it would help it resist the inroads of French schooling into Algeria¹² .

'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had also addressed himself to the Algerian Financial Delegates. They were the sole representatives of the Algerian people in the Government. Their responsibilities towards Algeria's well being were therefore greatest. It was imperative that they rally all the elements of their society around themselves and assure them of their good faith. Algerians counted upon them to defend their interests¹³ .

12. See al-Muntacid, 3 September 1925, p. 1. In yet another context, in al-Shihab, November 1929, p. 33, 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs called upon the 'Ulamā' of Constantine to develop into a full-fledged Madrasa.

13. See al-Shihab, 17 December 1925, p. 1.

Last but not least, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had invited the French educated Algerians to unite with all reform minded elements in the country so that their common efforts bring about the much needed reforms. The Evolués were as interested as the religious and secular leaders of traditional Algeria to bring the regeneration of Algeria about. They could not achieve this regeneration by themselves. Unity of purpose demanded that it be accompanied by unity of action¹⁴.

The example of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had, meanwhile, been followed in each of Algiers, Tlemcen, Oran, Biskra and other cities and towns of Algeria by individual reformists who instituted their own schools and attempted to spread education. al-Shihāb had invited them to know and assist one another. The newspaper remained at the service of all Algerians of good will. Its aim, to bring the Algerians to work in unison for the improvement of their homeland, could best be achieved as soon as

14. See al-Shihāb, 23 June 1927, p. 3.

Islāhīs, Mālikīs, Hanafīs, Turuqīs, Ibādīs and Evolués set the differences between them aside and concentrated upon the implications of their common belief in God and in his Prophet for their

15
actions .

The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā'

In 1931, 'abd al-ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's efforts to unite the Algerians had born fruition when the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' was founded. On May 31st., seventy two personalities answered his invitation to meet at Nādī al-Taragqī, in Algiers. Among them were Shaykh Ahmad ibn 'Alīwa, head of the 'Alīwīyya, and Shaykh Qāsim, head of the Raḥmānīyya. Also present were the mālikī and hanafī Muftīs of Algeria and its most prominent 'Ulamā'. There were also representatives of the important merchants of the Algerian cities, Ismā'īl 'Umar and Muḥammad Khayr al-Dīn, and Financial Delegates from Algiers, Oran and Constantine. The unprecedented presence of Ibādī clerics and merchants and of young reform

15. See al-Shihāb, 23 June 1927, p. 1.

minded graduates from the Madrasas of Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, Tawfīq al-Madanī, al-Tayyib al-ʿUqbī, Mubārak al-Mīlī, al-ʿArabī al-Tabassī and Amīn al-ʿAmūdī, later known as the unofficial ʿUlamā, indicated that ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs may have succeeded to unite the Algerian religious leadership after all ¹⁶.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had spelt out, in his welcoming speech to the audience of the Nadī al-Taragqī, the objectives of an Association of Algerian ʿUlamā. They were to be non political and to concern religion and culture in Algeria. There existed a need for education among the people and the present

16. The most informative source about the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā remains its own Sijil Muṣṭamar Jamʿiyat al-ʿUlamā al-Muslimīn al-Jazāʾiriyyin, Constantine, 1935. More will be said about the association in a later context. On the Nadī al-Taragqī, it was founded in 1927 in Algiers by reform minded merchants and literati. It succeeded the defunct Nadī Ṣāliḥ Bay, which had been established by Algerians and Frenchmen to provide assistance and enlightenment to the Muslim community of Algiers. Under the auspices of that earlier center, a charitable organization, the Jamʿiyya al-Khawriyya, was founded in 1917 and presided over by al-ʿArabī ibn al-ʿAbīyāq. Its aim was to provide Muslim orphans with free education "khawfān min an yukhrajū min dīnīhī...". This information is provided in al-Shihāb, 17 and 21 February 1947, p. 16 and 2 respectively.

set up had proven insufficient. Algeria was, at the same time, at the eve of a cultural revolution and the thirst for self expression in various fields would have to be quenched¹⁷. The aims of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' were agreed upon. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, the forty two years old Ḥalīm from Constantine, was elected its first president.

The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' disposed of a budget of fifty thousand francs for its first year of operation. It spent its energies founding new schools. The teachers for these schools, for the greater part, were trainees from the Azhar, the Zaytūna and the Qarawīn. They were dedicated to their work and to their employer, the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā'. Schools sprung in the towns and the villages of Algeria and up to two hundred of these were exclusively founded by the Association by the year 1939¹⁸. The Association of Algerian

17. See al-Shihāb, May 1931, pp. 197-199, for the text of speech.

18. See al-Shihāb, February 1939, p. 71.

‘Ulamā’ had also sponsored several cultural associations in the various urban centers of the country. These were structured along the lines of the Association for Education and Learning of Constantine whose president was none other than ‘abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs¹⁹. The Association of Algerian ‘Ulamā’, who had founded its own newspaper, al-Basā’ir, in 1935, urged at the same time that all reform minded Algerians make full use of this essential medium of communication²⁰.

19. The following associations have been mentioned in al-Shihāb: al-Jam‘iyya al-Dīniyya, in ‘Ayn Miliya (March 1936, pp. 676-677), al-Jam‘iyya al-Irshādiyya, in Sétif (*idem.*), Jam‘iyyat Hayāt al-Shabāb, in Miliya (*idem.*), Jam‘iyyat Ikhwan al-Adab, in Oran (*idem.*), Jam‘iyyat al-Sā‘ada, in Algiers, whose president, Ahmad Abū Kharrūfa, founds a school for delinquents headed by ibn Qāsim al-Mu‘allim (September 1938, p. 70), al-Jam‘iyya al-Khayriyya, in Aflou (September 1932, p. 462), Jam‘iyyat al-Mazhar al-Bunī, in Bône, presided by ‘abd al-Rahmān al-Jundī (July 1933, p. 348), Nādī al-Shabāb al-Muslimīn, in Algiers (May 1937, p. 157), Nādī al-‘Amal, in Skikda (May 1936, p. 165), Nādī al-Ta‘addum, in Blida (December 1935, p. 528), Nādī al-Islām, in Miliya (May 1935, p. 113). They all aimed at organizing the local population with the intention of financing education. On the Association for Education and Learning (Jam‘iyyat al-Tarbiya wa al-Ta‘līm) which ‘abd al-Hamīd founded in Constantine, see al-Shihāb, March 1936, p. 676.

20. Jarīdat al-Basā’ir owed its name to the Qur’anic verse: “‘ad ja‘alnākum basā’ira min rabbikum fa man abṣara fa li nafsīhi wa man ‘amiya fa ‘alayha wa mā ana ‘alaykum bi hafīz”. Its first editor was al-Ṭayyib al-‘Uqbī (1888-1960). In 1937, he was replaced by Mubarak al-Milī (1897-1945) and the newspaper was printed

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs maintained close contact with the members of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā throughout his life, in spite of his other responsibilities in teaching, preaching and writing in Constantine. He visited its schools and was often requested to address the public on one subject or another 21 .

in Constantine instead of Algiers. al-Baṣāʾir remained the official mouthpiece of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā until its dissolution in 1954. Other newspapers whom al-Shihāb reported also aired the point of view of religious reformism. They were Sadā al-Saharāʾ, ed. al-Tayyib al-ʿUqbī, Constantine, 1927; al-Islāh, ed. al-Tayyib al-ʿUqbī, Constantine, 1927; Mizāb, ed. Abū Yaʿzān al-Mizābī; al-Jazāʾir, ed. Mubārak al-Millī, Constantine, 1927; al-Sunna, al-Sharīʿa, al-Barq, al-Sirāt, al-Bustān, Wādī Mizāb, al-Umma, al-Maghrib al-ʿArabī and al-Wifāʾ, all of them short lived (see al-Shihāb, 14 and 21 July 1927, pp. 17-18 and 16 respectively). Also reform minded were al-Mirṣād, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbabṣa al-Akhḍarī, Algiers, 1932; al-Nūr, ed. Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥajj ʿIsa, Algiers, 1932; and al-Thabāt, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbabṣa al-Akhḍarī, Algiers, 1934. All those as well as La Defense, ed. al-Amīn al-ʿAmūdī, Algiers, 1934, the only newspaper addressed in the French language to the Evolués, are mentioned in A. Mèrad, "La formation de la presse musulmane en Algérie (1919-1939)", I.B.L.A., 1964, pp. 9-29.

21. Many such visits are mentioned in al-Shihāb. One of them has been picked up at random, in the June 1934 issue of the newspaper, n. 274. It describes how ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs arrived in one village, directly went to the mosque for noon prayers, visited the Government official as a gesture of respect for the authorities, then - in the company of the village ʿālim - returned to the mosque to address the populace. He spoke to them in simple colloquial language. His subject matter pertained to the practical meaning of Islām. His knowledge of Algerian folklore made his examples meaningful to his audience. Aḥmad Abū Shamāl had accompanied ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs on this particular visit and reported it in the newspaper.

His appeal to the younger elements within the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' was undeniable. In time, this appeal had proven that the Association could not survive the split which affected its membership less than two years after its creation.

The Controversy over True Islām

In September 1932, Ismā'īl 'Umar, the Head of the Permanent Committee and a close friend of Shaykh Ahmad ibn 'Alīwa, had been expelled from the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' for openly opposing its president, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. Another member of the Permanent Committee, Muḥammad al-Hāfizī, immediately proposed the foundation of a new Association of Sunni Algerian 'Ulamā'. Five hundred members of the Association withdrew from behind 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs to rally against him²². The

22. See al-Shihāb, February 1933, p. 80, and Oriente Moderno, XII, p. 489. Also, consult J. Carret, 'Le réformisme...', p. 13.

controversy over true Islām had burst into the open. Reformists and traditionalists could co-exist no longer.

The debate between the unofficial 'Ulamā' and the religious establishment of Algeria had brewed ever since 1925, when al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī had proposed that a reformist 'religious Party be formed that would cleanse Islām in Algeria of its impurities. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs was responsible for the failure of such a scheme. He had argued that unity in Islām could bring the various social and religious factions to collaborate more usefully. al-Shihāb remained at the disposal of those who wished to discuss freely about the future of religion in Algeria²³.

Soon, the more radical elements among the unofficial 'Ulamā'

23. At a meeting which was held by the young reformists in Biskra, the home town of one of them, al-Tayyib al-Uqbī (1888-1960), the idea of an Akhā' 'Ilmī was proposed by al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī (1889-1965). It ought to have rallied reform minded 'Ulamā' to the exclusion of any traditionalist. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's influence prevailed and a more flexible formula was reached. See Sijil..., p. 46. It appears as though the goal which Mawlana Mahmūd al-Hasan Deobandī had aimed for may be attained in Algeria.

had openly confronted the traditionalists in Algeria. al-Ṭayyib al-ʿUqbī directed his denunciation of pantheism against Shaykh Ahmad ibn ʿAlīwa, the prominent mystic. The controversy which was being carried for the respective positions in al-Shihāb and al-Balāgh was widened when the general debate over Sharīʿa and Haḍīṭa eventually opposed the Iṣlāhīs to the Ṭuruqīs ²⁴.

The reformist element among the Algerians had not spared the Official ʿUlamā either. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had personally castigated al-Mawlūd al-Shaykh ibn Mawhūb, the Muftī of Constantine, for his complacency in the face of Islamic mal-

24. al-Ṭayyib al-ʿUqbī had made his first attacks against Shaykh Ahmad ibn ʿAlīwa (1869-1934), the founder of the ʿAlīwiyya, in al-Shihāb, 28 July 1927, pp. 7-10, and 20 October 1927, pp. 12-15. The Shaykh replied in his own newspaper, Jarīdat al-Balāgh, that al-ʿUqbī's own naturalism and scientism were, in fact, shirk (No. 25, pp. 1-2). He remarked that the so called reformists could not comprehend Mysticism, or the inner-cum-outer postures towards Revelation (No. 39, p. 6). Referring to the reformists, the Shaykh also quoted from the Qurʾān: "And when it is said to them 'Cause not corruption in the land' they say: We are nothing if not reformers. Nay, unknown to themselves they are workers of corruption". I was not able to consult al-Balāgh yet was able to infer over what was being said in al-Shihāb. The best available study of Shaykh Ahmad ibn ʿAlīwa certainly remains M. Lings, A Moslem Saint of the Twentieth Century, London, 1961.

practices. The salaried 'Ulamā' from Algiers, Oran and Tlemcen had deserved similar criticisms for their own responsibility in the decline of education and religious commitment throughout Algeria. al-Islah, al-Nūr and al-Mirṣād carried articles by al-Ṭayyib al-ʿUqbī, al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, Tawfīq al-Madanī and Mubārak al-Millī against the Official 'Ulamā' in Algeria²⁵.

The traditionalists had, meanwhile, willingly answered the 1931 call of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs to found an Association of Algerian 'Ulamā'. It was then believed by the Office of Indigenous Affairs that his influence would be weakened if such a loose formation as the Association came into being. In little time had it been realized that the contrary had precisely taken place and that ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's reputation had been accrued by his association with the prominent personalities of Algeria. As soon as it was created, the Association of Sunnī Algerian

25. This has been reported in al-Shihāb, 27 January 1927, pp. 5-7.

‘Ulamā’ emphatically dismissed ‘abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers as a group of Sectarians and Wahhābīs ²⁶. The relation between old and new would never be mended again in Algeria.

The near collapse of the Association of Algerian ‘Ulamā’ had forced ‘abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs to revise his position of earlier years. In the review he made of Mubārak al-Mīlī's Risāla, he had categorically rejected Mysticism as un-Islamic. The salafī approach to Divine Revelation remained the only valid one for the Muslims. Reformism now meant for ‘abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs that the war which had been inaugurated against Traditionalism and against Mysticism should be completed ²⁷.

26. This point will receive adequate attention later. See, meanwhile, al-Shihāb, April 1934, pp. 212-213.

27. Mubārak al-Mīlī had published his Risālat al-Shirk wa Mazāhirihi in Constantine in 1932. ‘abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs reviewed it in the most favourable terms in al-Shihāb, December 1932, pp. 650-652. He had, meanwhile, ample opportunities to direct his own attacks against the rigidity of the Official ‘Ulamā’ and the misbelief of all adherents to Mystical Brotherhood. His own ideas will be dealt with with greater depth in the following chapter of this dissertation.

In 1936, the mālikī Muftī of Tūnis, none other than Tāhir al-Shaykh ibn ʿAshūr, ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's teacher of one time, had issued a fatwa that made the prayer which the Believers make over the dead in graveyards permissible. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs took the opportunity to extend the controversy over true Islām to the rest of the Maghrib. Innovation, in Islām, had not been restricted to the Mystical Brotherhoods. The ʿUlamā, also, should be blamed for the departure of an ever growing number of Muslims from the sources of their religion. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs used the Tūnis fatwa as a case in point. In so doing, he had indicated that his own position and that of the traditionalists could not be reconciled any longer.

28

The Algerian Muslim Congress

In 1933, the préfet of Algiers, M. Michel, had been instructed

28. This fatwa is reproduced in al-Najāh, 8 April 1936. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's attacks of its contents appeared in al-Shihāb, March 1936, pp. 52-54. Followed a debate between the Muftī and himself which was carried in al-Najāh, 24 May 1936, 27 May, 3 July and 29 July, and in al-Shihāb, June 1936, pp. 100-101, and July 1936, pp. 184-187.

to look into the activities of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā'. He decreed that all mosques be forbidden to their use for any teaching and preaching whatsoever. The reformists took to the streets and to the cafés and many of them were consequently arrested²⁹. The 1881 Law on the Press had also been restored which muzzled all reformist newspapers³⁰. Remained the sole voice of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs whose al-Shihāb was untouched by the Government.

29. The Brief of 16 February 1933 from the Prefecture had stated that the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' indeed represented a threat to law and order in Algeria. On 27 February, M. Michel signed two decrees preventing the members of the Association from using the State-supported mosques for the purpose of teaching and preaching; he furthermore placed the Consultative Committee on the Muslim Culte, which was being formed, under his chairmanship. See G. Busson de Janssens, L'indépendance du culte musulman en Algérie, Paris, 1951, p. 7. al-Shihāb protested these unprecedented actions on the part of France in Algeria, in the February 1934 issue, p. 179 and the April 1934 issue, p. 221. Mufdī Zakarīyya, Sayyid Ahwāl and 'Umar Dardūr, who had challenged the Government's authority on this matter, were arrested. They had been among 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's early students and assisted him in his work.

30. al-Sunna, al-Sharī'ā and al-Sirāt were being suspended from publication as a result of this law. This has been reported in al-Shihāb, April 1934, p. 218.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had rebuked the religious leadership of Algeria for its subservience to the Government. He also refuted the claim towards representation over the Algerian people which the Financial Delegates maintained. In 1934, he had proclaimed that neither the Official 'Ulamā' and the Heads of Ṭarīqas nor the Financial Delegates deserved the confidence of the Algerians. He had finally broken with his father, the Bashāghā al-Mustafa ibn Bādīs who was also Financial Delegate and Municipal Councilor for Constantine. He left the parental home and became finally freed to act according to his conscience . 31

31. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been summoned to M. Mirante's office in Algiers. He there found his father who ordered him to abandon all political activity and resume his work in education. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs categorically refused: 'laka ʿalayya haqq al-hayāt wa al-mawt innama fikrī wa damīrī wa iʿtiqādī fa hum li allāh...'. He was disowned: 'laqad kharaḡa min abnāʾ al-sabīl lā y-rith wa lā yurath'. He moved to the Ben Sardū house in Sidi Jālis, in Constantine. Meanwhile, the press of his opponents had escalated its attacks on him. al-Najāh and al-Balāgh were among the most virulent. Added to these were al-Ikhlās, ed. al-Mawlūd ibn al-Siddīq al-Ḥāfizī, Algiers, 1932; La voix indigène, ed. R. Zénati, Constantine, 1929; Jarīdat Sidi Hunaynir, ed. al-Shaykh al-Ṭāhir, n.d.; al-Miʿyār, ed. Harras Mustafa, n.d.; and Majallat al-Salām, n.d. al-Miʿyār used foul language calling the president

He now met with Dr. Ṣāliḥ ibn Jallūl, the president of the Fédération des Élus, to consider ways of achieving true representation for Algeria.

The Algerian Muslim Congress, which opened its sessions at the Majestic Theater of Algiers, on Bāb al-Wādī, on 7 June 1936, was to represent the transformed Algerian society. It had drawn close to three thousand delegates from among the professionals, the teachers, the civil servants, the war veterans, the merchants and the unofficial 'Ulamā' from all the cities and towns of Algeria. It put forward concrete demands for reforms. The delegates approved the objectives of the Congress and they elected Dr. Ṣāliḥ ibn Jallūl as its president. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was chosen to become vice-president of the Algerian Muslim Congress ³².

of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' ben balis (ben iblīs). Mubārak al-'Illī and al-Ṭayyib al-'Ubbī were referred to respectively as al-mulet (the mule) and al-lī 'adlī.

32. The idea for a Congress was presented by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs in La Defense, 3 January 1936. Such loose associations were making their appearance throughout the colonized world and it would not be surprising that the Indian Congress of which the Deoband 'Ulamā' were participant members may have influenced 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs to convey one in Algeria. The entire June 1936 issue of

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had been the third speaker to address the delegates to the Congress at its opening session. He spoke in the purest Arabic language and interjected, as was customary with him, verses from the Qurʾān and from the poets into his discourse as had been traditional to the rhetoric of his culture. He had won immediate recognition on the part of the delegates. His harangue had electrified his audience at the Majestic Theater. From the limited circle of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ, his prestige had become nation wide. He stood as the sole spokesman for religious reformism in Algeria. His revendications were simple and clear. The illegal injunctions which the Government imposed against the spread of religious education should be repelled; hubūs

al-Shihāb was devoted to the Congress. One week before its opening, an Executive Committee had met at the Nādī al-Taraqqī to draft policies and priorities (p. 197). According to Muhammad al-Sālih Ramaḍān, who holds it from Saʿīd al-Zammūsh, ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs confided that he would decline any offer for the presidency for the sake of his work. al-Naṣīh, 12 June 1936, claimed that competition between himself and al-Tayyib al-ʿUqbī caused ibn Jallūl (Benjelloul) to win the nomination for the Evolues and against the unofficial ʿUlamāʾ. My own opinion is that ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's chances against any of the évolués leaders were slim at the time.

property should be handed back to the Muslim Community to use freely in matters of religion; qadā' should become independent from State control; France should practice in Algeria complete secularism as it did in the metropolis itself and as it had claimed it would practice in this Muslim territory. 33

The Algerian Muslim Congress had decided, during the first meetings, to send a delegation to France to hand the requests of its members to the Government. Representing the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, al-Tayyib al-'Uqbī and al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī would become part of the thirteen man delegation. The delegates embarked from Algiers on 18 July 1936. They were received in Paris by M. Blum, the Prime Minister. They also had an interview with M. Violette, then Minister for the

33. The opening speaker, at the Majestic Theater, had been 'Abd al-Nūr Tamzālī, the deputy for Algiers. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs followed the address by ibn Jallūl. He was the first speaker to use Arabic. Le Petit Matin of Algiers, which reported the Congress, likened his rhetoric to those of Mirabeau and Jaurès (29 May 1937). The revendications made by the Congress are to be found in al-Shihāb, July 1936, pp. 203-204 and 210-211.

Colonies, and with M. Daladier, the Minister of War ³⁴ .

The Algerian Muslim Congress had rapidly faced deep dissension among its leaders. Upon the return of the delegates from Paris,

al-Tayyib al-^{Uqbī} was charged with the assassination of the

mālikī Muftī of Algiers, Maḥmūd al-Shaykh ibn Dālī ³⁵ . Dr. Ṣāliḥ

ibn Jallūl, who had never concealed his antipathy for the Assoc-

iation of Algerian ^{Ulamā} and its members, conceded in public

that al-Tayyib al-^{Uqbī} may well have been involved in the murder

34. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī did not accompany the delegation to Paris, after all. Here was ^{abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs}'s first trip to Europe. The meeting with Léon Blum and Maurice Violette was a cordial one. On the contrary, ^{abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs} appears to have confronted Edouard Daladier who had told the delegates they could expect little in terms of change: "The weapons we dispose of are the wrath of God Almighty...". On the visit, see al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 231, and October 1936, p. 306.

35. His arrest took place during a reception which was being given the delegates at the Municipal Stadium of Algiers. It was reported in al-Najāh, 9 August 1936, p. 1. The charges laid against al-Tayyib al-^{Uqbī} were refuted by al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī in al-Shihāb, August 1936, p. 272. al-Tayyib al-^{Uqbī} resigned from the Association of Algerian ^{Ulamā} in 1938 over a note of loyalty to the Government which he wanted the Association to sign. The Headquarters of the Association were moved to Constantine from Algiers as a result of this resignation (al-Tayyib al-^{Uqbī} had been the Association's secretary and the editor of al-Baṣā'ir). See al-Najāh, 6 October 1938, p. 3.

of the Muftī³⁶. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs withdrew his support of the President of the Algerian Muslim Congress in protest against such insinuations. He had, meanwhile, been drawn closer to Farḥāt ʿAbbās, the editor of L'Entente, a prominent évolué and a personal friend of al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī. In 1938, the Algerian Muslim Congress had been dissolved. Its members regrouped in other associations whose merit had become expressed in clearer ideological commitments.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and France

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's relation with France had remained ambiguous until he took, a short while upon his return from Paris, an openly hostile attitude towards the French Government.

36. ibn Jallūl's insinuations were made in interview with Marseil-le-Matin and La Dépêche Algérienne. The deputy also suggested that the unofficial 'Ulamā' may have had a hand in the attempt on Ahmad al-Shaykh al-Jabībī's life in Constantine, on 10 August 1936. See al-Najāh, 12 August 1936, p. 12, and al-Shihāb, November 1936, p. 350. The assassination of the Muftī of Algiers and the attempted assassination of the Constantine ʿAlīm may well have been schemed by the police which, by this time, had become determined to undermine the appeal of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers at any cost.

His avowed aim, throughout the major part of his public life,
had been to reconstruct Algerian society³⁷. His political sense
was abated by his own involvement in education. In 1936, his
participation in the Algerian Muslim Congress had made him
a national figure. His name reached Europe and the Mashriq and
was being associated with the struggle which Algerian Islām
waged against Western Colonialism³⁸. Among the Settlers, he
became considered as their deadliest ennemy. The Government
could have arrested him more than once. It refrained from doing
so or from suspending his newspaper out of consideration, at

37. Until 1929, al-Shihāb had stated clearly that its aim was to work for the well being of the Algerians under the auspices of democratic France. Celebrating the 14th. of July, 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had called upon France, the cradle of freedom, to assist the Algerians in their renaissance (see al-Shihāb, 15 July 1926, p. 1). After 1929, the notion of Algeria's rights emerges in al-Shihāb. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs will write in the January 1929 issue, p. 4: 'al-haq wa al-'adl wa al-mu'ākhah fi i'tā' jami' al-huqūq li al-ladhdhina oāmū bi jami' al-wājibāt'.

38. The friendship which had grown between 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and Amīr Shakhīb Arslān, the Arab Nationalist, editor of La Nation Arabe published from his Geneva exile, belongs to that period. al-Manār also publicized the Algerian reformist movement greatly. Within French circles, the works of J. Desparmet which focused on the unofficial 'Ulamā', had made 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs well known to many.

first, for the Bashāghā his father and, later, upon realization that his prestige among the Algerians had grown to the extent he could not be molested any longer.

That ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs will have been conscious of the implications of French rule for the Algerians remains beyond doubt. He persisted in resisting the efforts of the Office of Indigenous Affairs to assist him in his work. He had remarked the grip which they retained over the religious institutions of the country. When the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ was convened, he had little doubts over the presence of France in its proceedings. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had strongly believed, throughout this period, that he could revert the trend of decline in Algeria by his own efforts. His faith in the ultimate submission of every Muslim to the basic tenets of his religion, meanwhile, had made him brush every attempt on the part of the French to undermine his mission aside.

In 1933, the creation of an Association of Sunnī Algerian ʿUlamāʾ to compete with the association over which he was pres-

ident had caused 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs to concede that little reform could be achieved in Algeria lest the powers of France first be curtailed. The role which M. Mirante and the Office of Indigenous Affairs continued to play should be ended³⁹. In 1936, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had travelled to France to meet its governors in the Coalition Government. Unlike the other delegates, his expectations were minimal. Upon his return, his denunciations of France's intents in Algeria became most virulent. He now called for the liberation of the Algerians from the laws of France as

39. M. Mirante, a friend of the Ben Bādīs, was also 'Abd al-Hamīd's bitterest enemy. The first accusations made against his person appear in al-Shihāb, February 1933, pp. 162-163. They also figure in the issues of February 1934, p. 779, April 1934, p. 221, and June 1934, p. 296. A quote from M. Mirante's 'La France et les oeuvres...', p. 88, well indicates the reasons why the ideology of the Office of Indigenous Affairs and that of Islamic reformism could not be reconciled: '...On peut soutenir que le Kalam est aujourd'hui d'un intérêt secondaire; que les arguties d'Ach'ari ne conservent qu'une valeur rétrospective; que Ghazali est seulement intéressant en ce qu'il a de pascalien... Mais le cadi et l'imam de demain joignent à leur culture musulmane des connaissances approfondies de notre histoire, de notre langue, de notre civilisation...'. This statement, in fact, reflected the policy which the Office of Indigenous Affairs adopted and had been working hard to implement. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's entire career had aimed to oppose such a policy, as will be further elaborated in the following chapters.

the precondition to any regeneration of Algeria⁴⁰ .

In 1938, the Settler Community of Constantine had prepared to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the fall of that city to France. Whereas al-Shihāb had shown reserve at the 1930 Centennial Celebrations in Algiers, it now voiced its loudest protest against the effects of one hundred years of French rule over the Constantinois. On 14 September 1937, 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had called upon fourteen local associations to meet and organize the boycott of the coming festivities. al-Shihāb also invited all Algerians to align themselves with Constantine against the will of the Settlers to celebrate the occasion⁴¹ .

40. He had denounced the appeasing policies of the Blum Government during an extraordinary session of the Algerian Muslim Congress on 29 August 1937. The Radicals, in the coalition, would not allow the Socialists any positive actions. The Algerians would now have to rely upon themselves. Moreover, Algerian demands would not acquiesce to less than the rehabilitation of their full rights. See al-Shihāb, September 1937, pp. 325-326.

41. Five thousand copies of a pamphlet entitled "'Kida' ila sukkān ousaṭṭina al-muslimīn'" were distributed on 28 September 1937. A meeting of the city's leaders had already taken place at the Nādī al-Ittiḥād (founded on 16 July 1932 by Dr. S. ibn Jallūl). 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs made his most emotional call for resistance to France (see al-Shihāb, October 1937, p. 390). In Constantine, the

The support for 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's new position towards French rule had been slow to come. The Evlués, whose aspirations the Blum-Violette Project would have certainly satisfied, had refrained from throwing their weight behind the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā⁴². The defeat of this Bill which intended to

boycott was successful and led M. Cuttoli, the deputy for the city, the editor of La Dépêche de Constantine and a prominent colon, to call upon the Government to have 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs shot at Place de la Brèche...

42. Not until the Blum-Violette Project had been shelved in 1938 did the Evlués accept 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's position over the question of assimilation. The Project had intended to raise representation among the Algerians to one deputy for every seventy thousand. The implications that Algerians could either become naturalized if they forsaked their personal status or retain their indigenous status (see the 1919 Loi Indigène, in J.P. Charnay, La vie musulmane..., p. 256) was being dropped. al-Shihāb, May 1937, had given its own interpretation of the Bill, in "'Mā huwa barnāmiġ fiyulat'". It considered it a lesser evil than outright naturalization. The Settlers opposed it bitterly. Paul Cuttoli refuted its value, in La Dépêche de Constantine, 22 March 1935. The Bill was finally defeated (see al-Shihāb, May 1938, pp. 137-138, in "'Māta barnāmiġ fiyulat'". Farhāt 'Abbās had dissociated himself from ibn Jallūl's Fédération des Elus and formed his more intransigent Union Populaire Algérienne which brought him still closer to 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs as a result of its nationalism. ibn Jallūl, on the other hand, founded his own Rassemblement Franco-Musulman Algérien which retained the initial and now outmoded bend towards assimilation to France. ibn Jallūl eventually fell into disfavour in the eyes of all Algerians. See D. Gordon, The passing... pp. 42-43.

liberalize the status of the Algerians did bring to the fore a renewed enthusiasm for the notion of an Algerian identity over and against French culture. The Government, whose efforts to silence the author of such ideas had obviously failed, had finally resorted to impose upon ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs complete restrictions over his movements. In 1939, at the eve of the war and one year before his death, he was under no circumstance allowed to leave the precincts of Constantine.

Epilogue

In 1937, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had undertaken a triumphant visit to Tūnis. He was the main speaker at celebrations held in memory of al-Bashīr Ṣafarr. He was greeted at the Khaldūnīyya and at the Zaytūna. In one address he made, he stated that had it not been for the influence which al-Bashīr Ṣafarr had had on him, he would not be the soldier fighting on the front line for Islām he became.

his efforts, Algeria could retain its own Muslim and Arab personalities. The avowed aim of France to depersonalize its North African colony was being averted by the Algerians.

In the wake of the military confrontation with the Weimar Republic, France had suddenly appealed to 'abd al-ḥamid ibn Bādīs for his support. His prestige was undeniable among the Algerians. Surely would he assist in the war effort. 'Should the Governor-General ask me to recite that there is no God but Allāh that I would refuse to do so'. In June 1939, he had terminated his study of the Muwatta' of Mālik and his commentary of the Qur'ān⁴⁴. He ordered al-Shihāb's publication suspended. His health had deteriorated rapidly. He was taken to his father's home. He died on the night of 16 April 1940. His body lies buried in Constantine. The epitaph he wrote and would have chosen for himself reads:

44. al-Shihāb, August 1939, was the last issue of the newspaper. During the celebrations commemorating the twenty six years he had spent in the field of education, 'abd al-ḥamid ibn Bādīs announced his withdrawal from public life. He had entered, in the words of Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ Ram-dān, the period of kitmān. Excerpts of his study of the Muwatta' and his commentary of the Qur'ān were published in al-Shihāb. Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ Ram-dān collected his commentary under the title Min turathina al-khālid tafsir ibn bādīs also referred to as Majālis al-t-dhikr, Algiers, 1964.

The jihād which ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had carried on till his death was not being interrupted by the efforts of any party to undermine his work. He forsook his family and his fortune, his health and his life so as to fulfill a promise he once made in Arabia to his teacher, Ḥamdān al-Shaykh al-Wanīṣī. In his own words: "My life has been filled by al-Muntaqid and al-Shihāb and by the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā⁴³". As a result of

43. The address made in Tūnis was reproduced in al-Shihāb, June 1937, pp. 227-228, from the Tunisian newspaper al-Zahra. The above mentioned quote appears, in Arabic, in al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 226. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had seen himself as a mujaḥhid whose life was being immolated for the cause of Islām in Algeria. This excessive dedication to a cause, no doubt, accrued his charisma. The attempt which was made on his life on 14 December 1926, Rue Maillot in Constantine, during which one Muḥīn Muḥammad al-Sharīf ibn Muḥammad, a follower of Shaykh Ahmad ibn ʿAlīwa, stabbed him, was brushed aside by ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs whose almost fatalistic attitude seemed to defy even death (see al-Shihāb, 22 December 1926, pp. 14-15). Concerning his fortune, he had never owned it personally. His father assisted him in his early years. When he had become independent from his family, he relied upon the contributions of the Algerians themselves. See al-Shihāb, March 1930, p. 151, "Limādha yanshid al-ahālī al-makṭib al-hurra wa yasūna fī ishādātihā", and July 1933, p. 347, "Jamʿiyyat al-ʿaḥlāt al-kabīra al-islāmīya bi qussanīna". After the Great Depression, the Government had offered to settle the debts which his father incurred if only he abandoned his activities. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, who conceived of his role as taking precedence over family and kin, rejected this offer. His life had, indeed, become absorbed by al-Shihāb and the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā. It will be recalled that he had divorced his wife in order to free himself completely for what he saw as his mission to restore Islām to its rightful place in Algeria.

'Sa yanḥallu juthmānī ila al-tarbi aṣluhu

Wa taltahiqu al-warcā bi ʿālimiha al-asmā''

'Wa dhī sūratī tabqā dalīlan ʿalayhima

Fa in shiʿta fahum al-kunah fa stantiq l-rasmā

'Wa ʿan ṣidoī ihsāsī taʾmal fa innā fī

Malāmih wajh al-marʿi ma yaksabu al-ʿilmā''

'Wa sāmih akhāk in zaharat bi naqṣihi

Wa sal rahmahu tarḥam wala takṭasib ithmā'' .

45

45. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had dedicated his picture to his followers and readers, those whose practice it had become to refer to him as al-Murshid al-Kabīr, as Murshid al-Umma, as al-ʿAlim al-Rabbānī, al-Samadānī and Walīyyullāh (see J. Despermet, 'Un réformateur...', p. 150). The poem was written by himself. It is published in al-Shihāb, April 1935, at the end of the issue.



طبرس ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

المینمق

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

المینمق

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

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تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

تاریخ: ۱۱ محرم ۱۳۶۵ هـ - ۲۰ جولای ۱۹۴۵ م

محل: ...

CHAPTER VII

The

Meaning

of

Algerian Reformism

At no time in his life had ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs set to formulate systematically his ideas on reformism and nationalism for Algeria. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs was a man of action whose involvements were numerous and touched upon many aspects of the life of Algerian society. His articles, in al-Muntaqid and in al-Shihāb, remain the major contribution he will have made to the intellectual history of this period. His place, within the reformist movement, makes him the most significant thinker of reformism in Algeria.

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's interests ranged from religious to political affairs and his thought touched upon social and cultural matters. He expressed opinions on the question of civilization for the Algerians as well as for the rest of mankind. He also showed concern for the morality of societies. His views on these various subjects were invariably motivated by

his own world view. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's thought is consistent with the position he adopted over the significance of Islām for humanity. It interests the student of Algeria for the undoubted contribution it will have made to the changing of Algerian society.

The Implications of Innovations for Algeria

'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs was not the first to advocate reforms in Algeria. At least a quarter of a century before him, the needs to reconstruct Algerian society were expressed by Algerians who realized the state of decadence of their people. The value of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's own reformism lies in the integrated system of thought which he instilled in the movement he had founded. It is the presentation of his ideas which is being proposed here. Until and unless the ideology of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', which he headed and which claimed to be the sole truly reformist movement in Algeria, is overruled, the role of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs in modern Algeria will

remain as nebulous as it has been in the past .

1. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs is not the first modern reformist of Algeria. It will be recalled that, in 1903, Muhammad ʿAbdū had visited Algiers (and, according to D. Gordon, The passing..., p. 31, Constantine as well). His visit had been favoured by the French authorities for reasons which are described in A. Mérat, 'L'enseignement politique de Muhammad ʿAbduh aux Algériens', Orient, 1963, pp. 75-122. He was the guest of a little group of notables. His ideas found response among them and, in 1913, two Arabic newspapers appeared for the first time in Algeria (excluded here is the official bi-monthly El-Mobacher/al-Mubāshir which first appeared on 15 September 1847); they were Dhū al-Fiḡār and al-Farūq; their overt aim was to reform Algerian society. The motto of the former was the Qurʾanic verse II, 88: 'I desire nothing but reform (islāh), so far as I am able' (All Qurʾanic verses in this dissertation are reproduced in English from the translation of Maulāna Muhammad ʿAlī, The Holy Qurʾān, Lahore, 1951). The latter's issue of 9 March 1914, p. 2, proclaimed it would combat innovations in religion. In 1917, a welfare organization was set up in Algiers. al-Jamīʿiyya al-Khayriyya aspired to spread education and morality. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's reformism proved far more comprehensive. In a speech he delivered to the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ (al-Shihāb, November 1936, p. 354), he stated: 'hādhihi al-daʿwā hiya ruḡūʿ al-muslimīn ila ʿaḳāʾid al-islām al-mabniyya ʿala al-ʿilm wa naḳāʾilihi ʿala al-quwwa wa al-rahma wa ahkāmihī ʿala al-ʿadl wa al-ihsān wa nuzumihi ʿala al-taʿāruf bayn al-afrād wa al-jamāʿāt wa al-taʿalluf wa al-taʿammul wa al-taʿawun...'. This will be investigated in the present chapter. The role of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ and its president, ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, had meanwhile retained the attention of the French during their period of activity. J. Desparmet's research appeared in 'Un réformateur contemporain en Algérie', A.F., March 1933, pp. 149-156, and in 'La politique des Oulémas algériens (1911-1937)', A.F., 1937, pp. 352-358, 423-428, 523-527 and 557-561; see also A. Berque, in Revue de la Méditerranée, July-August 1951, pp. 417-429, A.G. Bouvreuil, in A.F., 1936, pp. 582-594, R. Montagne, in Politique Etrangère, April 1937, pp. 131-139, and J. Noël, A.F., 1938, pp. 32-40. These and many others remained involved in the political framework of that period and sought to understand this phenomenon in order to better combat it. That post-independence Algerian historiography, on the other hand, will not have appraised the reformist movement of ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs is justified by the timid role which the Assoc-

The picture which 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs painted of Algeria, in his articles as well as in his speeches, remained most accurate for everyone to acknowledge. He had represented the Algerians as a community in which backwardness prevailed. The contrast was, of course, sharpened by the presence at their side of the Settlers community. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs may have used the harshest words to depict the state of decadence of his people. None had been able to disagree with his observation that the Algerian house was, indeed, seriously divided against itself and that it deserved to be put into order². He went on to describe it further.

iation of Algerian 'Ulamā' has played in the liberation and the reconstruction of Algeria. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's reformism has been treated in M. Lecherat, 'Le Nationalisme...', in A. Ouégane, Le Meilleur Combat, Paris, 1962, and in M. Bennabi, Vocation de L'Islam, Paris, 1954, in a manner which will be described later and which remains subjective to the ideological commitments which these Algerian thinkers hold.

2. It is significant that al-Najāh, which represented the indigenous establishment of Constantine, and La Voix Indigène, which remained for a long time the mouthpiece of the Evolués, shared 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's view. 'Abd al-Hafīz ibn Hāshimī, director of al-Najāh, deplored, in 'Hālat al-ijtimā' al-jazā'irī', 10 April 1925, n. 1, the state of affairs of Algerian society. R. Zénati, editor of La Voix Indigène, speaking about the Evolués, on 13 June 1929, wrote: 'Cette élite... se propose d'entraîner la masse vers le progrès et la civilisation...' neither of which had been apparent in Algeria for a long time. In the manifesto which al-Muntadid published

Algeria, in the twentieth century, had become a land of ignorance and illiteracy. Little schooling was being offered its people and whatever schools did exist proved most inadequate for the times. Algeria was also a land in which poverty had settled. The misery of its people could be seen in its cities and throughout its countryside. Ignorance and poverty were at the root of the decay of Algerian society. No wonder then that the Algerians lived in insalubrious conditions, that they became prone to vice and that they abandoned themselves to their basest instincts .

in its first number, on 2 July 1925, p. 1, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had founded his reformism upon the realisation of Algeria's backwardness (mutaḥakkhira); his aim would become to revert his country to civilization (hadāra) and development (ʿumrān). In yet another context, in al-Shihāb, 17 February 1926, p. 1, he wrote: 'shāhadna hāla al-umma al-jazāʾiriyya al-munhatta fa assasna hādhihi al-jarīda'

3. In 'Hālat al-muslimin al-taʿīsa', al-Shihāb, 11 September 1927, p. 3, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had given his own panorama of the state of Algerian society and concluded: 'al-masʾala baṣīṭa al-jazāʾir jahl wa ghayruhum ʿilm al-jazāʾir faqr wa ghayruhum ghinā...'. al-Shihāb, March 1930, p. 157, was more explicit and gave the figure of 500 Algerian children who received an education for every 10,000. Meanwhile, 'Hubāk al-Millī had described the type of education which was prevailing; besides the few who were educated in French schools, the majority of Algeria's pupils received the type of zāwiya education in which little reading and writing was taught (see al-Shihāb, 11 February 1926, p. 3).

On the matter of poverty, none other than J. Mirante, in 'La France et les oeuvres...', p. 29, had remarked that more than one half million Algerians were being supported by State subsidized charitable

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's description of the state of Algerian

organizations in 1925. The Great Depression of 1930 hit the Algerians still harder than that of 1907. A larger number of them had become associated with the modern European economy, either as workers in France or as labour on the plantations and in the mines and factories of Algeria. Once they had lost their employment, they were being reverted to the traditional society which, itself, had become dependent upon their own salaries. The Algerian proletariat, which conglomerated around the cities, in the bidonvilles (or shanty towns), has been studied by P. Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, Paris, 1958, Travail et travailleurs en Algérie, Paris, 1963, and Le déracinement: la crise de l'agriculture traditionnelle en Algérie, Paris, 1964, and by J. Melia, Le triste sort des indigènes musulmans d'Algérie, Paris, 1935, and by N. Gomar, L'émigration algérienne en France, Paris, 1933. This rapid proletarianization of the Algerian population had resulted, it should be recalled, from the desintegration of Algerian tribal society. That the economy upon which the Algerians had come to rely did collapse could, meanwhile, not revert the process and strengthen the traditional economy. On the contrary, it shattered it far more rapidly as this economy could not sustain the new weight which the Great Depression had forced it to bare. It is this situation which all Algerian intellectuals became the witnesses of. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs compared the outward state of the Algerians to that of the Settlers, in al-Shihāb, November 1935, p. 455. That he drew his own conclusions for this situation remains for us to discuss in what will follow. Suffice it to say that he had not well understood the implications of the Great Depression for Algeria. He had stated in al-Shihāb, July 1927, p. 41: "inna sabab balayāna min anfusna lā min al-ajānib". He granted that delinquency and prostitution, alcoholism and the urge for easy wealth, were all social diseases which had been imported into Algeria by the French. He saw the social deterioration of Algeria as stemming not from the economic impact which France would have had on its Algerian subjects as from the moral collapse of the Algerians themselves (wa li-allāhi lā akhsha al-ajānib bi cadd mā akhsha al-muslimīn). ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's protagonists, the traditionalists and the Evlués, also had failed to see the significance of the Great Depression for Algeria. The former maintained that it is the abandonment of traditionalism which lie at the basis of Algeria's problems while the latter maintained that the solution to these problems could only be found in assimilation to France.

society had not been completed until he drew the picture of the condition of Islām in Algeria. As in the case of their worldly affairs, the beliefs of the people had much declined, according to ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. The Algerians had grown estranged from the principles of their faith and many pre-Islamic practices were thriving as a result of this. Algerian society was also seriously divided against itself. Sectarianism and fanaticism had replaced the unity of the community in Islām. ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs related the decline in the religion of the Algerians to their decadence. It is the departure on the part of the people from the principles of religion which had caused them to fall behind the other nations .

4. The material and moral decadence of the Algerians had been attributed by ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs to their abandonment of the tenets of Islām: "ḥālat abnāʾuna taddul dalālat wādiha ʿala jahlihim bi al-islām wa taʿālmihī al-nāfiya al-khālida", in al-Shihāb, November 1935, p. 455. He had been more explicit in describing, in "al-Amrād al-ʿāshiya fi al-islām", al-Shihāb, April 1934, p. 127, the type of religion which was being practiced in his time by his countrymen; it consisted in mortifications, ritualistic dances and music, human sacrifices, acts of religious fornication, saint worship and the trade of amulets and relics. The pilgrimage of Sidi ʿAbd (Inkermann) was famous for the debauchery it invited. There were other such festivals

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's reformism had been inspired from the thought of Muḥammad ʿAbdū and from the articles of Rashīd Riḍa in al-Manār. Like the reformists from Egypt, he had rested his entire system of ideas on the postulate that the revelation made to Muḥammad had come with answers to all the problems of humanity. The Community of the Prophet became the best community to have ever existed. It was one in which its members were united in Islām. The irrationalism of the Jāhiliyya was eradicated once and for all. Learning prospered and morality spread. Islām had brought those who submitted to the teachings of Muḥammad a life far better than had ever been witnessed

which al-Shihāb described and which will be used later to illustrate that, indeed, Islām was being replaced by revived pre-Islamic religious practices in Algeria. In the cities, meanwhile, the controversies between the various madhhabs had been raging, as is indicated by al-Shihāb, April 1932, pp. 233-234. The conflict between the mālikīs and the ḥanafīs, over the legal interpretation of the same Scriptures, was compounded by the opposition which each madhhab, in Algeria, entertained against the various tarīqas and the khārījīs from Wādī Mizāb. See, for instance, Z. Smogorzewski, "Un poème abadite sur certaines divergences entre les malékites et les abadites", Rocznik Orientalistyczny, II, pp. 260-268. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs also added the Evolues al-ladhdhāna waḥalūna dīnāhum wa lughata dīnīhim to the picture (see al-Shihāb, January 1932, p. 16). Sijil..., p. 34, could emphatically state: "inna ʿillata al-ʿilal fī suʿūt al-muslimīn wa taʿakkurīhim warāʿa al-umam wa inhitāqīhim ʿala tilka al-makānat al-latī kānat lahum fī salaf al-zaman hiya buʿdīhim ʿan dhālika al-huda al-rūḡanī al-ʿāla wa iانشu lā yarjaʿ lahum salāh fī al-duniya wa lā fī al-ākhirā illa idha rāʿū baʿḍā irāhum wa iانشu dhālika al-huda al-ladhdhāni lā yughṣibhu minhum ghṣīb...".

5
in history before .

The Prophet Muhammad, in all his wisdom, had been conscious of the short-lived influence of his example for mankind. The Muslims would invariably tend to revert to their pre-Islamic instincts

5. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had acknowledged the influence of both Muhammad 'Abdū and Rashīd Riḍa several times in his lifetime. Suffice it to cite here his article on "al-Islām ims wa al-yawm", al-Shihāb, March 1936, p. 646. The notion held by 'Abdū, in Risālat al-Tawhīd, Cairo, 1953, p. 62, that human reason was limited and thus required the Prophecy of Muhammad in order that man know what he could not learn by himself, this notion had been submitted to by 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers. Sijil..., p. 7, read: "laced kāna al-nās qabla al-qur'ān 'ala jahil mutbaq bi hādha al-isti'mār al-fikrī hatta bayyanahu al-qur'ān wa wada'a dawā'idahu". al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, in Majālīs..., p. 21, wrote: "kānat al-umma al-'arabiyya qabla al-islām wa mithluha jamī' al-umam fī jāhiliyya jāhila' fa hiya min al-wujha al-fikriyya fī aḥaṭ al-darajāt wa fī al-wujha al-ijtimā'iyya fī akhṣa al-hālat wa kānat lā tamlik asbāb al-nahḍa fa jā'aha allāh bi al-qur'ān wa fīhī kull mā kāna al-fikr al-'arabī yatatallabhu min al-'aḍā'id al-naḍiyya wa al-ḥadā'id al-'ilmiyya fa nahḍa al-'arab wa anḥadū al-umam ma'ahum tilka al-nahḍa al-latī zalzalat al-'ālam al-rūhī al-'aḍī fa adḥabat mkhārimhu wa thabatat ḥadā'idu wa zalzalat al-'ālam al-mādī". This was the view held by all Islamic reformists. The picture they drew of pristine Islām would be contrasted with the state of their own societies. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs attributed the desintegration of his people to the very simple fact that they had surrendered their Islamic values. In a speech he made at the Nādī al-Tarāqūī, on 27 October 1936, in Algiers, he said: "inna al-Islām 'ad ijtima'ī 'am 'Inī mā yaḥtāj ilayhi al-insān fī jamī' nawāhī hayātini...". The corollary was, of course, clearly that prosperity could not be reached by the Muslims lest they reverted to what had made pristine Islām so exceptionally special in history. In "Ḥālat al-Muslimīn al-ta'īsa", al-Shihāb, 11 September 1927, pp. 3-4, Algerian society was being described in contrast with the Community of the Prophet. Whichever values made the greatness of the one were lacking in the other. Algeria had forsaken the benefits of Islām.

in spite of the finality of revelation. ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs conceded that the decline of the Algerians was unescapable. As soon as the Muslims had drifted away from the path which was set for them by religion, their society decayed. Reformism had, likewise, become a normal feature of the life of the Muslims. As they departed from the principles of their religion, they were reminded of their deeds by those who maintained the tradition of the Prophet alive among the Muslims. The Association of Algerian ʿUlamā⁶ belonged to the reformists of Islām. It perpetuated the example of Muḥammad in Algeria and was entrusted with guiding the Algerians back to their true religion. Each time their role was made felt in the Community it prospered and reached new heights. Reformism in Islām was the best guarantee against the innovations which men introduce into their religion and which causes them to deteriorate as soon as they do .

6. This notion of recurring reformism (islāḥ) and renovation (taḥdīd) had stemmed among the Muslims from a Tradition which Abū Fursan attr-

ibuted to the Prophet. It read: "Inna allāha yab^ʿathu li hādhihi al-ummati ^ʿala ra^ʿsi kulla mi^ʿati sanatīn man yujaddid laha dīnaha". It had been developed in its historical perspective by ^ʿAbd al-Mut^ʿal al-^ʿṢa^ʿidī in al-Mujaddidūn fī al-islām, Cairo, n.d. It was submitted to by ^ʿAbd al-^ʿHamīd ibn Bādīs when he stated, in "al-Munāzara wa al-muhātara", al-Shihāb, 17 February 1926, pp. 1-3, that he had witnessed the state of misbelief of the Algerian nation; he decided to revert it to its true religion. It had, meanwhile, been debated by the Muslims as to whether reform and renovation would be the work of one man or of a movement. al-Mujaddidūn..., p. 11, showed that the great imāms, that al-Ghazzālī and al-Suyūṭī, were such individual reformers. ^ʿAbd al-^ʿHamīd ibn Bādīs had brushed such controversy aside. In Algeria, it is the Association of Algerian ^ʿUlamā^ʿ whose responsibility it had become to reform Algerian society. The aim of the association had been stated in Sijil..., pp. 69-70: "jam^ʿiyyat al-^ʿulamā^ʿ jam^ʿiyya ^ʿilmīyya dīnīyya taḥdhībīyya fa hiya bi al-sifat al-ūla tu^ʿallim wa tad^ʿū ila al-^ʿilm wa tarḥab fīhi wa ta^ʿmal ^ʿala tamkīnihi fī al-nufūs bi wasā^ʿil ^ʿalanīyya wādiha lā tatassetar wa hiya bi al-sifat al-thānīyya tu^ʿallim al-dīn wa al-^ʿarabīyya li annaha shay^ʿān mutalāzimān wa tad^ʿū ilayhima wa tarḥab fīhima wa tanhū fī al-dīn munhaha al-khuṣūṣī wa huwa al-^ʿrujū^ʿ bīhi ila niqawātihi al-ūla wa samāhatihī fī ^ʿaqā^ʿidihī wa ^ʿibādātihī li anna hādha huwa ma^ʿna al-islām al-ladhdhi uṣṣisat li-ajlihī wa waqafat nafsaha ^ʿalayhi...".

The role of the reformists had, of course, been different from that of the prophets and of the seal of all prophecy, Muhammad. ^ʿAbdū's Risāla..., pp. 89-95, had convincingly argued for the necessity of God to make all ^ʿibādāt known to man. Once this had been achieved, humanity would be left to its own ability to fare well on the basis of her knowledge of the divine principles. The Risāla..., p. 192, had shown the weakness of man: "sata^ʿala al-islām ^ʿala al-diyār al-lati balaghaha ahliha fa lam yakun bayna ahli tilka al-diyār wa baynahu illa an yasma^ʿū kalāma allāh wa yafqahūhu wa inharafū ^ʿan tarīq al-dīn azmānan wa kōdu yatazāhzhahūn ila ma warā^ʿahu". This was repeated by al-^ʿIbrāhīmī, in Majlis..., p. 22: "Kanat ta^ʿsub bihim min ^ʿawāsif al-tafarruc wa tathūr fīhim min tabā^ʿi^ʿ al-mulk wa ghaṣā^ʿiz al-munafasa fīhi mā ^ʿacallahu kāf fī tadmīr al-mamālik wa tatbīr al-ḥadārat fa varja^ʿūna ila al-^ʿQur^ʿān wa ya^ʿtasimūna bi al-islām fa wajiduna fīhima al-dar^ʿ al-wāci^ʿ ila an dakhalathum al-^ʿarā^ʿ al-madsusa wa mazajathum al-jarathim al-gharība wa ibtālū bi liqā^ʿ sū^ʿ mimma afsada min qalbihim wa kāna min ta^ʿthīr dhālika annahum intagalū min al-tafarruc al-ladhi va^ʿsum minhu al-dīn ila al-tafarruc fī al-dīn nafsuhu wa fī al-^ʿQur^ʿān nafsuhu...". This was the situation which reformism would have to confront throughout the history of the Muslims. ^ʿAbd al-^ʿHamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers accepted the rise and fall of the societies of Islām as having been foreseen by God. As long as a few righteous Muslims did exist little should it be feared for the rest of the Community.

The Reason for Algerian Decadence

If the reason for Algeria's decadence lie in the innovations which were being practiced by its people, the blame for it all was attributed by 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs to the 'Ulamā' whose role it had been to shield the Community from every malpractice in religion yet whose attitude it had become to allow innovations to creep into Islām in Algeria. Algerian reformism had aimed at rehabilitating society to its real foundations. It could only achieve so if those who understood Islām, its 'Ulamā', assumed their place in society .

7. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had borrowed Abū Ishāc Ibrāhīm al-Shātibī's definition of the bid'ā: "'bi annaha turud mukhtari^{ca} fī al-dīn tudāhi al-shar^{ci}yya yadsud al-sālik ^{alayha} al-mubālagha fī al-ta^{ca}abbud li allāhi (al-Shihāb, January 1933, p. 120)". This conception of innovation by al-Shātibī (died in 1388) had found much favour among the modern reformists of Islām. His Kitāb al-I^{ca}tisām was re-edited by Rashīd Rida in 1913 (see C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., S II, 374). Such creations by man had been allowed to creep into the principles of religion because of the laxity of the 'Ulamā'. This view was being held by all members of the Association of the Algerian 'Ulamā'. In al-Shihāb, August 1934, p. 397, al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī stated: "'inna khurūja ^{ciyādati} al-umma al-islāmīyya min awādi al-'Ulamā' huwa akbar asbāb fī mā wagalet ilayhi min inhi^{ca}tāt". This view was re-iterated by 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs in an address he made to the 'Ulamā' of the Zaytūna: "'idha rāja^{ca}ne tarīkha al-muslimīn fī sa^{ca}ādātihim wa shacā^{ca}ihim wa irtifa^{ca}ihim wa ichitātihim wajadna dhālika vartabitū irtibatān mubīnan bi oiyami al-'Ulamā' bi wajibihim". See al-Shihāb, September 1939, p. 369. This simplistic view was not original to the

The 'Ulamā' had inherited their functions from the very nature of the prophecy of Muḥammad. The quality of the Qur'ānic message and the finality of the prophetic phenomenon invested those whose ability it became to know Islām with the responsibility of preserving religion in its revealed form. As long as the 'Ulamā' did assume the role which God bestowed upon them, Islām remained unadulterated for the Muslims and they prospered as a result. As soon as the 'Ulamā', by their actions or inactions, permitted their religion to become tarnished with innovations, the Muslims ceased to progress and decadence set into their midst. In Algeria, this straightforward pattern had affected the history of its people. By the time the 'Ulamā' surrendered their duties, the religion of the Algerians ceased to be that of Muḥammad. The Algerians suffered from all the evils which innovations nurture .

Algerian reformists. It was best formulated by Aḥmad ibn Taymīyya, in the 13th century, as will be shown later.

8. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs wrote in al-Shihāb, October 1938, n. 84: 'fa al-tarbiyatu wa al-ta'lim huma wa-ḥifāt al-anbiyā' wa bi al-qiyāmi bihima kāna al-'ulamā' wirāthata al-anbiyā'. The finality of proph-

Islām had come with the essential principles which man would require in order for him to organize his society rationally. It remained for the 'Ulamā', who were the leaders of society, to formulate the practical steps leading towards the desirable Islamic conduct. In order that this may be achieved, they would have to understand the message of the revelation made to Muhammad. Their science resulted directly from their submission to functions which God had ruled they should perform .

etic function of Muhammad had forced upon the 'Ulamā', in the Sunni tradition, the responsibility of religious interpretation of the Scriptures of Islām. al-Shihāb, October 1934, p. 478, emphatically stated: 'lām yuslah al-muslimūn hatta yuslah 'ulamā'uhum fa innama al-'ulamā' min al-umma mithāl al-qalb idha salīha al-qalb salīha al-jasad kulluhu wa idha fasada fasada al-jasad kulluhu'. Indeed, as the July 1936 issue had spelt out, on p. 213: 'inna al-'ulamā' umaththilūna al-waṣf al-ladhdhi mā kānat al-umma umma illa bihi wa huwa al-islām'.

9. The argument over the rationality of Islamic revelation had best been presented for the Islamic reformists by Muhammad 'Abdū. In his Risāla..., p. 60, he wrote: 'Cala hadha adāmat al-sharā'iC wa bihi istadāmat al-takālīf wa man ankara shay'ān minhu qad ankara makān al-imān min nafsīhi wa huwa 'aqluhu al-ladhdhi sharafahu allāh bi al-khiṭāb fī awamirihi wa nawāhihi'. In the introduction to his study of the Exegesis of the Qur'ān, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had divided the functions of the 'Alim into two distinct parts, the first which consisted in understanding the meaning of revelation and the second which called for the implementation into daily activity of the divine ordinance (see Majālis..., pp. 41-51). So did he state, on p. 44: 'hadha shay' qalīl mimma li al-Qur'ān fī al-dhikr bi anwā'ihi al-thalātha ila mā fīhi min 'ilm maṣāliḥ al-'ibād fī al-ma'āsh wa al-ma'ād wa baṣṭ asbāb al-khayr wa al-shar wa al-sa'āda wa al-sha'āwa fī al-duniya wa al-ākhirah wa 'ilm al-nuṣūṣ wa ahwālun wa usūl al-

In the Maghrib, the 'Ulamā' forsaked their responsibilities as soon as they surrendered their leading role in society. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs determined the beginning of decadence when Mystical Brotherhood was allowed to appear and become institutionalized. Mysticism was in direct contradiction with the scientific understanding of Islām which sought to comprehend the scheme of God for mankind by ways and means which were other than those which Muḥammad taught and which the true 'Ulamā' upheld. If the rise of Mysticism was the most apparent feature of adulterated religion in Algeria, the onus of blame rested, according to 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, on the corrupt 'Ulamā' ¹⁰.

al-akhḫāḍ wa al-ahkām wa kuliyyat al-siyāsa wa al-tashrī' wa haḍā'iq al-hayāt fī al-'umaran wa al-i'timā' wa nizām al-kawn al-mabniyya 'ala al-rahma wa al-quwwa wa al-'adl wa al-ihṣān ila mā taḥṣur 'an 'adahu al-'alsina wa ta'jaz 'an al-ihāṭa bihi al-ifhām wa innama yanālu kull tal minha 'ala 'adri ma 'indhu min salāmat 'aḍd wa shiḥat 'ilm bi taḍdir wa tawṣīr min al-hakīm al-'alīm'.

10. About the influence which Mystical Brotherhood did have on Algerian Islām, Sijil..., pp. 23-24, wrote: 'fa hiya al-lati ghashshat al-muslimīna li awwali mā tafa bihim tā'ifuka wa ghashshatūm bi hādhihi al-rūḥ al-khabītha rūḥ taḥḍidihim fī al-cur'an wa kuyfa lā yazhd al-muslimīna fī al-cur'an wa kull mā fīhi min fawā'id wa khayrāt wa barakāt 'add intaza'atha minhu al-turūq wa jaradathu minha wa wad'athu fī awrā'idha al-mubtadi'a wa rusumiha al-mukhtari'a'. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn

Islamic reformism had charged Islamic traditionalism with having caused the impact of Islām on society to be diminished. In Algeria, the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' accused the Official 'Ulamā' of having perpetrated innovations which proved detrimental to their own community. The greatest sin to have been committed by traditionalism had been that un-Islamic attitudes had been allowed to become entrenched in the Islamic tradition of learning of the Algerians. They closed the doors of ijtihād and retained the minds of the people in the wake of their predecessors and in imitation of these. In time, they had confused their own tradition with the tradition of Islām. They were committing their own innovations in

Bādīs justified the actions of his movement, in al-Shihāb, April 1934, p. 211: 'inna al-muslimīn mā taṣaddū li muḥāwamat al-ṭurūṭiyya illa ba'da an ra'aw ruṣṣa'ah wanshurūna al-bid'a bayna al-ḡibādi'. He reported a quote by Ahmad ibn 'Alī wa from al-Balagh, 11 March 1931: 'al-sūfiyya hiya ḡibrat an muḥwalat tatbiq ahwāl al-mukallaf al-ḡāhira wa al-bāṭina ḡala mā jā'a bihi al-shar' al-sharīf...'. In the words of Sijil...; p. 20: 'anna al-madhāhib al-sūfiyya fa hiya ab'ad athār fī tashwīḥ haḡā'io al-dīn wa ashad munāfi'at li rūḡihī wa acwa ta'thir fī tafriḥ kolimat al-muslimīn li annaha tarja' fī aṣliha ila naz'a ḡhāmiḡa mubhima'. Ironically, J. Mirante, the friend of the Mystical Brotherhoods during that period, agreed in La presse périodique arabe, Paris, 1907, p. 202: 'Parfois il nous est arrivé de lire, avec une agréable surprise, dans la presse arabe, des articles enragés contre les marabouts, ces grands imposteurs qui faussent la religion, s'enrichissent en exploitant la crédulité naïve des masses et résistent partout opiniâtrement à l'esprit nouveau...'. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers could not have objected to this view.

that they mistook any innovation in their tradition to be an innov-

11
ation in religion .

11. The charge which reformism made against the taqlīd of the traditionalists has invariably inclined the reformists towards scripturalism and literalism. The inevitable trend towards institutionalization could never be avoided in spite of the argument in favour of renewed and unimpeded ijtihād. ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, like Muḥammad ʿAbdū before him (see his Risāla..., p. 158: 'anḥa al-islām ʿala al-taqlīd wa hamala ʿalayhi hamlatan lam yaruddha ʿanhu al-qadar fa badarat fayālīqahu al-mutaḥalliba ʿala al-nufus wa iqtalaʿat usūluhu al-rāsikha fī al-madārik wa nasafat mā kāna lahu min daʿā'im wa arkan fī ʿaḳā'id al-umam'), had attributed the sclerosis of religion to the blind imitation of the predecessors (see 'Aṭhar al-taqlīd', in al-Shihāb, 7 July 1927, p. 1. al-Muntaḍid had reproduced from al-Zahra, in Tunis, an article by Shakīb Arslān in which he wrote: 'Lā yumkin islāh al-islām fa al-islām idha ṣaliha fa lā yaʿūd huwa al-islām bal dīnan akhar'. ʿAbdū had also differentiated between the Muslims and Islām, in Risāla..., pp. 152-153. In Algeria, ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs could point to Malikism and to the tradition of Malik ibn Anas which he saw as contradicting one another. His own study of the Muwattaʿ had aimed at rehabilitating the latter and at eradicating the former: 'wa nahnu baʿda an bayyanna taʿlīm al-dīn min sunnat al-nabī wa min ʿamal al-salaf min ahl al-ourūn al-fādila al-mahmūda wa minhum imāmuna imām dar al-hijra malik fa innana ʿaḳadna al-ʿazm ʿala islāh al-taʿlīm' (al-Shihāb, October 1934, p. 481). The newspaper carried a dialogue between a traditionalist and a reformist, in November 1932, p. 565 and December 1932, p. 616. This dialogue was, undoubtedly, fictitious. The reformist criticized the tradition of naql and taqlīd which traditionalism cultivated. This is where the greatest innovation of all had been perpetrated. The role of the ʿUlamāʾ had been to retain and to preserve the Ṣibādāt of Islām in the form they were revealed to man. On the contrary, it was their duty to indulge in the uninterrupted formulation of muʿāmalāt that would determine the Islamic conduct of the Community. The traditionalists had failed in both counts in Algeria. Their rigid minds prevented the evolution of muʿāmalāt to take place while their excessive care for their own traditions permitted others to cause innovation to take place in the very field of Ṣibādāt (the reformist had, of course, the Mystical Brotherhoods in mind). The traditionalist was reminded of the Tradition: 'wa sharʿ al-umūr muḥdathātuha wa kull muḥdatha bidʿa wa kull bidʿa dalāla wa kull dalāla ʿi al-nar'.

The decline of the role of the 'Ulamā' in society had been noticed by 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs in the very field of understanding revelation. The as important function of guiding the community along the path of Islām would necessarily become affected by the very failure of the 'Ulamā' to properly conceive of their religion. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had deplored the fact that the 'Ulamā' were no longer the teachers, the legislators and the moralists of society. In Algeria, religious education became obsolete and was being replaced by the teaching of values which were alien to the precepts of Islām. The legislative role of the Algerian 'Ulamā' had also fallen into misuse and un-Islamic laws became applied in an ever wider field of human activity. The moralists of Algerian society were also other than its 'Ulamā' and the morality which prevailed as a result was in great part responsible for the decadence of Algeria. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had dismissed the traditional role of the 'Ulamā' in his country. He had clearly rejected the Medieval history of the Maghrib as well. He finally conceived of the one hundred years of French rule as perverting this history. From now on, the Association of Alger-

ian 'Ulamā' would claim the sole right to speak for the Algerians

12
in matters of religion .

12. al-Shihāb had been most explicit in its expectations of the function of the ʿālim in society: 'wa mā ʿala al-ʿulamāʾ al-ladhīna hum aṣḥāb al-ḥaqq fī al-taṣhrīf illa an yataqaddamū li khidmatī al-umma multazimīna al-istiḳāma al-dīniyya wa al-ijtimāʿiyya wa yaʿlamū lī nashr dīnīhim wa fadāʾ ilīhi wa akhlāqīhi' (August 1932, p. 420). The Official 'Ulamā' **renounced** these responsibilities. In the words of al-Muntaqid, 21 October 1925, in an article by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs entitled 'ʿUlamāʾuna al-yawm', the role of leadership (al-ʿulamāʾ ruʾasāʾ) of this body existed no more; 'inna ghālib ʿulamāʾuna al-yawm yaqulūn wa lā yafʿalūn khawfan aw tamʿan...'. The fact that the 'Ulamā' had accepted employment from the State (tawazzafū) had represented the age old dilemma of this institution in Islamic history. In Algeria, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had protested the interference of the French government in the religious affairs of the Muslims. Mubārak al-Mīlī, in al-Shihāb, 11 February 1926, p. 3, voiced their anger at the so-called religious policies of France in North Africa. To put the entire blame on the French, on the other hand, would be to avoid facing the truth. The 'Ulamā' of the Maghrib were backward. The reformists made it a point to underline this observation. Sijil..., p. 8, stated: 'wa lākin sirr al-ourṣān layse fī ḥādha al-ḥifz al-jaf al-ladhdhi naḥfazhu wa lā fī ḥādhihi al-tilāwa al-shallaʾ al-lati natlūha wa layse min al-maʿāṣid al-lati anzala lī taḥdīdha tilawatāhu ʿala al-amwāt wa lā ittikhadhahu makṣabuhu wa lā istishfāʾ bihi min al-amrād al-jismaniyya wa innama al-sirr kul al-sirr fī fahmihi wa itbāʿihi wa al-takhalluṣ bi akhlāqīhi'. Such was certainly not the case among the Official 'Ulamā'. al-Shihāb, August 1939, p. 328, had shown their training to be most deficient; of traditional education, it wrote: 'fa innaha tarīqa bāliya ʿatīqa taʿtamid ʿala al-mujādalāt al-lafziyya...'. And Sijil..., p. 18, to add: 'wa min al-mubzin anna al-dirāsa ḥatta fī kulliyati al-zaytūna lā tazāl jāriya ʿala tilka al-tarāʾīf wa fī tilka al-kutub wa lā tazāl tuḍarrir fīha tilka al-arāʾ wa lā tazāl tadḥkur fīha tilka al-firaq al-lati lam yabʿa laha wujūd wa waṣṭaʿrid sayyidna al-mudarris tilka al-arāʾ thumma yaḥyīha thumma yanquḍha wa taṣṭatiʿ awṣāt al-ṭalaba fī dhālik'. The result had been that the quality of the ʿālim deteriorated and that his functions were curtailed: 'wa kana yagunnu cabla al-yawm anna ʿālimana yaʿuddu naẓārahū al-baḥṭh fī firaq al-salāt wa nawāṣis al-wuḍūʾ' (al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 220). ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, in a passage reproduced in the August 1934 issue, p. 372, said: 'inna bi al-ijzāʾa khisāman bayna al-ʿilm wa al-jahl bayna al-huda wa al-dalāl wa bayna al-sunna wa al-bidʿa'.

The Condition for Algerian Regeneration

ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs determined the course of the regeneration of Algerian society as soon as he had made his views on the rise and fall of the Muslims clear to himself and to his followers. It became his contention that the departure, on the part of the Algerians, from the principles of their religion caused them to decline. Their return to these principles alone would bring about their resurgence as a viable community. Algerian reformism, under his influence, gave the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers as the example for the Muslims of Algeria to follow. During the first three centuries of their history, the Believers had succeeded to implement the precepts of Islām to their daily lives. They fared away from

Sijil..., pp. 74-75, appropriated reformism for the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ: al-mumaththilatu li al-jazāʾir min nāhiyatiha al-rūḥaniyya. During deliberations for the first Algerian Muslim Congress, held in Algiers on 7 June 1936, its delegates acknowledged the right of the association to speak for Algeria in matters of religion (al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 213). Remained the meaning which ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs would attribute to Algerian Islām. The following pages will deal with precisely his interpretation of religion as a living force for his society.

innovations and remained faithful to the prophetic tradition of

13
Muhammad .

The argument for the excellence of the period of the Salaf and for its relevance to twentieth century Algeria had rested on the ability of the reformists, under the influence of Muhammad 'Abdū, to disengage the fundamental truths of Islām from the Islamic tradition. They praised the ability of the Companions of the Pro-

13. This statement of principle was made in Sijil..., p. 28: "inna hujjat al-islām oā²ima wa mizānuhu mansūb wa adābahu mutamaththila fī sīrat al-sahāba wa al-tābi²in wa innana lā na²rif fī al-islām ba²da curūnihi al-thalātha al-fādila mīzat lī qadīm Cala muḥdath wa lā li mayvit Cala hay wa innama huwa al-huda aw al-dalāl wa al-itbā² wa al-ibtidā²". The doctrine of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā² appeared final; the life of the Salaf represented the perfect Islamic life; unless the Muslims reverted to its foundations, there could be no happiness (sa²āda) nor greatness (siyāda) in store for them (al-Shihāb, November 1931, p. 687). About their understanding of revelation, al-Ibrāhīmī wrote of the Salaf, in Majālis...: "wa kāna ha²ulā² al-salaf va²climūn limadha anzala al-ur²ān wa innahu kitāb al-dahr wa dustūr al-hayāt wa hujat allāh al-bādiya ila ciyam al-sā²ca wa annahu wāfi kulla al-wafā² bi is²ād al-bashar fī al-hayātayn wa anna qadm fahmuhu wa qadm al-²amal bihi wa qadm tamkīnihi kulla dhālika ta²tīl lahu... (p. 23) amma al-khālāf fa²cadu qadalū can hādha kulluhu mundhu sārū vafhamūna al-inan min al-²cawā²id al-ta²mīliyya wa fa²cadū al-dhawc wa al-istirshād bi al-sunna... (p. 25)". It is interesting to note that al-Shihāb also made use of the very dubious Tradition: "kayr al-curūn carni thumma al-ladhina yalunahu thumma al-ladhina yalunahu...". As will be shown later, the use of Ḥadith material by the Algerian reformists was more often than not aimed at strengthening their ideological point of view even if such material rested upon weak isnād

phet and their Followers to relate the message of Muhammad to changing times. In preserving the principles of religion intact, the Salaf had, in fact, freed themselves from the trappings of traditionalism. They had understood the significance of the prophetic mission and had assumed their own responsibilities as Believers. Their example should be shared by all Muslims after them. What had made their own period the greatest in the history of the Islamic peoples should, likewise, retain the attention of the Algerians .

14

14. Sijil..., p. 37, had pointed to the ability of the Salaf to relate the principles of Islām to their daily affairs (fahm al-dīn wa silatuhu bi al-duniya). Muhammad Abdū before, in his Risāla..., p. 9, stated: "māda zaman al-nabi wa huwa al-marja' fī al-hira wa al-saraj fī zulumat al-shibha wa qada al-khalifatan ba'dahu mā qadara lahuma min al-'umr fī mudāfa'at al-'a'dā' wa jamā'a kalimāt al-awliya' wa lam yakun li al-nās min al-faragh mā yakhlūna fihi mā'a 'uqūlihim li yabtalūha bi al-baḥth fī ma'bāni 'aqa'idihim wa mā kāna min ikhtilāf 'alil radd ilayhima wa qada al-'amr fīhi bi hukmihima ba'da istishārat man jawarahuma min ahl al-baḥr bi al-dīn in kānat hājat ila istishāra wa aghlab al-khilāf kāna fī furū' al-ahkām lā fī usūl al-'aqa'id thumma kāna al-nāsu fī al-zamanayn yafhamūna ishārat al-kitāb wa nusūsihi wa 'ta'cidūna bi al-tanzīh wa yafudūna fīma wuham al-tashbīh wa lā yadhhabūna warā' mā yafhamūhu zāhir al-lafz". al-Ibrāhīmī's words were as explicit, in Majālis..., pp. 24-25: "inna al-salaf tadharra'u li fahm al-qur'ān wa qadd ista'radūhu ba'da fahmihim bi tilka al-dharā'ij fa wajadūhu wa 'rif al-imān bi al-sifāt al-lāzima wa al-lati yatakawwan min majmū'ihā thumma wajadūhu lā yadhkur al-imān fī al-ma'arid al-mukhtalifa illa mawḥanan bi al-'amal al-sālih fa fahimū min al-qur'ān mā huwa al-imān wa mā hiya al-'amal al-sāliha fa āmanu wa 'amilu al-sāliha't fa kāna imānūhum akmal imān bi al-'amal". Abd al-

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had criticized the traditionalists in Algeria for their alienation from the tenets of religion. He conceded that, in spite of this, they had continued to acknowledge the value of pristine Islām, although they had failed to comprehend its meaning for the present. The Marabouts represented a far more serious threat to the Community, according to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs. They were the falsifiers of religion and attributed to Islām a set of beliefs and of religious practices which were remotest from the very tradition of the Prophet. Against them would reformism have to strike if the influence of revelation should at all be rehabilitated. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had submitted to an ideology and a methodology of Islām which were in sharp contrast with the existing forms of Islām in Algeria. The example of the Salaf became the criterion by which every Muslim would have to be measured against

Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs could state, in al-Shihāb, November 1936, p. 357: "wa qadd dallat tajrūb al-bayāt kathīran min ʿulamāʾ al-umam al-mutamaddina anna lā najāh li al-ʿālam mimma huwa fīh illa bi islām ʿam ʿala maʿbādī al-islām".

15
among the Algerians .

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had aimed at creating the good Community of Believers in Algeria. This community would share the faith of the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers. It would believe in the one God and in his revelation. It would also conduct its worldly affairs according to the principles which were made known

15. al-Shihāb, 17 March 1927, p. 9, had referred to three types of religious teachers in Algeria: there were the ignorant teachers, the jāmidūn whose rigidity had made them grow estranged from their Salaf (tarakū mā kāna ʿalayhi salafuhum al-ṣāliḥ wa irtakabū al-muḥarremāt); there were the fabricators of innovations, the ṭurūdiyyīn (wa yazʿamūna anna abādahum damanū ʿalayhim al-janna); and there were the reformists, whose aim it was to reform the beliefs of the people (mabdaʾuhum fī al-islām al-dīnī wa al-duniyawī). al-Shihāb, 25 May 1927, p. 1, drew the picture of Algerian Islam in the following words: "fa sārāt al-umma farīdayn al-islāmiyyīn wa al-mutaṣawwifa". This was an admission that the Official ʿUlamāʾ could not be relied upon any longer. Indeed, while al-Shihāb, 31 March 1927, p. 9, emphatically stated that the Marabouts did not qualify as ʿUlamāʾ (shuyūkh al-ṭurūdiyyūn bi ʿulamāʾ), al-Shihāb, 6 December 1926, p. 3, in "Nad al-ʿulamāʾ", had written: "fa al-ʿulamāʾ aḡanīb min al-kitāb wa al-sunna". ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had urged the Mystics to repent: "ʾimā ʿaradna al-naṣīḥa li al-ṭurūdiyyīn laʿallahum yarjaʿūn ila al-taʿaṣṣul wa al-tafakkur in kānū mukhlisīn". al-Shihāb, 7 July 1927, p. 5. Mubarak al-Millī's Risāla... lengthily indicated that Mystical Brotherhood had contravened the explicit ruling of God. He had previously demonstrated, in "al-Taʿlīm al-dīnī fī al-jazāʾir", al-Shihāb, 11 February 1926, p. 3, that zāwiya education, which focussed mainly upon the writings of the Shaykh, in fact perpetuated innovations among the Muslims. It remains for us to show how the reformists of Algeria had dealt with the critique of Mysticism in terms of dogmatics and jurisprudence. This aspect of the controversy between the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ and the Mystical Brotherhoods will be considered in the section dealing with the renovation of the Islamic sciences.

to Muhammad. This community would be bound by the Sharīʿa. All that conflicted with its religion should become forbidden. The sins which were daily committed by the Algerians should have to cease and under no circumstance would they be tolerated by the Association of Algerian (Ulamā)¹⁶.

16. The objectives of Algerian reformism had read as follows, in Sijil..., p. 43: "ṣarf al-quwwa kullha wa tawjīh al-juḥūd mutaẓāfira ila al-taʿlīm al-mutamam wa takwīn ṭāʾifa jadīda munṣajimat al-taʿlīm matiyūna bi al-ṭābiʿ al-islāmī ʿilman wa ʿamalan muslima bi al-adila mudarraba ʿala asālib al-dīn wa al-islāmīyya wa al-kitāba al-ʿarabiyya" (the italics are mine). This objective had stemmed for its members from their belief in God and in his Scriptures. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had frowned upon the decline in faith of the Algerians. In al-Shihāb, May 1938, pp. 106-107, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had the question "al-Islām al-dhātī wa al-Islām al-wirāthī ayvuhuma yanḥaq bi al-umam" put to his readers. He replied: "lakkina ḥādha al-Islām al-wirāthī lā yumkin an yanḥaq bi al-umam li anna al-umam la tanḥaq illa baʿda tanbīh afkārīha wa tafattuh anzārīha wa al-Islām al-wirāthī mabnī ʿala al-jumūd wa al-taʿlīd falā fikr fīhī wa lā naẓar... amma al-Islām al-dhātī fa huwa islām man yafham dawāʿid al-Islām wa yadrūk mahāsīn al-Islām fī ʿaṣāʾidihī wa akhlāqihī wa adābihī wa ahādīth al-nubawīyya". ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs restlessly worked at reviving the faith of the Algerians. He urged a group of them on their way to the pilgrimage to reopen their hearts to the Scriptures of Islam (al-Shihāb, April 1930, pp. 184-185). al-Shihāb, August 1932, pp. 402-403, reported his visit to a village in which he preached the unicity of God and the need for renewed piety. To other Algerians he spoke of the source of inspiration (ḥudā) which the Qurʾān and the Sunna represented (al-Shihāb, May 1931, pp. 289-290). One theme appeared to recur in his predication which had appeared as early as 24 June 1926: "amma al-salaf fa kull man māta mimman taʿaddama haʾulāʾ al-ahiyāʾ am khālafa kalām al-salaf wa tafḍilīhim ʿala al-salaf idha salima and fa lā yuslim illa ʿalī al-mutaʿallimūn...". His aim remained a simple one: "al-naḥd al-dīnī qudd al-istiʿādāt wa tathīr ʿaḥidat al-tawḥīd". On the matter of faith, he gave the verse innaka naʿbudu precedence over ahdina... Followed the learning of Islam. ʿAbd

The predication of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had aimed at making the tradition of Muḥammad known to the Algerians. The knowledge of how the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers had dealt with their own lives also represented an important source of information for every Muslim to become aware of. The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' confronted this tradition with the current practices of its countrymen. The loyalty of the Salaf to the prophetic message was compared to the disregard of Mystical religion for the memory of Muḥammad. The practices of the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers were contrasted with the rituals of Mystical Brotherhood. The former had indicated their absolute submission to the sources of Islām, the Qur'ān and the Sunna, while the latter

al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had maintained that none could not claim to be a Muslim who could not reach its Scriptures directly (fa lā y-kun al-muslimu muslimān hatta yata'allam al-islām, in Sijil..., p. 6). This notion of the literate knowledge of Islām no doubt contrasted with the notion held by the majority that Islām had been given to them for ever. Preaching and teaching went hand in hand in the effort of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' to operate the Islamization of Algeria. They, meanwhile, received priority over everything else and indicated that, like Muḥammad 'abdū in Egypt (see A. Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, London, 1962, pp. 158-159), 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs believed in starting from the foundations upward.

showed complete disregard for revelation .

17. al-Shihāb, August 1939, p. 344, had claimed that the Sīra of the Prophet illustrated Islām fully. It had inspired the Salaf and should continue to inspire the Algerians. The newspaper delved extensively in publicizing the life-story of the Prophet and of his Companions and their followers. The issues of October 1935, pp. 501-504, July 1935, p. 211, December 1935, pp. 496-498, and June 1939, pp. 211-213, related the piety of Bilāl ibn Rabbāh, Abū Darr, al-Shifā' bint 'Abd Allāh and Nu'mān ibn 'Adī al-'Adawī, for instance. Their beliefs were being opposed to those which the Mystical Brotherhood preached and practiced in Algeria. For example, al-Shihāb, 6 September 1927, pp. 2-3, had described two festivals. The first was observed by the Qādirīyya, the Rahmānīyya, the 'Ammārīyya and the 'Alīwīyya. Here was a Berber moon cult which had found its way into Maghribī Islām and celebrated the first day of Spring. This display of idolatry and associationism could not be tolerated. The other referred to the celebrations of the birthday of Muḥammad ibn 'Isa al-Mukhtārī, the founder of the 'Isawīyya. In 1926, it coincided with the birthday of the Prophet yet it received precedence over the mawlid al-nabī among the adepts of this Mystical Brotherhood. The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' waged its war against such pre-Islamic practices. al-Shihāb reported a certain amount of success in the eradication of these. Idolatry was being interrupted in a town of the Wādī Mizāb as a result of the reformists. The visitation of the grave of Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Akhdarī was ended, according to al-Shihāb, 20 May 1927, p. 9. The mawlid al-nabī regained its lost popularity and provided the Algerians who observed it with an accrued source of moral inspiration (al-Shihāb, July 1935, pp. 145-148). It remains to be studied to what extent change in the social structures of the people could be held responsible for the change in their religious beliefs and their religious practices. I have come across no such study. The fact that the appeal of Mysticism did restrict itself, in one form or another, to the guilds in the cities, to the peasantry and to tribal society was undeniable in the past. With the decline in traditional industry and with the collapse of the traditional rural and nomadic pastoral economies, and with the social reorganization which inevitably followed, many of the religious values of the past were being replaced and modified. The appeal of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, on the one hand, and of Ahmad ibn 'Alīwa, on the other, well indicated that the tenets of bygone days would satisfy the Algerians no longer and that their crave for new religious principles by which they could abide would have to be met.

The Return to the Sources of Islām

It represented the only means by which Algeria would be regenerated. The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' went to great lengths to indicate that the Algerians, and the Mystical Brotherhoods most of all amongst them, had notoriously contravened this fundamental principle. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers urged their countrymen to revert to the sources of their religion, the Qur'ān and the Sunna. In them would they find all the answers to their quests and all the solutions to their problems .

18

18. It is interesting to note that part of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā's propaganda had simply been to use the founders of Algerian traditionalism and mysticism against these. Of Mālik ibn Anas, al-Shihāb, January 1929, n. 1, quoted: 'lā yuṣlah aḥīr hādhihi al-umma illa bi mā ṣaliḥa awwalūha'. This was in reference to the impact of Islām on the people of Arabia. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs used another statement of the Imām to the same effect: 'Kulla shādin yuḥadth min dawlihi wa yarud al-ashbu hādha al-cabra yaḥnī al-nabī'. See al-Shihāb, 27 June 1927, p. 9. al-Shihāb, September 1938, n. 50, meanwhile, attributed to Junayd these words: 'Amarna hādha muḥavvad bi al-kitābi wa al-sunna'. Finally, al-Shihāb, 31 March 1927, n. 9, quoted Ahmad Tijānī: 'Aḥriḍ mā jā'akum ḥannī ḥala al-kitābi wa al-sunna fa mā wāfaca fa icbalūhu wā mā khāḥafa fa idrabū bihi ḥarḍa al-haḥīṭ'. These clear precepts were being measured against the actual teachings and practices of the Tarīcas in Algeria. al-Shihāb, April 1934, pp. 302-305, had presented excerpts from Kitāb Jawhār al-Maḥānī, said to have been dictated to 'Alī ibn Ḥarāzīm by Ahmad Tijānī (see C. Brockelmann, Geschichte..., 3 II, 896). This material dealt with prophecy, with the Salaf, with sainthood, with belief and with the law in terms which were acceptable to the reformists. This was contrasted with some of the terse injunctions of the Tijānīyya: that the recitation of Ahmad Tijānī's ṣalāt al-ḥaḥīṭ was six thousand times more beneficial than the recitation of the Qur'ān, that it was part of revelation, that it was taught to the Shuykh by the Prophet himself and that the Shuykh was the best among all saints. See al-Shihāb, September 1938, pp. 50-60. This article by 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn

The Qur'ān represented the uncreated word of God. The Sunna referred to the tradition of the Prophet. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had attributed sacred value equally to Qur'ān and to

Bādīs was made into a pamphlet entitled Jawāb sarīḥ fī bayān muḍādat al-ṭarīqa al-tijārīyya li al-islām al-saḥīḥ, Constantine, n.d. al-Shihāb, February 1934, pp. 150-154, also, reproduced from al-Manār a critique of the Qādirīyya. 'Awliya' allāh wa awliya' al-shayṭān wa al-ṭaghūt' pointed to the falsification of the Scriptures of Islām (taḥrīf) by Mystical Brotherhood. In a speech 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs delivered in Tlemcen (see al-Shihāb, 2 June 1927, p. 2), he stated that those whom the Ṭarīqas claimed as their founders had been Believers (kānu fī majmū'ihim ahl 'ilm wa salāh); amma shuykh al-yawm fa innahum a'radū 'an al-kitāb wa al-sunna...

The invitation to the Algerians to revert to the Qur'ān and to the Sunna had been made by all reformists in Algeria. al-Shihāb had been carrying the call they made using the very words of God. The April 1930 issue, pp. 184-185, repeated the warning: 'Yā ayyuha al-ladhdhina ūtū al-kitāba āminu bima anzalna musaddiqan lima ma'akum min qabli an natmis wujuhan fa naruddaha 'alā adbāriha aw nal'anhum kama la'anna aḥṣāb al-sabti wa kāna amru allāhi ma'fūlan'. Of Mystical Brotherhood, the January 1931 issue, pp. 718-719, said: 'Bal jā'ahum bi al-ḥaqq wa aktharuhum li al-ḥaqqi karīhūn'. And in the June 1932 issue, p. 306: 'Qull hādhihi sabīlī ad'ū ila 'llāh 'alā ba'sīra and wa man ittaba'ani wa subḥāna allāh mā ana min al-mushrikīn'. Finally, in the April 1934 issue, p. 203: 'Ishtarū bi ayāt allāh thamnanan qalīlan fa saddū 'an sabīlihi innahum sa'ā mā kānu ya'malūn'. In the introduction to his commentary of the Qur'ān, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs proclaimed the value of this book for mankind. The verse 'Hādha balāghun li al-nās wa li yandhurū bihi wa li ya'lamū innama huwa ilāhun waḥīd wa li yadhkur ūlū al-albāb' could have easily been its title. He pleaded that the Muslims revert to the reading of the Qur'ān: 'hadha shay' qalīl mimma li al-qur'ān fī al-dhikr ila mā fīhi min 'ilm maṣāliḥ al-ḥiād fī al-ma'āsh wa al-ma'ād wa baṣṭ aḥṣāb al-khayr wa al-sharr wa al-sa'āda wa al-shadāwa fī al-duniya wa al-ākhirā wa 'ilm al-nufus wa aḥwālī wa usūl al-akhlāq wa al-ahkām wa kuliyyat al-siyāsa wa al-taṣarrīf wa ḥaḍā'iq al-ḥayāt fī al-Qur'ān wa al-i'timā' wa nuzum al-kawn al-mabrū' wa 'alā al-rasmi wa al-quwwa wa al-'adl wa al-iḥsān...'. See Madālis..., p. 44.

the Sunna. They had adopted the view that, as far as the Muslims were concerned, no one source received precedence over the other. Their own treatment of Qur^ʾān and Ḥadīth material well expressed the value which they attached to the entire prophetic revelation. The Qur^ʾān had been transmitted to the Believers in its final and complete form. The tradition of the Prophet, on the other hand, suffered from the manipulation of men. Algerian reformism had shown its concern in reviving the sayings and doings of Muḥammad. Once the complete sources of Islām had been made available, the Muslims could then interpret their meaning for the world .

19

19. In the commentary which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs made of the verse: "Ya ahl al-kitāb qadd j^ʾakum rasūluna wubayyinu lakum...", he stated emphatically: "inna al-sunna al-nubawīyya wa al-qur^ʾān lā yata^ʿaradān wa li hādha varuddu khabar al-wahīd idha khalafa al-qat^ʿi min al-qur^ʾān" see Majālis..., p. 421. This view is close to that which Ibn Ḥazm held. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had expressed great esteem for the ẓāhiri school, in al-Shihāb, 27 May 1927, p. 10. It will be worth one's while to represent this view. The Ḥadīth represented the bulk of reports (khabar) about the sayings and doings of the Prophet. Quoting from R. Arnoldé, Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Ḥazm de Cordoue, Paris, 1956, p. 227: "C'est un devoir d'y recourir puisqu'il est écrit dans le Coran, 'Chaque fois que vous aurez une contestation entre vous, revenez à Dieu et au Prophète...'" On pp. 231-232: "La question est donc de savoir jusqu'où s'étend la garantie divine. Dieu a dit: nous avons fait descendre le dhikr et nous en sommes garant. Mais c'est-ce que le dhikr (m. a

m. mention, parole ou récit mémorable)? "Si quelcun est d'avis que Dieu ne signifie par là que le seul Coran, de sorte que la garde divine ne soit garantie qu'à lui et non aux autres inspirations qui ne sont pas le Coran, voici ce que nous lui répondons: c'est là une présomption mensongère et dénuée de preuve, et c'est une particularisation du mot dhikr en dehors de toute indication". Que faut-il donc entendre par dhikr? "C'est un nom qui s'applique à tout ce que Dieu a fait descendre sur son Prophète, que ce soit le Coran ou la sonne d'une révélation par laquelle il éclaircit le Coran". This quote from Kitāb al-ihkām li usūl al-ahkām (see C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., S I, 692), I, p. 122, is close to the view expressed in ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's commentary of the verse "Yā rabbī inna ʿawmī ittakhadhū ḥadha al-ḥurṭān mahjūran...": "Wa ʿallamāna al-ḥurṭān anna al-nabī huwa al-mubīn li al-nās mā nazala ilayhim min rabbihim wa anna ʿalayhim an yakḥudhū mā ʿatāhum wa yantahū ʿamma ḥaḥāhum ʿanhu fa kānat sunnatuhu al-ʿamalīya wa al-ʿawliyya tāliya li al-ḥurṭān...". ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs reported the words of the Ḥurṭān on the sunna: "Wa mā yantiʿ ʿan al-hawa inna huwa illa wahīyī yūhā...". This view of the Sunna differed from that which Muḥammad ʿAbdū and Rashīd Riḍa held. To the reformists from Egypt, the words and acts of the Prophet were seen as Muḥammad's own itihād and could therefore be faulty. The al-Manār, it should be recalled, had held critical views of Ashʿarism and Muḥammad ʿAbdū was even accused of inclination towards Muʿtazilism. al-Shihāb, February 1934, p. 195, submitted to the reputedly weak Tradition attributed to the Prophet by Mālik ibn Anas: "Taraktu fikum amrayn lan taddilū mā tamassaktum bihima kitāb allāh wa sunnat rasūlihī". Remained the revival of the Sunna. ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs added to the above mentioned quotation in his commentary of "Yā rabbī...", in Majālis..., p. 232: "fa ḥajarnāha kama ḥajarnāhu wa ʿamalnāhu bima ʿamalnāhu ḥatta annahu liyaʿull fi al-mutasaddirīn li al-tadrīs min kibār al-ʿulamāʾ fi akbar al-maʿāhid man yakūnū ʿadd khatam kutub al-ḥadīth al-mashhūr ka al-muwattaʾ wa al-bukhārī wa muslim wa nahūha mutālaʿa fadlan ʿan ḡayrihim min ahl al-ʿilm wa fadlan ʿan ḡayriha min kutub al-sunna". He had recommended Mālik ibn Anas's Muwattaʾ, al-Bukhārī's al-Jāmiʿ al-Sahīh, and Muslim's Sahīh. He had also recommended, in al-Shihāb, December 1932, p. 648, al-Tirmidhī's Sahīh, Abū Dāwūd's Sunan, and Sahnūn's Manāḥij. The latter, a mālikī, enjoyed great use among the ʿulamāʾ of the Maghrib (see C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., S I, 299). In the curriculum which the Association of Algerian ʿulamāʾ set for its members to abide by in their teaching, this guide to the study of the Muwattaʾ was listed. Also listed was ibn ʿAshir's al-Murshid al-Muʿīn, the greatly used text of Ashʿarī theology in North Africa (S II, 699). The course otherwise consisted in the commentary of chapters LXXXVII to CXIV from the Ḥurṭān and to the study of ten Traditions, coupled with a summary of the Sira of the Prophet (see al-Shihāb, August 1931, pp. 494-495). The aim of the Association had, meanwhile, been to revive forgotten Traditions.

The exegetic concern of Algerian reformism had, no doubt, become noticeable from its very inception as a movement. The conviction on the part of its members that the revelation made to Muhammad contained all which man required for his well being and the assumption that the period of the Salaf was characterized by the correct evaluation the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers made of the Qurʾān and the Sunna, these two induced the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' to become attracted to the interpretation of their own Scriptures. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had inaugurated his exegesis of the Qurʾān and his study of the Muwattā' as soon as he devoted himself to the upbringing and education of his people. His followers were, meanwhile, urged to ponder on the role of the reformists from Egypt in the reconstruction they had attempted of their own society.

This was urged in Sijil..., p. 61. The importance which the Algerian reformists attached to the Tradition of the Prophet could also be seen in the naming of the institution, second in importance after the Bādisiyya of Constantine, which al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī inaugurated in Tlemcen. It was called Dār al-Hadīth and would become yet another reformist madrasa in Algeria (see al-Shikāb, October 1937, pp. 349-351).

The example of Muḥammad ʿAbdū and of Rashīd Riḍa remained a source of inspiration without which the reformists from Algeria could not comprehend the purpose of God for the Muslims of that country .

20

20. The value of ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's commentary of the Qurʾān rested in that new guidelines were set for the Algerians to follow in their regeneration. His understanding of the Qurʾān and the Sunna were indeed attempted in terms of the Algerian reality. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī said of his objective, in the introduction to Majālis...., p. 33: ''lawla annahu kāna mashghūlan maʿa dhālika bi taʿlīm jil wa tarbiyyat umma wa muʿālaajat amr al-ittimāʿiyya wa musāraʿat istiʿmār yuʿziyvidha fa iotasara ʿala tafsīr al-qurʾān darsan yanhāl minhu al-ṣādī wa yazūd minhu al-rāʾih wa al-ghādī wa ʿakafa ʿalayhi ila an khatamahu fī khamsi wa ʿishrīna sana wa lam yakhtim al-tafsīr darsan wa dirāya bi hadha al-waṭan ghayrahu mundhu khatamahu abū ʿabd allāh al-sharīf al-talamsānī...''. It is interesting to note that the last bona fide exegesis to have been undertaken in Algeria, according to its reformists, would be that of Abū ʿabd Allāh al-Talamsānī (see C. Brockelman, Geschichte...., S I, 921). In the 14th century (he died in 1390), the city of Tlemcen culturally belonged, not to Algeria, but to Morocco. Politically, as well, the Algerian entity - as the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā understood it - did not exist. Two important commentaries of the Qurʾān had, meanwhile, been attempted by contemporaries of ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs: they were the Tafsīrs of Ahmad ibn ʿAlīwa, the Mystic from Mostaghanem, and of al-Tāhir ibn ʿAshūr, the rector of the Zaytūna. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī had mentioned the antecedents of ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's own commentary: ''thumma kānat al-muʿjiza baʿda dhālika al-irhās bi zuhūr imām al-mufasssīrīn bila manāziʿ muḥammad ʿabdū ablagha man takallama fī al-tafsīr bayānan li ḥādīhi wa fahma li asrārīhi wa tawfīqan bayna ayāt allāh fī al-qurʾān wa bayna ayātīhi fī al-akwān fa bi wujud ḥādha al-imām wujud al-ilm al-tafsīr wa tarma wa lam yanoushu illa annahu lam yaktubhu bi qalāmīhi kama bayyanahu bi lisānīhi wa law faʿala lā abqa li al-muslimīn lā li al-qurʾān bal li muʿjizāt al-qurʾān wa lā kinnahu māta dūna dhālik fa khālafahu turjumān afkārīhi wa mustawdaʿ asrārīhi muḥammad rashīd riḍa fa kotaba fī al-tafsīr mā kotaba wa dūna arāʾ al-imām fīhi wa sharaʿa li al-ʿulamā manāhijahu wa māta qabla an yatimmahu fa intahat imāmat al-tafsīr baʿdahu fī al-ʿālam al-islāmī kulluhu ila akhīna wa ṣādiqana wa munṣaiʿ al-naḥḍa al-islāmīyya al-ʿilmīyya bi al-jazāʾir bal bi al-shamāl al-ifrīqī ʿabd al-hamīd ibn bādīs (p. 32)''. Siḥil...., pp.

The methodology of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's exegesis claimed itself to be that of the Salaf. It was essentially literalist in that it relied upon ~~the semantic value of words~~. It was also basically scripturalist in that it sought, as much as possible, to interpret the Qur'ān by way of Qur'ānic and ḥadīth material rather than by means of unrevealed notions. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's major criticism of the exegesis of those other than the Salaf and their imitators had been that they invariably interpreted their Scriptures on the basis of their own particularisms. The theologians gave theological commentaries of the Qur'ān. The Mystics interpreted the Book of God in mystical terms. The philosophers philosophised on the Scriptures of Islām. The message of the Qur'ān had been universal and was aimed

36 and 37, wrote of 'Abdū and Rida respectively: "'kama al-ustadh al-imār u^ljubat al-^lqātib 'ī bu^ld al-nazar wa 'umū al-t-fkīr wa ḥiddat al-katīb wa istinārat al-baṣīra wa sur^lat al-istintāj ḥakīm bi kull mā tu^laddīhi ḥikmihī al-kalima" and "'rashīd rida shdatha inḥilāban fikrī 'ī fahm al-dīn wa silatuhu bi al-duniya wa aliefa al-mu^lallafāt al-kathīra wa nashara min mu^lallafāt al-muslikīn min al-gudamā' mā zāda bihi al-islām al-ḥadīth fa k'nat tilka al-mu^lallafāt shadha' sāliḥ li al-nahda al-^lqātibiyah". They should be followed by every Algerian reformist whose objective is to operate the reformation of his society.

at all times. Its particularistic interpretation, in terms of ideas, place or period was to attribute to the Qur^ān meanings which it did not have. It represented, furthermore, an attempt to falsify the Scriptures of Islām and had been warned against by the very

21

explicit wording of these Scriptures .

21. Majālis..., pp. 30-31, stated: 'wa li al-mufasssirin min ʿahd al-tadwin ila al-ʿān tarāʿiq fī fahm al-our^ān wa asālib fī kitābat tafsīrihi... fa al-muhaddithūn yalzizimūn al-tafsīr bi al-ma^ʿthūr fa in ikhtalafat al-riwāya fa minhum man yarwī al-mutanacidīn wa yadruk fī hira wa minhum man yadkhul nazārahū wa fikrahū fī al-ta^ʿdīl wa al-tarjīh... wa muʿāladat al-madhāhib yufasssirūn al-our^ān bi ʿawā^ʿid madhāhibihim wa yahkumūnaha fīhi fa idha khālafah nasuhū dā^ʿida min ʿawā^ʿidihim raddūhū bi al-ta^ʿwīl ilayha wa hadha sharr ma usība bihi hādha al-ʿilm bal huwa naw^ʿ min al-ta^ʿṭīl wa bāb min al-tahrīf wa al-tabḍīl li annahu fī haḍrat amrihi wada^ʿa li kalām allāh fī al-daraja al-thāniyya min kalām al-makhlūq wa fī manzilat al-far^ʿ min aslihi yaruddū ilayhi idha khālafahu wa a^ʿzam biha zilla wa in hādhihi al-zilla hiya al-ghāliba min sanī^ʿ al-mufattishīn bi al-madhāhib wa al-muta^ʿassibīn laha yatabā^ʿadūn ʿan al-our^ān mā shā^ʿa lahum al-hawān fa idha tanāwalūhū fa bi hādhihi al-nazra al-khāṭi^ʿa... wa al-mutekallim fī ma^ʿāni al-our^ān mu^ʿzarrum min al-lughawīyyīn wa al-nuḥāt fa hum yata^ʿkallamūn ghāliban ʿala al-fāz mufraḍ... wa al-ikhbarīyyūn muftinūn bi al-ḡuṣṣa fa lā yada^ʿūn illa ʿala al-ayāt al-muta^ʿallīya bihi wa yā luytukum yhadidūn al-hikma min al-dīṣa fa yajlūn al-ʿibar minha wa yastakhrijūn al-dadā^ʿid min sunan allāh fī al-umam wa jamī^ʿ al-kā^ʿinat wa lākinnehum yastalzimūn ma^ʿa al-riwāya wa yastahwīhim sharābat al-akḥbār fa yantahī bihi dhālika ila al-isrā^ʿilīyāt al-khāṭi^ʿa al-kā^ʿib wa dād adkhulū bi sanī^ʿihim hādha ʿala al-muslimīn dararan ʿazīman wa ʿala al-tārikh fasāḍan kabīran... wa aḥṣāb al-madhāhib al-ʿaqliyya idha ta^ʿṭū al-tafsīr lā yatawas^ʿūn illa fī al-istidlālāt al-ʿaqliyya ʿala ittibāt al-sifāt aw nafīha wa ʿala al-ghaybiyyāt wa al-nubuwwāt wa mā yata^ʿallac biha... wa al-nuḥāt wa al-bāhithīn fī asrār al-tarākīb lā yafīdūn illa fī tawjīh al-ʿarīb aw fī nakt al-balāgha... hāḥadha fa ʿala al-ʿadawā wa al-muhaddithūn bi al-our^ān hakamu fīhi nihālum wa madhāhibihim wa sinā^ʿatīh al-ghāliba ʿalayhim fa adā^ʿū hādhi wa

balāghahu wa ab'adū al-umma 'anhu wa sarafūha 'an hikamihi wa asrārihi wa law dhahabna madhhab al-tahdīd fī ma'ānī al-alfāz al-istilāhiyya lawajadna al-mufasssīr min ha'ulā' galīlan'. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs applied precisely this principle. The Qur'ān had been made available, according to him, to people of all walks of life. They could understand it if they opened their ears and their hearts to its words (qirā'at al-qur'ān afdal min jamī' al-adhkār..., in Majālis..., p. 47). In his commentary of the verse 'Wa ja'alna al-layl wa al-nahār syatawni...', pp. 58-63, he showed the purpose of this particular revelation (al-munāsaba) then went on to define the meaning of each word (al-sharh wa al-bayān). He used this approach to the commentary of each and every Qur'ānic writing. He had refrained, meanwhile, from considering each part of the Qur'ān as an independent entity. The message was a total one. This verse, for instance, had been aimed at making the creator known to man. Day and night were evidence (ayāt) of the existence of God. This theme recurred in the Qur'ān and should be underlined by every commentator. Over the verse 'Wa al-qur'ān al-hakīm innaka lā min al-mursilīn 'āla sirātin mustadīm tanzīla al-'azīz al-rahīm li tundhira qawman mā undhira ab'aduhum fa hum ghāfilūn', certain principles had been drawn: that Muhammad was the Prophet of God, that the Qur'ān was the word of God and that Islām was the religion of God (ibid., pp. 365-373). We already referred to the value of Tradition for 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. From Mu'adh ibn Jabal it is reported that the Prophet had said: 'Takūn fitan fa ykthar al-māl wa yaftah al-qur'ān hatta ya'ra'hu al-rajul wa al-mar'a wa al-saghīr wa al-kabīr wa al-munāfiq wa al-mu'min fayara'hu al-rajul fa lā yatba' fayacūlu wa allāhi lā ara'nāhu 'alāniya fa lā yatba' fayattakhid masjidan wa yabtdi' kalāman mā laysa min kitāb allāh lā min sunnat rasūl allāh fa iyyakum wa iyyahu fa innahu bid'a wa dalāl'. This Tradition was seen as most relevant to Algeria and elucidated the verse 'Wa 'āla al-rasūl yā rabbī inne qawmī ittakhadhū hādha al-qur'ān mahjūran'. Not only had 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs remarked (pp. 330-334) that Qur'ān and Hadīth contradicted not one another; they were often self explanatory. He explained, on p. 232: 'kharajna min akthariha 'an al-hanifiyya al-sam'a ila al-ghulūw wa al-tanattu' wa 'an al-sunna al-bayda' ila al-ahdāth wa al-bidā' wa adkhalna fīha min al-nasok al-ajamī wa al-takayyul al-falsafī mā ab'adaha ghāyat al-bu'd 'an rūh al-islām wa alga bayna ahliha budā'ir al-shi'ā'a wa al-khiṣām wa āla al-hal bihim ila khurūj min athar al-ahādīth wa al-istisār 'āla ba'iyat rusūmihā li al-intifā' minha wa mu'aradat hidāyat al-qur'ān biha''. This represented the understanding aspect of the Qur'ān. It remained the prerequisite to any action on the part of the Muslims. It should be undertaken first and foremost. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had argued that the Algerians departed from the path of Islām because they had sought their values outside the Qur'ān and independently from its wisdom. God had said: 'Wa lā taofū mā laysa laka 'ilmun inne al-sam'a wa al-basara wa al-fu'āda kullu ulā'ika kāna 'anhu was'ūlan' and 'Inne al-ladhina yaktumūna mā anzalna min al-bayyināti wa al-kudā min ba'di mā bayyannāhu li al-nās fī al-kitāb ulā'ika yal'anukum allāh wa yal'an hum al-lā'iqūn' (ibid. pp. 129-139).

The Renovation of the Islamic Sciences

The exegetic aspirations of 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs aimed primarily at curtailing the influence which taqlīd had had on his community. The renovation of the Islamic sciences, in turn, would rehabilitate the 'Ulamā' in society. Their role, as guardians of religion, had been hampered by the shackles of traditionalism. 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers would reconstitute the function of the 'Ulamā' as soon as their sciences were restated on their correct foundations. The revelation made to Muḥammad provided mankind with beliefs they could not attain by themselves. God also made the Law known to the Believers. The Companions of the Prophet and their Followers abided by its tenets and prospered as a result of it. The key to the regeneration of the Algerians would remain that they abide by the Sharī'a.

22. In his commentary of the verse: 'Wa lā taḥḥu wā layḥ laka 'ilm...', Maḥḥis..., p. 176, 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs wrote: 'Al-muḥḥad 'il al-
ḥaḥḥi al-lāḥi lā ḥaḥḥi ḥiḥḥu ḥiḥḥu wa ḥiḥḥu ḥiḥḥu ḥiḥḥu ḥiḥḥu ḥiḥḥu
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fa amma idha kāna 'indahu dalīl ijmālī ka istidlālihi bi wujūd al-makhlūq 'ala wujūd khāliqihi fa qadd kharaja min al-ithm li tahsīl hādha al-istidlāl lahu al-'ilm... wa al-mudallad fī al-furū' dūna 'ilm bi addillatiha muttabi' li muftīhi fīha yaṣaddiq 'alayhi bi i'tibār al-adilla al-lati wajhalaha annahu muttabi' mā laysa lahu bihi 'ilm wa lākinna lahu 'ilm min nāhiyat ukhra wa hiya 'ilmuhu bi anna al-taqlīd huwa hikam allāh fī haqq mithlihi min al-'awām bima amara ta'ālā min su'āl ahl al-'ilm wa mā rafa'a 'an al-'ājjiz min al-iṣr wa huwa min al-'āma al-'ājjizīn 'an dark adillat al-ahkām". It is so that, in their appreciation of the exegetes of the past, one such type had found acceptance among the Algerian reformists: 'amma al-mufasssirūn al-ladhina yaṣaddiq 'alayhim hādha al-waṣf fahum al-ladhina ashraḥūna fih al- Qur'ān... (ibid., p. 31) ". In his commentary of the verse: 'Ya ahl al-kitābi qadd jā'akum rasūluna... 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs clearly stated that the Qur'anic message had come with the Law. The Jurisprudence of the Prophet and the Law of the Qur'ān were one and the same: 'inna fīha al- Qur'ān yatawaddaf 'ala 'ala fīh hayāt al-nabī wa sunnatihi wa fīh hayātihi yatawaddaf 'ala al- Qur'ān wa fīh al-islām yatawaddaf 'ala fīhihima... (ibid., p. 421) ". The role of the 'Ulamā' would therefore become that of implementing the divine law. The renovation of the Islamic sciences (islāh and tajdīd rather than ihiyā' were used) would therefore open the way which traditionalism had closed for the 'Ulamā' in society. It shall be recalled that Mysticism had been excluded from the Islamic sciences by the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā': the statement al-turuṭiyūn laysū bi 'ulamā' is indicative of this position. Nor was Philosophy conceived as a religious science: 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had made it clear that the 'ibādāt of Islām could not be reached by man's own capabilities. The Science of Tradition was of concern to the Algerian reformists. They relied, however, on the contributions of earlier scholars although, under the influence of Salafism, they came to include the Tradition of the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers to Ḥadīth material. Exegesis was also an important Islamic science and had attracted most of the attention of the reformists in Algeria. In both these sciences, they had shown their taste for the literal interpretation of the Scriptures. Mubārak al-Millī, in al-Shihāb, 27 May 1927, p. 10, referring to them, wrote: 'amma fa nahnū 'ulamā' al-zāhir...". Remained the all important sciences of Dogmatics and Jurisprudence. As shall be indicated, 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers were attracted by the ideas of Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya over the renovation of these sciences. Although they did little to renovate these sciences themselves, they mentioned the need for such renovation time and again in their writings. They had seen the day when the Jurists among the 'Ulamā' would rule over Algeria. They saw the urgency of educating the Algerians and rehabilitating the ethics of the Qur'ān as taking precedence over the other. This explains why 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's commentary of the Qur'ān had mainly pertained to the causes of decadence and the conditions for regeneration of Algeria and to matters of morality rather than to the methodology of ijtihād.

The faith of the Muslims and their law were one and the same and indivisibly so, according to the Algerian reformists. Submission to the principles of Islām necessarily meant that the Believers would also submit to its laws. In Algeria, the very beliefs of the people were in jeopardy. Their laws were not, at the same time, the laws of Islām. Dogmatics and Jurisprudence were complementary sciences for Algerian reformism. In order that the unity which Islām advocated prevail, in belief as well as in behaviour, the principles of these two Islamic sciences would have to be reverted

23
to .

23. In his commentary of the ten verses from al-Isrā', in Majālis..., p. 84, 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs writes: 'wa kama intazamat hādhihi al-jumla tawhīd al-rubūbiyya wa tawhīd al-ʿulūhiyya kadhālika intazamat maʿa al-ʿāya al-sābiqa al-tawhīd al-ʿilmī wa al-tawhīd al-ʿamālī fa al-ʿūla nahīyī ʿan an taʿtadida al-ʿulūhiyya li siwāhu wa huwa yataqarran al-nahīyī ʿan iʿtisād rubūbiyya siwāhu wa hādha min bāb al-ʿilm wa al-thā iyya amara bi an takūna ʿibādatuke maḥṣūra ʿalayhi li annahu huwa rabbuka waqḍahu wa hādha min bāb al-ʿamal fa man wahhada allāh jalla jalālahu fī rubūbiyyatihi wa ʿulūhiyyatihi ʿilman wa ʿamalan fa qadd istakmala haqqahu min maʿāmi hādha al-asās al-ʿazīm wa man akkhala bi shayʿ min dhālika kāna dhālika naḥṣan fī dīnihi bi qadr mā akkhala hatta yantahī al-amr ila khals al-mushrikīn'''. The picture of Algerian Islām had, of course, been one of disunity in doctrine as well as in law. This had been suggested by Z. Smogorzewski, in 'Un poème abidite...', between the Mālikīs and the Ibādīs. From an article in al-Shihāb, June 1934, p. 19, which made the passage from one madhhab to

† Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had sought to operate the unity of belief of all Algerians. Their major difficulty lay in the reconciliation of Sunnism and Khārījism in Algeria. They confronted the sectarianism of their countrymen with the tradition of the Salaf which they made their own. They had borrowed heavily

another permissible, it was suggested that as much conflict did exist between the mālikīs and the hanafīs as had existed between Mālikism and Khārījism. Meanwhile, the Law itself had lost much ground in front of custom. J.P. Charnay, La vie musulmane..., pp. 234-249, pointed to the resurgence of the kanun, among the Kabyles, and to the sijjar, among the Ibādīs. This was attributed to the predominantly Mystical religion of these areas. It was evident also in other areas of the country. Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs saw the existence of several laws and several beliefs as a sure sign of Islamic decay (see al-Shihāb, March 1936, p. 654). Against these schools and sects he could point simply to the one Islam whose Sharī'ah was also single. This view of the decay of Muslim society to be measured in terms of the Law was common to the general movement of Islamic reformism. Reference is here made to Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897), to Muhammad 'Abdū (1849-1905) and to Rashīd Rida (1865-1935), see C.C. Adams, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, London, 1933; E. Kedourie, Afghani and 'Abduh, an essay on religious unbelief and political activism in Modern Islam, New York, 1966; A. Hourani, Arabic Thought...; and M. Kerr, Islamic Reform, the political and legal theories of Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Rida, Los Angeles, 1966. Elsewhere, in the Muslim world, the same idea was being upheld. N. Kemal (1840-1888), in Ottoman Turkey, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), in India, shared this view (see S. Mardin, The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought, Princeton, 1962, for the first, and W.C. Smith, Modern Islam in India, London, 1946, for the second). The influence of Ahmad ibn Taymiyya on these men was undeniable. A fine appraisal of his ideas remains for us H. Lacoust's Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-Din Ahmad B. Taymiyya, Cairo, 1939, as well as his 'Le Reformisme orthodoxe des Salafiyya', R.E.I., 1932, VI, pp. 175-227.

upon the doctrine of ibn Taymiya whose ideology and methodology greatly appealed to them. The Tradition of the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers was conceived as their own consensus over identical matters of law. It expressed their unity of doctrine and their unity of purpose which both resulted from their faith in God and in their obedience to his commands. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers, like ibn Taymiya, were differentiating between the ijmā‘ of the Salaf and the ijmā‘ of the ‘Ulamā’. They upheld the former and denounced the latter in matters of doctrine. The renovation of dogmatics, therefore, implied for them that they revert to the legacy of their Salaf. On this point were they in accord with the Ibādī reformists whose return to the sources of Islām were, indeed, aimed at purifying their beliefs .

24

24. ibn Taymiya had objected to the view accepted by the majority of the Sunnis that the ijmā‘, which remained an important source of the Law, amount to the agreement of the ‘Ulamā’ of any given time on any particular juridical point. This view had, of course, rested on the Tradition that the Community could not agree to error. The consensus of the ‘Ulamā’ should rest upon scriptural evidence at all times. The Qur’ān and the Sunna may not remain but the theoretical foundations of Jurisprudence with the consensus of the ‘Ulamā’ constituting its doctrinal basis and the rationale for its evolution.

This argument had been aimed at reverting the Muslims from the traditionalism of schools and sects to the tradition of the Prophet. see H. Laoust, Essai..., pp. 239-241. Of the ijtihād of the great scholars, of the founders of schools and of the Salaf, it is evident that the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers had been closer to this principle than all the others. Their own consensus derived from textual proof. Their ijtihād would necessarily be sound: "Ceux qui s'écarterent de la Loi du Prophète, telle que l'ont établie le Coran, la Sunna, l'imā des Salaf et des imams se trouvent dans la nécessité de construire une loi toute nouvelle, qui est pleine de contradictions internes, et que renoussent à la fois la religion et la raison. Mais les véritables mughatahs sont au préalable éprouvés par l'obéissance à Dieu et à son Prophète. Dieu donc les récompensera de leurs efforts et leur pardonnera leurs fautes" (from ibn Taymiya's Majmū'at al-rasā'il al-kubra, II, p. 50, in H. Laoust, Essai..., p. 229). 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs had shared this view in al-Shihāb, June 1930, p. 317. He argued that the differences between the schools and the sects would become dissipated as soon as legitimate ijtihād were practised by the 'Ulamā'. Towards the Ibādīs, he demonstrated that the essential differences between themselves and the Sunnis were minimal and that whatever differences did exist and were justifiable were not doctrinal. The strict reliance upon scriptural evidence of Khārijism had made them as sympathetic to 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs and his followers as to ibn Taymiya much earlier (see H. Laoust, Essai..., p. 95). Mubārak al-Milī, in his Tarīkh al-jazā'ir fī al-qadīm wa al-hadīth, Constantine, 1928, p. 9, reports from al-Kāmil (C. Brockelmann, Geschichte..., S I, 168) that the ra'y of 'Abd Allāh ibn Ibād remained the best among the Khārijis and that his ca'ida was closest to that of Sunnism. For the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' to claim that the Ibādīs were closest to the correct faith (al-qadā) certainly was to differentiate between reformed Khārijism in Algeria and that Khārijism which Ibrāhīm Aṭṭīyash aimed at correcting (see P. Shinar, "Ibadiyya and..."). 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs aimed at uniting the Algerians as a result of doctrinal reform. He called for moderation in faith (al-wasat al-ḥadīth). This moderation resulted from the correct interpretation of the Scriptures (see al-Muntaqid, 2 July 1925, p. 1). A Tradition read: "Laysa minna man da'a ila 'asabiyyatin wa huwa manshu'u al-ghuluw wa al-ghuluw mujawizat al-hadd fī kulli shay' wa 'azamihi dāraran mujawizatuhu fī dīni allāhi al-mutamam al-mukammal wa fī al-makhlu'at al-marbūbi al-mudhallal" (see al-Shihāb, January 1938, p. 19.). The Qur'ān also stated: "Innama al-mu'minūn ikhwa fa asliḥū bayna akhawwukum wa ittacū allāh la'allakum tarhamūn" (see al-Shihāb, January 1931, p. 768). This call was made, time and again, to the Malikīs as well. They had attacked the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' and charged it with Wahhābism, with Mu'tazilism and with ibtidā'. The association refuted these charges: while al-Shihāb, 26 May 1927, pp. 4-5, argued that the Wahhābīs were Sunnis and not Mu'tazilis as they were accused of in Algeria, al-Shihāb, August 1934, p. 98, stated that Algeria's reformists were not Wahhābīs, that they kept the trad-

In terms of Law, the Algerian reformists also favoured the principles which ibn Taymiya advocated. The necessity for the 'Ulamā' to perform their own ijtihad stemmed from the view that the law in Islām was all-encompassing. The taqlid of the traditionalists had restricted the application of the Sharī'ah to definite areas of human activity and consequently limited the impact of revelation to these areas. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers conceived of the Law as having to direct all aspects of life. It was also a living force which would not be contained by time or place. Its unity would also be derived from its own fundamental principles .

25

ition of Malik ibn Anas in high esteem and that they were not the iconoclasts of Algeria (al-Milī's Risāla..., p. 32, reported that the traditionalists maintained that the return to the sources represented an aberration (dalāl), a mortal sin (halāk), a total loss (khasāra); the call for renewed ijtihad also represented a denial (ghadd) of the science of the great imāms; this innovation (ibtidā') on the part of the reformists was attributed to the influence of ibn Taymiya on them). Their arguments were little convincing to the majority whose sectarian outlook had fared too long in Algeria for them to grasp the message of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā'.

25. Like the reformists from Egypt, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had submitted to the principle of maslaha as a means towards making the Law evolve. Rashīd Riḍa had revived, in al-Manār, the concept of the general utility of law by editing Najm al-Dīn al-Jawhī's Sharh al-hadīth al-thānī wa al-thalāthīn min al-arba'īn in al-nuwwāliyya

on the protection of the general interest as a principle of jurisprudence in the field of mu'amalat (see C. Brockelman, Geschichte... S II, 133). al-Tawfī (died in 1313) had interpreted the Tradition "Lā darar wa lā dirar..." in a manner which freed the faḥīh from the traditionalist use of textual source (see M. Kerr, Islamic Reform..., p. 207). This principle in uṣūl agrees with that which ibn Taymiya held over the principle of maṣlaḥa of which H. Laoust said, in Essai..., pp. 248-249: "Des pratiques culturelles... pénètrent si profondément la vie de chaque jour et l'éthique sociale de l'Islam doit se plier à des principes canoniques si évidents qu'ibn Taymiya concède bien souvent que la considération de la maṣlaḥa jouera tant dans le domaine des pratiques culturelles que dans celui de la coutume. Il y a encore là une nouvelle possibilité d'enrichissement de la doctrine, surtout si l'on songe que le principe du juste milieu (wasat) permet de ne pas rejeter a priori toute nouveauté (bid'at), mais de la concilier, en la disciplinant, avec les principes généraux de la Loi. Aussi ibn Taymiya, intransigeant sur des points bien définis du dogme et de la morale, aboutit-il à une conception fort souple de la bid'at. Il fait de la coutume un usage d'autant plus étendu que c'est à elle qu'il convient de recourir pour définir le sens de mots non fixés par la philologie ou par la Loi. La darūra, ou état de nécessité, lui permettra de pousser théoriquement fort loin les tolérances canoniques (ruḥṣa) et de proportionner à sa capacité, comprise au sens large, l'effort qui est demandé à chacun. De même la darūra constitue, autant qu'un véhicule d'interdiction, la possibilité d'étendre considérablement la licéité ou l'obligation; du principe canonique en vertu duquel ce qui est nécessaire à une obligation devient à son tour obligatoire", ibn Taymiya fait un usage constant". This jurisprudential principle had, it may be recalled, only been favoured by the early Mālikī fuqahā and was characteristic of the doctrine of Mālik ibn Anas. In the Maghrib, however, traditionalist Mālikism in time had shunned away from the practice of maṣlaḥa. With the abandonment of ijtihād, the Law had become restricted to limited and definite applications. ibn Taymiya, in his time, protested the role which political authority played in terms of such restrictions. The division between siyāsa and sharī'a allowed ḥada to fare independently from religion. The role of the faḥīh would be to reconstitute the Sharī'a by reintegrating political expediency and custom to the all-encompassing divine law. The Algerian reformists, like the Islamic reformists of their time, shared very much this view of the totality of the Law. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, speaking of the Qur'ān in Maḥall..., p. 23, referred to it as kitāb al-dīn wa dustūr al-hayāt. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs, in al-Shihāb, August 1932, p. 420, translated this axiom into practical terms when he referred to the Ulamā as the jurists of society (al-ladhīna hum ash-sharī'a fi al-tashrī' al-islāmī wa al-tashrī' al-dawī...). The object of reformism in the Law therefore became that of operating the unification of the Law and the extension of the Law. Like Muhammad 'Abdū, in Risāla..., p. 9, he conceded that diversity (khilāf) takes place in the furū', not in the uṣūl (al-Shihāb, January 1931, p. 768). Over the extension of the Sharī'a to all matters of daily activity in terms of law, he had welcomed the experiments of Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Marāṭī, in Egypt; the Calīm from al-Azhar had been working at unifying the fiqh and at replacing the Napoleonic Code by the Fuṣṣ Code in a manner which was reminiscent of ibn Taymiya's

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had raised the question of the place of Reason in Islām as a result of their reforms in the beliefs and the Law of the Algerians. They submitted that the Law was rational and could not contradict reason. The essence of the Law could not, however, be reached by way of man's mental faculty as the principles of the Shariʿa were revealed in the Qurʾān and the Sunna. Reason was essential to the formulation of the Law. It should not by-pass and ignore revelation. The implications of this principle for the Science of Theology were significant for Algeria.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had made their reservations on theological controversies known in the approach they held over the sectarian division of the Muslims. They had favoured the suspension of judgement on the part of the Believers over the nature of revelation and the holding back of interpretation of scriptural ambiguity.

shariʿa and which had been advocated by al-Manār (see al-Shihab, February 1934, p. 123). In Algeria, the problem which was being faced by the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ was of a much different nature, for the time being. The first request put by the association to the Government was not to interfere in the legal affairs of the Muslims. The rest would follow naturally.

Reason should, under no circumstance, receive precedence over revelation. It would serve, on the contrary, to interpret the Scriptures inasmuch as human faculties allowed. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had been more circumspect on this subject than were their counterparts in Egypt

26

26. In his commentary of the verse: "Wa lā tqfu mā laysa laka bihi 'ilm", in Majālis..., pp. 129-139, the principles of tawaghuḥ and of tawfīd shared equally by ibn Ḥazm (see R. Arnaldez, op. cit., pp. 127-134) and by ibn Taymiya (see H. Laoust, Essai..., p. 172) were submitted to: "fa idha lam tablagh al-bayyina bi al-idrak rutbat al-hazm fa huwa zann hadha huwa al-usul..."; in the words of the Qur'an: "Kama shahadna bima illa bima 'alimna wa ma kunna li al-ghayb hafizin...". This position had been strengthened by a Tradition attributed to Muslim: "Lā taktubū 'annī shay'an ghayr al-qur'an wa man kataba 'annī shay'an ghayr al-qur'an fal yamhihi". al-Shihāb, 5 November 1926, p. 2, warned against speculation over the hidden meanings of the Scriptures. The implications were, of course, legal. The Law, having rested on the correct interpretation of revelation, would become misleading as soon as this interpretation were erroneous. The whole controversy over revelation and reason had arisen from the view which emphasized God's ordinance and justice versus the view which underlined his omnipotence and absolute will. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had opted for the latter Ash'arī view. Mubārak al-Millī's Risāla..., p. 86, more explicitly indicated that the Mu'tazilism of Muḥammad 'Abdū was dangerous. The Imām from Egypt had departed from the Ash'arī position by arguing that revelation and reason were combined into one another. His aim, of course, was to promote the view that human faculties could be up-graded from the secondary role of formulating rules which stemmed from revelation. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs wrote, in al-Shihāb, August 1932, p. 415: "wa al-ma'clūm lana fi awwal mā rakkaza allāh fi 'uqūlina anna allāh jallat qudratuhu rabata khuluqāt hadha al-'ālam rabtan muḥkaman wa ja'ala kulla shay' 'illat tataqaddemuhu wa tarbut bihi irtibātan rathigan wa ja'ala al-musabbabāt tansha' 'an asbābiha 'inda al-mukallaf li al-asbāb wa tan'adim 'inda 'adm asbābiha dhālik khalaga allāh 'inda huquri al-asbāb al-mawḍū'a sunnat al-lati 'arafaha 'ibādihī". His deductive logic rested upon revelation as axiomatic. It rejected all other axioms. It was essential for the use which the fugahā made of analogy and the related concept of general utility in the formulation of the Law.

The jurisprudential responsibilities of the 'Ulamā' had called for their retraining to take place. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had invited the Zaytūna of Tūnis, among others, to introduce the necessary reforms in its education so that its students acquire the qualities which the 'Ulamā' of today needed. These reforms were not only methodological but ideological as well. The commitment, on the part of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', to operate the unification of society should begin with the religion of its members. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs advanced his own suggestions to be followed in terms of pedagogy, curricula and priorities. They all pointed towards the necessity to tie the present with the period of the Salaf. Only in such a manner would the divisions of the present be mended, without for that matter having recourse to divisive confrontations. As much as possible, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had sought to fare within the cultural confines of the Maghribī tradition of ʿilm. He appealed to this tradition while, at the same time, deploring its isolation from other traditions of scholarship in Islām. The renovation of the Islamic

sciences had not only aimed at making the role of the 'Ulamā' relevant to present day Algeria. It meant to revert the Muslims of North Africa to the fold of the civilization of Islām while, at the same time, inviting its 'Ulamā' to partake in the universal trend of reformism which swept the modern Muslim world after

27

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī .

27. In al-Shihāb, October 1931, n. 604, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs wrote over the reform of education at the Zaytūna: 'wa amma mas'alat al-funūn wa kayfiyyat ta'ālīmihim fa nara an yashtamil minhaj al-ta'lim al-mushtarak 'ala al-lugha wa al-nahu wa al-sarf wa al-bayān bi tatbi'at qawā'id hādhihi al-funūn 'ala al-kalām al-fasīh li tahsīl wa amma qirā'atuha bila tatbi'at kama huwa jāri bihi al-'amal al-yawm fa huwa tadiyah wa ta'til wa qillat tahsīl wa 'ala al-tārikh al-'adabī al-'arabī wa 'ala ta'lim al-inshā' wa 'ala ta'lim husn al-arā' fī al-qirā'a wa ilcā' al-kalām 'ala al-'aqā'id wa wajib an tu'khadh hiya wa adillatuha awāt al-cur'ān fa innaha wāfiya bi dhālika kullahu wa amma ihmāl ayāt al-cur'ān al-mushtaraka 'ala al-'aqā'id wa adillatiha wa al-dhihāb ma'atilka al-adilla al-jāfa fa innahu min istibdāl al-ladhi huwa adna bi al-ladhi huwa khayr wa 'ala al-fich wa wajib an yaqtasir fīhi 'ala taqrīr al-masā'il dūna taseccubātiha thumma yataraca bihim ile dhikr ba'da adillatiha wa 'ala usūl al-fich masā'il mujarrada thumma yataraca ile tatbi'atiha 'ala al-masā'il al-fichīyya li tuhassil lahum min hādha wa min dhikri adillat al-masā'il al-fichīyya kama tuqaddim milkuhu al-nazar wa al-istidlāl wa 'ala al-tafsīr wa huwa ubayyin mā yahtāju li al-bayān wa al-maqsūd min hādha an waṭla'a al-muta'allim 'ala al-hādith bi qirā'atini 'ala al-tarīca al-mutaqaddima fī al-tafsīr wa 'ala durūs fī al-tarbiyya al-akhlāqiyya wa 'atamid fīha 'ala ayāt aw ahādīth wa athār al-salaf al-sālih wa 'ala al-tārikh al-islāmī 'ala mabādi' al-ikhtisār wa 'ala al-hisāb wa al-jughrafiya bi aqsāmiha wa 'ala mabādi' al-tabi'at wa al-falak wa al-handasa wa idha lam yakun fī al-shuyūkh al-mu'ammimin man yadumu bi ba'd hādhihi al-'ulūm fal naṭī bi ikwānina al-mutawbi'in min tū is aw min misr in iṭada al-hā'il...'. This advice was, no doubt, progressive in terms of the traditionalists of the day. It remained far from modern and indicated that the reformists had really not become ac-

ainted with the sciences from Europe. The absence of any philosophical training is also significant. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had, meanwhile, provided his readers with what he considered to be the books which any salafī should use. His reference to Mālikī thinkers is understandable. His use of scholarship from other schools does not denote of any inconsistency on his part: all these authors are, according to him, truthful to the tradition of the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers. This remains his yardstick and little does he indicate the awareness that the various schools had reflected, in their own time, social and ideological conflicts of any importance. Whatever their period and whatever the controversies which brought them about, the works which retain his attention share in common their strict literalism, the view that the period of the Salaf was an important one in Islam, a tendency towards legalism and the contention that the message of Islam was a total one. Among the Mālikīs are to be mentioned: ibn ʿAshir and his al-Murshid al-muʿīn on Ashʿarī theology; against Mystical Brotherhood, ibn Zarrūq's (died in 1493) al-Radd ʿala ahl al-bidʿa (see C. Brockelman, Geschichte..., S II, 360); on Law, al-Shāṭibī's Iʿtiṣām and Muwafaqāt, Sahnūn's Manāḥij, ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī's work on Fiqh (died in 996, see S I, 301), and ibn Ishāq's Mukhtaṣar (died in 1365, see S II, 96). His reference to the works of the Neo-hanbalis is an important one: ibn Taymiyya's Rasāʾil, his Minhaj, his Sharh al-ḥadīth and his Fatāwa; ibn Qayyim's Iʿlām, his Madārij and his Ighāthat al-lahfān; al-Amīdī's Ihkām (died in 1233, see S I, 678). On the sects, Shawkānī's al-Durr al-naḍīd and al-Tuhaf fī madhhab al-salaf (1173-1250, see S II, 818); ibn Raghīb's Faḍl ʿilm al-salaf (died in 1393, see S II, 129); al-Maqbālī's al-ʿAlam al-shāmīh (died in 1696, see S II, 562), which R. Rida re-edited in 1913; al-Qushayrī's Risāla against the Mystics (986-1021, see S I, 770). Special attention was given to ibn Ḥazm's Muhalla and to his Ihkām as well as to ibn Rushd's Bidayat al-Mujtahid (died in 1198, see S I, 836) for the legal implications of their respective literalism and unitarianism. Among the exegetes, the following were recommended: ibn Kathīr (died in 1373, see S II, 48); al-Zamakhsharī's al-Kashshāf (1075-1144, see S I, 507); al-Tabarī (839-932, see S I, 142); al-Suyūṭī and Abū al-Faḍl al-Raʾī (died in 1233, see S I, 735); Abū Ḥayyān (1256-1345, see S II, 135). Also praised were ibn Hajar (died in 1405, see S II, 82), al-Juwaynī (died in 1085, see S I, 671); al-Tirmidhī (died in 892, see S I, 267); al-Ghazzālī (died in 1111, see S I, 744); ibn Khaldūn (1322-1144, see S II, 342) and Dawūd ibn ʿAlī ibn Kh-laf (died in 884, see S I, 312). See al-Shihāb, September 1932, p. 504, June-July 1938, p. 187, and Majlis..., pp. 53-54. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had sought to identify with the movement of reformism which swept Muslim lands: ʿʿaḥḥaḥḥ al-ʿulūm bi al-islām al-islāmī add intafaʿa min miḥr wa tarablus wa al-jazʿīn wa al-maḥrib al-ḥaḥḥ... (see al-Shihāb, April 1936, p. 5). This movement (ḥaḥḥa) which brought the revival of the Muslims had seen the influence of al-Aḥḥānī come to fruition (see Majlis..., p. 26). It stemmed from the reform of the Muslims and the renovation of their sciences.

An Islamic Ethic for Algeria

Reformism had meant, for 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers, the purification of religion, the rehabilitation of the 'Ulamā' and the renovation of the Islamic sciences. It also implied that the ethics of the Muslims become re-instated in Algeria. The morality of yesteryears had existed no longer. Algerians regressed to the state of Jāhiliyya whence instinctive and irrational behaviour predominated amongst men. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs assigned himself the arduous task of rescuing his people from eternal damnation. His readings into the Scriptures of Islām and into the life stories of the Prophet, his Companions and their Followers provided him with the ethical norms which could secure in his view the future prosperity of his country .

28. One of the aims of the prophet Muḥammad had been, according to 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs the creation of a moral community. Islām ended all justification for immorality in history. Man was given the Shari'ah. al-Sikhāb, January 1930, p. 32, marvelled at the final eradication of animal behaviour. Muḥammad had said: "Innama bu'ithu li utammima makārim al-akhlāq". Man was endued with rational faculties

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's contention that this life and the after-life could not be separated had aimed at operating the reintegration of spiritual and material values for the Algerians. It contradicted the values about spirit and matter which the Mystical Brotherhoods continued to uphold in Algeria. It was being made in the wake of undeniable decadence within the country. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had sought to reformulate the existing concept of good works in terms of the changing Algerian society. His had come closest to the ethical norms which the Ibādī community had already appropriated to

(taʿaddoul, tafakkur) and morality (akhlāq). al-Shihāb, November 1932, p. 569, contended: ''kama oāla baʿd al-salaf khalada allāh al-malāʾika ʿuqūlun bila shahwa wa khalada al-bahāʾim bila ʿuqūl wa khalada ibn ʿadam wa rakkaḥa fīnī al-ʿaql wa al-shahwa faman ghalaba ʿaqluhu shahwa-tahu iltahada bi al-malāʾika wa man ghalabat shahwatuhu ʿaqlahu iltahada bi al-bahāʾim wa li hādha oāla fī hadd al-murūwwa annaha ghalbat al-hadd li al-shahwa wa oāla al-fuḥāḥā fī haddihī hiya istiʿmāl mā yajmal al-ʿabd''. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs could quote the poet Aḥmad Shawwī in the verse: ''Innama li al-Umma al-akhlāq mā baḍiyat fa in hum dhaḥbat akhlāq hum dhaḥabū''. The Association of Algerian ʿUlamā conceived of itself as having to reform the ethics of Algeria (see Sijil..., pp. 69-70): ''fa hiya jamʿiyya ʿilmīyya dīnīyya taḥdhībīyya...''. The role of the ʿUlamā (al-ladhina yaʿmūnuna ʿala tarbiyat al-umma wa taḥdhīb akhlāqihā) could therefore not be an insignificant one. See al-Shihāb, October 1938, p. 84. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's commentary of the Scriptures of Islām and the life stories of the Prophet, his Companions and their Followers would provide, he would demonstrate, the ethical norms which would secure prosperity to the Algerians.

itself in Algeria. The means towards achieving salvation and securing paradise should be sought on this earth. The matters of the soul were not dissociated from those of the body. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had understood the ethics of Islām to establish the normal relations between worldly activities and otherworldly aspirations. He attributed the desintegration of his society to the successful negation of this fundamental principle by the Mystical Brotherhoods .

29

29. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs wrote, in al-Shihāb, 27 September 1926, p. 2: 'al-duniya jirun li al-akhira faman 'azamat a'māluhi fi al-duniya fāza 'inda rabbihi wa laysa al-'ibāda mahsūra bayna rukū'in wa sujūd wa tasbīh bal aydan hiya al-sa'ī wa al-'amal wa al-kifāh'. This different interpretation of the root aml (the Qur'ān says: 'Wa rabbi li tub'athūna wa li tunabba'ūna bima 'amiltum' and 'Wa li kullin dārajātun mimman 'amilū' and 'Inna allāha ya'lamu ghayba al-samawāti wa al-arḍi wa allāhu baṣīrun bima ta'malūn') indicated that the world had been seen as endowed to man. Commenting on the Tradition: 'Yā fāṭima i'mālī wa lā tatakallamī fa innī lā ughānī 'ankī min allāh shay'an', he wrote: 'Cala al-mar'ān yaqbala ni'am allāh wa yaqbal 'alayha iqbāl al-musta'zim laha al-'arīf bi haqqiha wa 'azīm al-faḍl biha li yaqūma bi shukriha wa dhikr allāh 'indaha wa li yashkur allāh 'alayha bi al-'aḍb wa al-lisān wa al-arkān', see Majālis..., op. 194-195. The Mystical Brotherhoods taught that salvation could be assured without responsibility (wa yaz'amūna anna abā'ahum damanū lahum al-janna and inna a'qā' al-tarīqa yadkhulūna al-janna bila hisāb wa lā 'iqāb, see al-Shihāb, 17 March 1927, p. 9, and September 1938, p. 50). God had been explicit: 'Fa intazirū innī ma'akum min al-muntazirīn', al-Shihāb, April 1930, p. 147. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs likewise divided mankind into four groups: 'Mu'min akhadha bi al-asbāb al-duniya-wiyya fa hādha sa'id fi al-duniya wa al-akhira wa dahrī taraka laha fa hādha shaa' fihima wa mu'min taraka li al-asbāb fa hādha shaa' fi al-duniya wa vanjū ba'da al-mu'akhadha 'ala al-tark fi al-akhira wa dahrī akhadha bi al-asbāb al-duniyawīyya fa hādha fi al-duniya sa'id

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had echoed the norms of the rising traders class of Algeria when he called for hard work, honesty and perseverance. The pursuit of money had also been valued. It measured the extent to which all the moral values which go into acquiring wealth had been achieved. On the contrary, poverty was the result of laziness and ignorance of the divine principals of life. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had called for the same moderation in earthly matters as would be sought in the matters concerning the after-world. Cooperation stemmed from the unity of purpose and aspiration of the community. Inasmuch as the Algerians were disunited in their beliefs, they could not work together in order to improve themselves. This new code of ethics reflected the emergence of indigenous capitalism in Algeria. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs extended the ethical norms of an insignificant class of Algerians to the whole community. He had invited every Muslim

wa yakūnu fī al-ʿakhira min al-ḥʿalikīn'", see Majlis..., pp. 66-67. He had assigned the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā' the task of implementing the values of the first group to the others when he proclaimed: "mabda'una fī al-islām al-dīnī wa al-dunyawī", see al-Shaḥāb, January 1929, p. 1.

to partake in the temporal reconstruction of Algeria. As soon as they would, the seeds of misbelief would disappear from this land

30
forever .

30. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs blamed his countrymen for having so long neglected their material welfare. In al-Shihāb, May 1931, p. 399, he wrote: 'al-raḡī al-ʿaqlī murtabbī kulla al-irtibāt bi al-raḡī al-mādī'. He invited them, therefore, to cater to their material needs. Under his influence, associations were formed and newspapers founded which aimed at, precisely, alleviating the depressed state of the Algerian economy: in al-Shihāb, May 1931, pp. 314-315, in 'al-Faqr maṣḍar al-shurūr wa al-balāya', he stated: 'wa dhālika bi an yatawassalū bi kull wasīla fī radd dhālika al-khaṭar siwa kana bi ta'sīs jam'iyyāt sinā'iyya taḥta ishrāf al-ladhina ya'rifna mā yuwajjih al-islām wa bi ilfāt anzār al-ʿarifīn al-munaḍilīn ʿan al-huquq al-ijtima'iyya wa al-ictisādiyya wa al-sinā'iyya faʿat'. As a result, al-Barq was founded in Constantine as a social, cultural, political and economic newspaper; its moto was 'khidmat al-waṭan wa al-maṣlaḥa al-ʿamma wa istithmār al-māl' (see al-Shihāb, 10 March 1927, p. 17). In the district of Oren, al-Jam'iyya al-Khayriyya, which was founded after the Great Depression, had two objectives: to operate the material and cultural reform of its own environment (see al-Shihāb, September 1932, p. 462). In Constantine, al-Jam'iyya al-Waḍdiyya li al-Tujjār wa Aṣḥāb al-Maʿmāl al-Muslimīn would act to promote the economic, legal and political interests of its members (see al-Shihāb, May 1935, p. 196). In Skikda, at the opening of Nādī al-ʿAmal, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs addressed its membership on Islām and work in which he re-iterated the view that the Muslims had been entrusted with the world; of the association he said: 'li yakūna raʿiduhu al-ʿamal al-mabnī ʿala al-sido wa al-tadhiya wa al-mushāwara...', see al-Shihāb, May 1936, p. 165. The economic ethic which called for sustained accumulation of wealth by means of honest and hard work was, obviously, not being dissociated from the religious ethic. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs stated, in Majlis..., p. 475: 'Buniya hādha al-kawn al-duniyawī ʿala an yotarīn fīhi al-khayr bi al-sharr wa an yattasila wa an yashtabiha wa an yuhīta bi al-insā min jamīʿ jihātihī fa tokun ʿamaluhu al-kasbiyya fī al-hayāt muktafiya bihīma dāʾira baynahuma mawṣifa bi shadīhima wa lā budda dhālika min ʿadw allāh wa min sunanihī al-ʿama fī hādha al-ʿālam al-insānī'. This position is reminiscent of that which M. Weber portrayed, in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, New York, 1958, of Luther's conception of the calling.

The predication of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been addressed to the Algerians as individuals. The thesis that salvation could be achieved by the group, thesis which Mystical Brotherhood had certainly aired in Algeria, was being rejected for that which put the onus of responsibility for salvation on each single Muslim. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had also indicated that the ethics of Islām were austere and ascetical. The joys of the world were those which the fructification of the world provided. Inasmuch as the decline of the Muslims had resulted from the cumulative misbelief of its individual members, so would their **revival stem from** the responsibility which each Muslim would assume here and now .

31

31. In "al-Raʿī al-fardī wa raʿī al-jamʿa sayyahuṃ asbaḥ", in al-Shihāb, June 1930, p. 310, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs asked: "inna al-tārikh mundhu al-ʿadīm athbata judḥ al-fikra al-ʿflātūniyya anna raʿī al-jamʿa muqaddam ʿala raʿī al-fard wa al-tārikh al-ʿilmī al-tajribī shāhida ʿala ʿilās hādhihi al-fikra wa naḥnu li dhālika fī ḡina ʿan jalb al-dalāʾil al-kathīra bal ḥasabna anna raʿī al-jamʿa munawwat bi raʿī al-fard wa mutawaddif ʿalayhi". This was in sharp contrast with the stand of Mystical Brotherhood on the issue. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, in Sijil..., p. 32, indicated that the practice of excommunication, among the Ḥarīḡas, showed how little they accepted the individual's works. Also, the dhawā of the Mystics was contrasted with the muruwwa which, according to the reformists, Islām called for. The type of manual work which the Mystical Brotherhoods enjoined their followers to perform, the khidma, did not entail any personal effort but simply

The Sociology of Islām

The ethics of Islām were directed towards the improvement of individual man. The sociology of Islām aimed at resting society on the foundations which religion ordained. In Algeria, the misbelief of the people made them reject the totality of the decrees of the Sharīʿa. The harmonious society which the Companions of the Prophet and their Followers had established was being replaced by

obedience on the part of the members and fear from their spiritual leaders. The ethics of Algerian reformism were puritanical as well. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, whose contacts with the Ibādīs had become proverbial in Algeria, often gave this community in example to his fellow Sunnīs. It shall be remarked that his own puritanism remained unlike the asceticism of many mystics. His was the thriftiness which characterized the new merchant class of Algeria. In "Mādhā khayr min al-māl", in al-Shihāb, 30 August 1926, p. 1, he frowned upon the misuse and abuse which many Algerians made of their wealth. Their prodigality invariably led towards sin. His puritanism was far better expressed in his comments over an evening which the Evolués of Constantine had organized in which Western dancing had taken place. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs disapproved in these words about this kind of entertainment: "fa kull umma inṣarafat nahwa al-malāhī kama hiya tabīʿat kulla madaniyya fa hiya ʿala qayd shibr min indithār majdiha wa fuqdan ʿuzmatiha" (see al-Shihāb, September 1931, p. 574)". ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been well aware of the consequences of urbanization and westernization on his countrymen. Both these processes affected the people from the countryside who were attracted by city-life and the people from the cities who were attracted by the life of the Settlers in ways which were often tragic. It is interesting that it always become that faction whose roots in the past were strongest and best preserved that uncovers the outward features of transition and denounces them as least adequate and most ephemeral to any society.

a state of social tension and social division. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had indicated, among others, the sectarian division of Algeria. He also showed concern for the Evlués who grew estranged from their religion as well as from the language of Islām. He had pointed out to the Berber-speaking Algerians who resisted assimilation to the Arabic-speaking majority. Two areas of social dissent would receive his attention: they were the emerging class struggle in Algeria and the movement for the liberation of Algerian women 32.

32. The sectarian division of Algeria into Mystical Brotherhoods, mālikīs, hanafīs and Ibādīs each resisting unity with the others, has been considered already. The problems posed by the Evlués and by the Berberophone Algerians will receive pertinent treatment in the following chapter. These divisive forces as well as those which will be touched upon in this paragraph had been deplored by 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. Commenting on the Tradition: "Mithl al-mu'minīn fī tawaddudihim wa tarāhimihim wa ta'attufihim ka mithl al-jasad al-wahid idha ishtaka minhu 'udū tadā'ilayhi sār al-jasad bi al-shari wa al-humma", he stated: "salāh al-mu'tama' munawwat bi salāh afradihī (see al-Shihāb, November 1933, p. 475)... wa salāh al-fard bi al-'adā'id al-'asāda wa al-akhilā' al-'adā'id wa innamā y-kūnani bi shiḥat al-'ilm wa shiḥat al-irāda fa idha salāh al-fard hādha al-salāh salāh al-jasad kulluhū yajriyāni al-'adā'id kulluhū fī al-'amal al-mustadīm wa idha fasada al-fard min nāhiyat al-'adā'id aw nāhiyat al-khalq aw nāhiyat al-'ilm aw nāhiyat al-irāda fasada al-jasad wa jarat al-'amal al-jawāriḥ 'ala shayr waih al-sadād", see Kajālīs..., p. 96. What one segment of the population did, consequently, affected the rest. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs expressed this view in verse form: "Wata yablaḥ al-buniyān yamman tamānuhu idha kunta tabnī wa shayruka wakhānī", in al-Shihāb, May 1931, p. 399. He could illustrate what was meant by the sociology of Islām in the treatment of classes and women in society.

The emergence of class distinctions, in Algeria, had resulted from the desintegration of traditional society which French colonization caused. The class identity reflected the success of the European drive into the traditional economy. The class identity also indicated that socialistic ideas had found favourable grounds and receptive ears among the Algerians. It is against such developments that 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs would stand firmly for the social ideology of Islām. The message of the Qur'ān had been a clear one over all class distinctions. Men had been created equal. The ideologies of socialism and communism which challenged this fundamental principle remained anathema to the Muslims and should be combatted.

33. al-Shihāb, August 1930, p. 443, argued that communism was to be cursed. It overtly preached atheism. In Algeria, its spokesman Le Paysan Indigène, published in Algiers after 1933, was according to the Europeans, had close ties with Messali Hajj and his followers and was involved in the trade-union movement. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs argued at length that there was little place for such an ideology in Algeria. In a speech in Algiers he stated: "inna al-islām 'adā iḥtimāqī 'am 'amī kul' mā yuḥtājū ilayhi al-insān 'al-jamī' nawāḥī ḥayātī", see al-Shihāb, November 1936, p. 357. Social injustice could not be denied nor ignored. The implementation of justice, on the other hand, would never be achieved by means such as the class struggle which were un-Islamic.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs advanced the Islamic principle of the inalienability of the right for ownership as the major argument against the ideologies of socialism and communism which promoted the class struggle in Algeria. Over those who argued that Islām justified social disparity, he indicated that they could not be farthest from the truth and the knowledge about Islām. The injustices which were being perpetrated among the Algerians expressed how far these Algerians had drifted away from the tenets of their religion. The reform of society, according to the laws of Islām, would surely remedy the class division of Algeria. Society would revert, as a result, to the harmonious state in had once achieved 34.

34. The commentary which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs made of the verse: "Wa lā taqrabū māla al-yatīm..." had led him to contend that the right to ownership was a sacred one: "māl al-marʾ ka qitʿat min badanīhi wa yudʿfi ʿanhu kama yudʿfi ʿan nafsihi wa bihi diwām al-mālīhi fī ḥayātīhi fa al-amwāl maqrūna bi al-nufūs fī al-istibār fa qarintu fī al-naẓm ayāt ḥafz al-amwāl bi ayāt ḥafz al-nufūs kama qarina baynahuma al-nabī fī dawlihi fa inna dimāʾakum wa amwālukum wa ʿrādakum ʿalaykum ḥarām", see Majālīs..., p. 123. What then about social inequality; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had attributed it to divine wisdom, in al-Shihāb, July 1930, p. 343. It indicated that man had erred and would not submit to the ordinance of his religion. He commented on the Tradition: "ʾIlle anna fī al-insān madhāt idha ṣalihat ṣalīha wa idha fasadat fasada illa wa huwa al-ṣalb". He wrote: "inna al-mukallaf al-mukhtaṭib min al-insān ḥarwa nafsu...".

God had provided his creatures with equal opportunities. Those who were true believers prospered as a result and the misbelievers were chastized (see al-Shihāb, July 1932, p. 346). Returning to the class struggle, he dismissed it as the means towards solving the plight of the poor. He had referred those who sought ways towards bringing about the fair distribution of wealth to the institution of zakāt. It had been revealed to man precisely in order that the wealth of the rich never exceed the normal (see al-Shihāb, July 1932, p. 416). The Qur'ān had he not said: "Innama al-sadaqāt li al-fuqarā" wa al-masākīn wa al-ʿāmilīn ʿalayha wa al-mu'allafā gulūbuhum wa fī al-riqābi wa al-gharimīna wa fī sabīl allāh wa ibn al-sabīl farīdatan min allāh wa llāh ʿalīmun ḥakīm". The poor were a test which God sent the rich. Cooperation among the Believers, at the same time, improved the lot of everyone (see al-Shihāb, July 1931, p. 429). The words ijtimāʿ and iatīṣād were used interrelatedly, in al-Shihāb, July 1932, p. 363. What of the socialism of the Companion of the Prophet, Abū Dharr? ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had obviously been aware of the contribution of this Muslim historical figure to the thesis of socialism. He had commended Abū Dharr for his great piety, in al-Shihāb, July 1935, p. 211. Over his economic doctrines, he blamed them to be singular to say the least (shādha). Contrasted to Abū Dharr was the Caliph ʿUthman whose moderation (iatīṣād) was highly praised by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs in al-Shihāb, April 1935, p. 15. What had then caused the notion of class struggle to find its way into Algerian society? ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs blamed it not so much on external ideologies as on the lack of Islamic responsibility on the part of the Algerians themselves. In al-Shihāb, July 1932, p. 346, he pointed to the practice of all the economic sins which religion had forbidden, usury, gambling, exploitation of workers, the non-payment of the zakāt. In the May 1935 issue, p. 82, he deplored the selfishness of an ever greater number of Algerians who refrained from performing charity towards the needy. Algerian reformism would undoubtedly remedy this state of affairs so that, in the words of al-Shihāb, January 1930, p. 13: "al-fallāḥ yaroī falḥatshu wa al-sānī sinḥatshu wa al-tājir tijāratshu fa taraiyat al-fard hiya naḥdat al-umma". ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had claimed success in bringing this view across to the Algerians. One instance where cooperation and economy were preached was in Kabylia, according to al-Shihāb, November 1934, p. 552. It is significant to note that it is among transitional Algeria that such ideas would find favour mostly. In Egypt, the similar ideas of Sayyid Quṭb (in his al-ʿAdāl al-Ijtīmāʿiyya fī al-Islām, Cairo, 1948) were similarly addressed to the lower urban middle class of merchants, traders and craftsmen who remained shielded from trade-unionism and the other isms which were being imported from Europe. To classify these ideas as conservative, therefore, would not be adequate. They may had appeared most reactionary in the light of the more radical ideas held by the Evolués. In terms of the traditionalist ideas of that period, they indicated, at least, an awareness of tension within society. Both diagnosis and solutions, meanwhile, reflected without any doubt the rise of an economic class which, itself, was the product of the European economy and was being threatened by this very economy. On the assets

On the subject of the status of women in Algeria, 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had been, certainly, more conservative and less concerned. The issue was being raised by the Evlués who deplored the degradation which Islām had imposed on their mothers and sisters. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs saw it necessary and advisable to refute these charges in order to dissipate any criticism that women enjoyed a depressed place in society, he retorted that all of Algerian society was in a state of depression. It would be senseless to expect women to enjoy any other status .

35

of this class, they were in moveables and immovables, their capital serving to purchase land which was made available to private ownership by the Senatus Consulte of 1863 (see Ch-R. Ageron, Les Algériens... pp. 797-837 with pp. 766-770 in particular on the evolution of indigenous land ownership from 1890 till 1919).

35. Both La voix des humbles, ed. S. Façi, from Oran, and La voix indigène, ed. R. Zen-ti, from Constantine, had taken it upon themselves to stir controversy over the inferior status of women in Islām. On 29 March 1932, in Constantine, the International Congress of Mediterranean Women was held. This congress was being covered by La voix indigène in particular and, interestingly enough, was not even mentioned in al-Shihāb. The whole matter of women's rights in Islām was raised, polygamy, divorce, the veil and inheritance. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs embarked on the defense of what he saw as Islām. While al-Shihāb had earlier limited itself into reproducing articles on the subject from al-Manār, its tone became angry and hostile as soon as the Evlués made this issue their own.

The message of Islām had, otherwise, liberated women from the brutality of men. This was the view held by all Islamic reformists and it was re-iterated in its entirety by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs in al-Shihāb. As to the seemingly position of inferiority which the Shariʿa placed womenfolk into, this had been ruled by God whose reasons were based on the role which was assigned to them in society. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs saw little need to stand in defence of the divine law. He objected to the suggestions, on the part of the *Ev-
olués*, that egalitarian laws should replace the Shariʿa one day 36.

36. al-Shihāb had reproduced Rashīd Rida's articles on the liberation of women with the coming of Islām, on the justification of polygamy, on the use of the veil, in its July 1930 issue, pp. 361-, its August 1930 issue, pp. 426-, its September 1930 issue, pp. 485-, and its October 1930 issue, pp. 557-. The *Evolués* press had, meanwhile, been showing great enthusiasm for the feminist movements of Turkey and of Egypt. In 1925, the Turkish Revolution had abolished polygamy and instituted civil marriage. In 1934, women in Turkey received the right to vote. In Egypt, in 1923, Huda Shaʿrawī (1882-1947) founded her own movement for the liberation of the Egyptian woman. R. Rida published in 1932 his Ḥudūd al-ḥayāt al-islāmīya and al-Shihāb reproduced it in April 1935. The controversy which the Islamic reformists now faced was of a juridical and a social nature. A Tunisian writer, ʿAbd al-Muḥḥid, had formulated it in his Imrāʾatuna fi al-Shariʿa wa al-ḥukūma, in 1930. He was harshly criticized by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, in al-Shihāb, August 1932, pp. 444-445. Compromise on the legal status of women was impossible, according to him. Levels had to be explicit on the generic difference between the sexes. Reformism had, meanwhile, been greatly weakened. It would solely remain to the education of women.

The contribution of women to society had been undermined in the past by the general laxity in religious duties. The decadence of women accompanied that of men. Ignorance and superstition characterized their beliefs. This was the more serious, in their case, in that their role in the upbringing of their children was relegated to the point of nullity. The champions of the feminist cause, among the Evolués, now hoped to draw women away from the responsibilities of the home where they belonged. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs would resist their efforts and concentrate on the proper education of the weaker sex. Men and women had been created to complement one another, in the opinion of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs. The aim of religion and of the Law had been to operate this complementarity between the sexes. The campaign to emancipate women, as he saw it, was a divisive force in the community. It could not bear fruits as it would be resisted by men and women alike who were Believers.

37

37. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had taken al-Shifā’ from ‘Abd Allāh as

his model for the virtuous Muslim women. She was one of the first to convert to Islam and to follow the Prophet in his flight to Yathrib. Layla al-Shifa' could write and read and had been asked by Muhammad to teach other women the language of the Qur'an. She was a woman of great intelligence and much skills and she served under the Caliph Umar. Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis had seen in her an example which could inspire the women of his own time. In al-Shihab, April 1931, pp. 164-165, he delved into the rights and duties of women and concluded that they were equal to men, according to the Shari'a. This implied therefore that women, as much as men, should be prepared to abide by their Islamic responsibilities. The March and April 1939 issue of the journal dealt with the education of women on pp. 64-65 and 110-112 respectively. The functions 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 very education of the women. He had opted for the segregated education of boys and girls, in al-Shihab, June 1930, p. 277, when he reproduced an article by Shakib Arslan to this effect (Arslan had gone as far as opposing that boys and girls frequent one another and this conformed with the very norms of the Algerian urban family). The education of girls would essentially prepare them to understand their religion and to abide by its laws. Girls will be trained to perform the role of mothers and wives they had been created for. In his commentary of the verse: "Wa al-ladhina ya'uluna rabbana habb lana min azwajina...", he wrote: "al-tazawuj wa talab al-nasl huwa al-sunna sunnat al-nabi", see Majalis..., p. 296. On the right of the wife to chose her husband, Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis departed from the Maliki tradition and conceded that this be her right (see al-Shihab, May 1931, p. 314). The faithfulness of the wife to her husband remained one of the main pillars of society; in Majalis..., p. 120, he wrote: "wa bayyana ta'ala su' 'adibat al-zina bi dawlihi wa sa'la sabillon ay bi's taridan taridhi tarid mu'd ila shurur wa mafasid fi al-duniya wa 'adhab fi al-akhirah fa huwa tarid ila halak al-'abdān wa fasad al-'ard wa diyar al-'amal wa kharab al-buyut wa inqitac al-'ansab wa fasad al-mujtama' wa inqiradihi...". Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis may have anticipated such developments in Algeria. From al-Manar, he was made aware of the problems which Islam in Turkey and in Egypt now faced on this issue. In Algeria itself, the example of the Evlues may have suggested to him that women may soon follow in the wake of these French-educated Algerians in adopting the ways of the Europeans. Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis's concern over the status of women in Algeria appeared to grow with the years. His contention was entirely with the propaganda which La voix indigène especially mounted among the educated groups of Constantine. There does not appear to have had any traditionalist reaction to al-Shihab's views on women if we judge from the newspaper itself. One cannot imagine their complete agreement with the reformists on such a touchy issue as this one. The value of Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis's debate with the Evlues may have been that his own urge for the education of girls in Algeria will have become more palatable to the traditionalists as a result of his undoubted conservative stand over feminism.

Islām and Christianity in Algeria

Although it had been greatly abated outside Algeria, the controversy between Islām and Christianity continued to remain a lively one for the Algerians of the period between the two world wars. The debate over which religion took precedence and should be promoted over the other was simply not an academic one for North Africa. The Catholic Church never abandoned its missionary intents in that area. As far as Algeria was concerned, its reformists answered the challenge which was being thrust upon Islām as a result of what they saw to be the complacency of the majority of the Algerians in the face of the Christian danger .

38

38. Al-Shihāb, May 1936, had reproduced in French a prayer which was printed in L'écho du diocèse de Constantine et d'El-Hinone on 6 February 1936. It read as follows: "Offrande quotidienne: divin coeur de Jésus, je vous offre par le coeur immaculé de Marie, les prières, les oeuvres et les souffrances de cette journée en réparation de nos offences et à toutes les intentions pour lesquelles vous vous imolez continuellement sur l'autel. Je vous les offre en particulier pour l'union entre les catholiques et pour la lutte contre l'Islam". The view of the Church in Algeria had been unchanged ever since the early days of the Conquest. In 1930, it was reiterated at the Eucharistical Congress held in Tunis. It was repeated, once again, when the Eucharistical Congress held its session in Algiers, in 1939. Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs took it upon himself to rescue the Muslims of Algeria from the imminence of the Christian threat. He did so both in his writings and his actions.

The weakness of Islām in Algeria had been attributed to Mysticism as well as to the Evolués. The esoteric beliefs of Mystical Brotherhood had diverted the Algerians from the true Islām of their ancestors. At the same time, they condoned the type of fraternal love which by-passed the good and the bad. Christian proselytism had taken advantage of this situation and had belittled the fundamental differences between Islām and Christianity. Its aim was, of course, to encourage the Algerians to convert to the religion of the Europeans. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs deplored the naivety of his fellow Muslims and warned that the Association of Algerian ‘Ulamā³⁹ would not stand by iddle in the face of Christian intent .

39. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's strong dislike for Mysticism had made him unable to discriminate between the reformism of the mystical tradition, which Shaykh Aḥmad ibn ‘Alīwa had inaugurated, and the existing Mystical Brotherhoods. Of all the Tarīcas, including the ‘Alīwiyya, he wrote, in al-Shihāb, 11 February 1926, p. 1: “wa amma mashāwikh al-turūq al-maz‘ūm annahum yahridūna al-Islām ‘ala muqāwamat al-naṣrāniyya fa innahum manbūdhūn hum wa afkaruhum ‘inda kāfāt al-umam al-mustanīrat al-‘uqūl al-muttali‘a ‘ala mā yartakibūhu haḍūlā’ bi ism al-dīn”. This had become inevitable as a result of the great favours which the French were displaying in the face of Shaykh ibn ‘Alīwa's own reformism (see the favourable exposé which La Revue du Monde Musulman, 1924, LVII, p. 235, made of his works, his ideas on his Tarīca). ibn ‘Alīwa had been motivated, as was ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, by the apparent decline of Islamic identity in Algeria. His concern remained,

however, mystical and his reforms were aimed at restituting mystical religion to the Algerians at a time when Mystical Brotherhood had obviously sunken into nurturing superstitions and harbouring misbelief. The message of Ahmad ibn 'Alīwa was being addressed to the very same transitional Algerians who formed 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's audience. According to M. Lings, A Moslem Saint..., p. 116, the membership of the 'Alīwiyya, quoted in L'Echo d'Oran, 13 September 1923, was estimated at one hundred thousand disciples. Four years later, it had more than doubled in number. The Mostaghanem-based tarīqa had expressed its own expectations from the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' to which it belonged until 1932. In al-Balāgh, 11 March 1931, p. 1, the Shāykh had called for all-reform-minded Algerians to work together in order to un-lift the society culturally and spiritually. Judging from the bibliography in M. Lings, A Moslem Saint..., pp. 212-213, one realizes the meaning which ibn 'Alīwa attributed to spiritual reform: in his Tafsīr, he gave four interpretations which ranged from the literal to the mystical ones of Surat al-Baqara; in al-Qawl al-Ma'rūf, he briefly exposed the meanings of islām, īmān and ihsān; in Dawḥat al-Asrār, he commented on the value of invoking blessings upon the Prophet; in al-Rasā'il al-'Alīwiyya, he exposed his own ideas on theology, ritual and mysticism; in al-Qawl al-Ma'rūf, he refuted the other than mystical means towards salvation; Ahmad ibn 'Alīwa had traced his spiritual ancestry to the Prophet by way of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, Junayd, Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and 'Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib; his contribution was evidence that the long tradition in gnosticism would not die in the Maghrib. ibn 'Alīwa had preached an inner illumination (kashf) and benefit (manfa'a) which were derived from the inner meanings of revelation (bāṭina). Against the Shari'a, he sought the Ḥadiqa for his disciples. His mahabba over-passed the barriers of religion. According to A. Berque "the Sheikh was always hungry for knowledge about other religions. He seemed to be quite well informed as regards the Scriptures and even as regards the patristic tradition. The Gospel of St. John and the Epistles of St. Paul appealed to him in particular. As an extremely subtle and penetrating metaphysician, he was able to reconcile plurality with unity in the Trinitarian conception of three persons in a consubstantial identity...", see ibid., p. 82. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs who was aware of the great sympathy which the French had displayed towards such "tolerance", had harshly attacked the 'Alīwiyya in particular. The aims of the Christians were openly to convert the Muslims to their religion. The views of Ahmad ibn 'Alīwa, besides being anathema to Islām, rendered the task of the missionaries still simpler. Islām and Christianity were not two ways towards the same truth: "arsala allāh muḥammadan li-jamī' al-umam fa-kānat risālatuhu 'amma wa-kānat dā'watuhu 'amma mithlāha wa-jā'at ayt al-ḥurūf bi al-dā'wa... wa-'ī nida'ihim bi al-kitāb tashrīf wa-ta'zīm lahum bi idf'atihim li al-kutub wa ihtāj al-ḥalīm bi anā al-īmān bi al-kitāb al-ladhi 'indahum yataḍī al-īmān bi al-kitāb al-ladhi jā' al-him li annahu min jinsihi", in Madāris..., p. 417.

The arguments which the Evolués put forward against Islām had also been seen by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs as furthering the cause of Christian proselytism in Algeria. The Evolués attributed the backwardness of the Muslims to their religion. They had sided over the controversy between Islām and science with the views which Ernest Renan had held against Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been acquainted himself with the issue by way of al-Manār and he re-iterated the arguments of Muḥammad ʿAbdū that Islām, unlike Christianity, had become the sole religion to reconcile reason and science with revelation. The Algerians should be able to differentiate between the propaganda of the Church and historical reality. The Evolués had fallen prey to the former and were being misled.

40

40. The controversy between Ernest Renan and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī had arisen from a lecture which the French **thinker** gave at the Sorbonne in 1883. In L'Islamisme et la science, he stated: "Toute personne un peu instruite des choses de notre temps voit clairement l'infériorité actuelle des pays musulmans, la décadence des États gouvernés par l'islam, la nullité intellectuelle des races qui tiennent uniquement de cette religion leur culture et leur éducation."

Tous ceux qui ont été en Orient ou en Afrique sont frappés de ce qu'a de fatalement borné l'esprit d'un vrai croyant, de cette espèce de cercle de fer qui entoure sa tête, le rend absolument fermée à la science, incapable de rien apprendre ni de s'ouvrir à aucune idée nouvelle'', see A. Hourani, Arabic Thought..., p. 120. R. Zénati had aired similar views in La voix indigène. In the 13 June 1926 issue, n. 1, he stated: ''nous devons nous attaquer résolument aux préjugés dont ils souffrent, aux habitudes ancestrales qui les maintiennent rivés à un passé qui a eu certainement sa gloire mais qui est aujourd'hui singulièrement dépassé et qui constitue un boulet aux pieds de ce qui s'y arrêtent...''. Zénati, like Renan before, had differentiated between the civilization of France and the religion of the French. When he attacked Islām, it was not in order to favour Christianity. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, like 'Abdū, could not submit to that. The rejection of Islām was the rejection of reason which was the pre-requisite to any scientific achievement. In ''al-Thaḡāfa al-jadīda lā tunāfi' al-islām al-shahīh'', al-Shihāb, February 1932, p. 98, he wrote: ''wa li al-raḡba fī intishāliha tadarraḡa hāmīlī al-islām bi tilka al-quwwa al-ma'nawīyya al-lati jaradūha min ta'ālīm al-islām al-shahīh fama 'atamū an khalaqū jawwan ṣāliha li dā'wat tilka al-ṭabā'a al-hāriba al-mutabarrima ila mā yattafiq wa muntawajāt al-ilm wa al-ṣaḡl ila dīn huwa fī ṭalī'at al-ādīyān min jihat annahu dīn ṣāliḡ li al-raḡī min kullī nāhiya''. Compare with 'Abdū's opinion'' that Christian doctrine as traditionally formulated cannot stand up to the discoveries of modern science and the modern concepts of the law of nature and of evolution'' and ''that Islam seemed to him the middle path between the two extremes: a religion fully consistent with the claims of the human intellect and the discoveries of modern science'', see A. Hourani, Arabic Thought..., p. 143. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had given further evidence of this view when al-Shihāb reported the interviews with several prominent Europeans who had converted to Islām: of the conversion of the French artist Etienne Denis, Tawfīq al-Madanī wrote in the January 1930 issue, p. 45: ''iṣṭanḡa dīnḡum ṣyāma kāda y-hjurūha abnā'uha''; a Hungarian scientist, Dr. G rmanos, embraced the more rational religion of Islām (see the September 1933 issue, p. 406); a newspaperman for Paris-Soir, Jean Barroult, denounced Christianity and undertook the pilgrimage to Mecca (the May 1936 issue, pp. 120-121); the article of the American, Harry Fenckel, ''Why I am a Muslim'', was reproduced in al-Shihāb, June 1933, pp. 280-282, from the Islamic Review. The purpose of these articles had been to indicate to the Evolues that, while they denigrated their own religion, highly learned Europeans had entered it and praised it. The influence of Islām on Unitarian Christianity was all evident (al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 176). The Unitarians submitted to the rationality of the unity of God which Muḡammad had long preached. Otherwise the Christians were in error. Their acceptance of trinity could never be reconciled with reason. How would the Evolues therefore doubt of the superiority of Islām over Christianity?

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's treatment of the subject of Islām versus Christianity had, undoubtedly, been motivated by the evident threat which the religion of the French posed for that of the Algerians. The defence of Islām could be enhanced, according to him, also if the Muslims adopted whatever was commendable among the Christians and could benefit their own religion. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had had the institution of the Church in mind and he marvelled at the quality of its priests. Their dedication to the cause of Christianity, their high level of learning and their obedience were qualities which lacked among the ʿUlamāʾ. The hierarchization of the Church and its centralization were also useful tool for the rapid and efficient implementation of policies by the clergy. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, otherwise, found little use in the study of the developments in Christianity itself. The reform of Islām in Algeria had taken precedence over all other matters in as far as ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was concerned. The relation between this religion and Christianity could best be

served by the display, on the part of the Christians, of the kind of tolerance towards Islām as had traditionally been the practice, on the part of the Muslims, for Christianity .

41. The admiration for the Catholic Church and for the clergy was unquestionable on the part of 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs (see al-Shihāb, May 1939, pp. 112-114). Although he criticized the principle of celibacy as contrary to nature (see Majālis..., p. 296) the sense of sacrifice and dedication of the Christian priesthood should not be brushed aside. The 'Ulamā' should emulate them in this respect. Over the organization of the Church, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's views were similar. Islām needed no clergy yet the centralization of effort should be achieved. He had welcomed the idea of a Higher Islamic Committee to rally the representatives of all Muslims from around the world to unify their doctrine and concert their reforms (see al-Shihāb, June 1938, p. 134). In Algeria itself, he called for actions to counter the effect of the Church, in education and welfare. In 1936, in Constantine, a Muslim Orphanage was established in order to avert that Algerian orphans become converted to Christianity as was attempted in 1868; 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's brother, Zubayr, a lawyer on the municipal council, was elected its administrator (al-Shihāb, May 1936, p. 82). Otherwise, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had shown little interest in Christianity as such. It is interesting that, in 1930 in Algiers, the Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français held a convention in celebration of the Centenary. Neither its members nor the Algerian 'Ulamā' had shown interest in one another. This could be contrasted with the undoubted interest which, on the part of Islamic reformism at least, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad 'Abdū and Rashīd Riḍa had shown for the Reformation. Their concerns, it may here be argued justly so, were other than those of Algerian reformism which witnessed a long and often successful campaign, on the part of Christianity, to weaken Islām in that country. In his commentary of the verse 'Ya aḥla al-Kitābi...' 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs was confident that, in the long run, the Christians would submit to the message of Muḥammad (see Majālis..., pp. 417-420).

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CHAPTER VIII

The

Meaning

of

Algerian Nationalism

At a time when the notion that Algeria existed as a nation remained far from clear in the mind of the majority of Algerians, the reformist movement of 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis had laid the foundations of nationality for the Algerian people. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis had conceived of an independent Algerian personality and he strived to bring it to its fullest maturity. It is as a result of his commitments to the Algerian nation that the Algerian Revolution was born in 1954. The sovereign state which came into being, in 1962, derives many of its ideals from al-Shihab.

The involvement of 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis and his followers in the national question had emanated from their own reformist concerns. In their determination to rehabilitate Islam in Algeria, they had entered into conflict with the protectors and supporters among the French of the Algerian religious establishment. At the

same time, the controversy which raged between the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' and the Fédération des Elus over the final objectives of representation and reform had induced 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs to spell out his ideas on the future of the Algerian people. His theory on nationalism resulted from his determination to preserve Islām for the Algerians. It remains significant that it has not become invalidated by the contemporary developments within the Popular Republic of Algeria.

Algeria is not France

'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs expressed his belief in the existence of an Algerian nation as early as 1926 when, in the first issue of al-Muntadid, he dedicated his efforts towards the reconstruction of this nation. He had used umma and watan interchangeably to refer to the territory which lie, west of Tunisia and east of Morocco, in between the Mediterranean Sea to the north and the Saharan Desert to the south. Ten years after al-Muntadid was first published,

a prominent évolué, Farhāt 'Abbās, openly questioned the existence of an Algerian identity. He had searched the past and found little which distinguished him as an Algerian. The French identity was the only significant identity in Algeria, according to him. The sooner the Algerians became Frenchmen, Farhāt 'Abbās argued, the earlier could they take their seat among the civilized peoples of the world. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, whose entire life had been spent to rescue the Islamic identity for the Algerians, was swift to retort to the eminent Farhāt 'Abbās that Algeria was not France, that it could not be France and that, furthermore, it did not will to be France. Algeria was a distinct nation whose history and whose aspirations were other than what the Evolués believed¹.

1. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had not judged it necessary to make his profession of faith in the Algerian nation. The first issue of al-Muntadid, 2 July 1925, read: 'al-muntadid jārīda hurra ta'māl li sa'ādāt al-umma al-jazā'iriyya bi sa'idat faransa al-dimurātīyya fa hiva jarīda siwāsīyya taḥḥībīyya intiqādiyya shi'aruha al-haqqa fawqa kulla shay' wa al-waṭan cabla kulla shay'...'. On 28 February 1936, La Défense, ed. al-Amin al-'Amūdī, had published a letter by Farhāt 'Abbās, one of the founders of the Fédération des Elus, once the president of the Association of Muslim Students at the University of Algiers, now famous among the Evolués as the author

of De la colonie vers la province: le jeune Algérien, Paris, 1931, and the editor of the highly circulated L'entente franco-musulmane. The article was entitled "En marge du nationalisme: la France c'est moi" and could be summarized in the following words: "... je ne mourrai pas pour la patrie algérienne, parceque cette patrie n'existe pas. Je ne l'ai pas découverte. J'ai interrogé l'histoire, j'ai interrogé les vivants et les morts; personne ne m'en a parlé...". al-Amīn al-ʿAmūdī, once secretary of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamā, had been the main spokesman for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs in the French language. He brought Farhāt ʿAbbās's article to the attention of the latter. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's reply appeared in al-Shihāb, April 1936, pp. 42-43. Its pertinent parts are reproduced here: "haddan innana naʿish fī wasat sādāt al-fawda fīhi min jamīʿ jihātihā fa min fawda fī al-dīn ila fawda fī al-akhlāq ila fawda fī al-iqtisād wa zādātna al-ayyām ʿala kulli dhālika fawda jadīda rubbama kāhat akhtar al-fawdāt wa ashshaduha taʿthīr ʿala hayāt al-umma illa wa hiya fawda al-takallum bi ism al-umma... famā min mutakallim al-yawm muddaʿiyan bi annahu yumaththil al-umma al-islāmīyya fī hādhihi al-bilād wa anna al-kalimāt al-lati yaqūlūha min ʿinda nafsīhi innama hiya kalimāt al-umma al-ḥadī wa dawluha wa law innahum iqtasādū fī al-dawl wa lam yalju bāba al-ghuluw wa al-isrāf wa dālū innana natakallam bi ism al-farīq al-ladhi intakhabana aw bi ism al-hayʿa al-lati nantamī ilayha wa bi ism al-jamāʿa al-lati nahnu minha aw bi ism al-ladhina yusharikūnana fī al-rady wa al-tafkīr lamakana dawluhum aswab wa raʿyuhum aṣlah... dāla al-baʿd min al-nuwwāb al-mahallīyyīn wa min al-aʿyān wa min kibār al-mutawazzifīn bi hādhihi al-bilād anna al-umma al-islāmīyya al-jazāʾīrīyya majmaʿuhu ʿala iʿtibār nafsīha umma faransiyya bi haythu lā waṭan laha illa al-waṭan al-faransī wa lā ghaya laha illa al-indimāj al-fīʿlī al-tām fī faransa wa lā amal laha fī tahqīq hādhihi al-raḡba illa bi an tamudd faransa yadaha bi kull surʿa fa talghī jamīʿ ma yuhāw-wil dūna tahqīq hādha al-indimāj al-tām bal laqad dāla ʿahad al-nuwwāb al-nābiḥīn innahu fattasha ʿan al-qawmīyya al-jazāʾīrīyya fī buṭūn al-tārīkh fa lam wajdahā min athār wa fattasha ʿanha fī al-hāla al-ḥādīra fa lam yaṭṭar laha ʿala khabar wa akhīran ashraḡat ʿalayhī anwār al-tajallī fa idha bihi yaṣīḥ faransa hiya anā haddan inna kulla shayʿ yartadī fī hādha al-ʿālam wa yatatawwar hatta al-tasawwuf fa bi al-ams kāna yaqūlu ʿahad kibār al-mutasaṣṣifīn fatashtu ʿalayhī yā allāh wajadtu anā allāh wa al-yawm yaqūlu al-mutasaṣṣif fī al-siyāsa fatashtu ʿalvki yā faransa wajadtu ruḡlī anā faransa... innama hum mukhtāʾūn yuṣawwirūna al-umūr bi ghayrī sūratihā fahum fī wādi wa al-umma fī wādi... lā ya sādātī nahnu natakallam bi ism dīsm ʿazīm min al-umma bal nadḍaʿi annana natakallam bi ism aḡlabīyat al-umma fa naʿūl lakum wa li kull man yurīd naḡakum min hādhihi al-naḡīva lā tumaththilūnana wa lā tatakallamūna bi isminā wa lā tuʿabbirūna ʿan shuʿūrīna wa ihsāsīna innana nahnu fatasana fī shuḥūf al-tārīkh fī al-hālat al-ḥādīra wa wajadna al-umma al-jazāʾīrīyya al-muslīma mutakawwina mawjūda kama takawwanat kulla umami al-ʿālam wa li hādhihi al-umma tārīkūha al-ḡāfil bi jalāl al-ʿamāl wa laka waḡḡatūha al-dīnīyya wa al-ʿāqibīyya wa laka tharāʾifūha al-kāṣa wa al-kāṣa wa ʿarṣīdūha bima fīhi min ḡaṣn wa ʿabīḡ thumma ʿahad hādhihi al-umma al-jazāʾīrīyya al-islāmīyya lawsat hiya faransa wa lā wurkin an

The debate over the existence versus the non-existence of an Algerian identity had centered around the meaning of civilization and its relation to history. The *Evalués* approached the problem of nationality with the notion in mind that Algeria was found by the French in a state of complete barbarity in 1830. This notion, which the prominent French scholars of their time had borrowed from H. de Grammont's writings of the middle of the nineteenth century, were being repeated in 1930. During the Centenary Celebrations in Algiers, E.F. Gautier and A. Bernard re-iterated that France had come to Algeria to liberate its peoples from the oppr-

takīna faransa wa lā turid an tasīra faransa wa lā tastāḥib an
tasīra faransa wa law arādāt bal hiya umma baʿida ʿan faransa kulla
al-buʿd fī l-ḥaqīqa wa fī ʾakhlāqihā wa fī ʿunṣurihā wa fī dīnihā
wa lā nurid an nstadammi wa lāna waṭan maḥdūd muʿayyan huwa al-waṭan
al-jazʾīrī bi ḥudūdihī al-ḥāliya al-maʿrūfa". This "Kalima sarīḥa",
as the article by ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs was entitled, had been and
remained his clearest statement on Algerian nationality. Farḥāt Abīs
had, meanwhile, conceded his error, in *La Defense*, 26 Avril 1936. His
own ideas on the value of assimilation were gradually being modified.
His association with S. ibn Jallūl, the president of the *Fédération*
des Elus, deteriorated after the Second Algerian Muslim Congress. His
friendship with ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs grew stronger. His late auto-
biography, *Le Mufti coloniale*, Paris, 1961, describes the evolution
of his own ideas from the urge for assimilation till the determination
to bring the independence of Algeria about by force of arms. This
chapter will describe how the ideas of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs on
the Algerian personality will have contributed to convert the great
majority of Algerians to his own position.

cession of the Turks and to share the bounties of civilization with them. The Evolués, whose little knowledge of their own Islamic past made them most inclined to adopt such French views, could not comprehend the determination of many Algerians to preserve that heritage which characterized their own backwardness .

2

2. The view publicized by L'entente ever since its foundation, in 1934, had fundamentally not been different from that which el-Misbah, ed. Fékar Larbi, Oran, 1904- , Le Musulman, ed. Sadek Denden, Constantine, 1909- , La voix indigène, ed. Rabbi Zénati, Constantine, 1929- , and other less important newspapers held over the future of Algeria. Assimilation to France had been seen by these French-educated evolués (the term was coined for them by the French and readily accepted by these Algerians) as the only plausible solution to their problems. It is so that, in 1912, the Manifeste jeune algérien drafted by Khelil Kaïd Laïoun read: "La jeunesse musulmane instruite ne sait que faire de son instruction... elle patouge dans la civilisation. Pas d'emplois à espérer, ni même voix écoutée au chapitre pour dire son mot, même dans les affaires locales, même dans les choses exclusivement indigènes. Ce n'est pas la soif d'égalité théorique, si légitime soit-elle, qui nous a fait parler, mais l'immense nécessité de défendre nos intérêts matériels les plus pressants, les plus immédiats". A delegation led by Dr. Benthami travelled to Paris, on 18 June 1912, to present the grievances of the Jeunes Algériens to the Government. At the eve of the war, this delegation re-affirmed its loyalty to France and expressed its desire to see the laws on the status of the Algerians removed so that complete assimilation be achieved. See C.-R. Ageron, Les Algériens Musulmans et la France (1871-1919), Paris, 1969, II, pp. 1030- ; Also, R. Ruyssen, Le code de l'indigénat en Algérie, Paris, 1908. In 1919, reforms were introduced by the liberal Governor-General Jonnart: the door towards assimilation was widened further. To the Evolués, these reforms were judged insufficient. As expressed Cherif Benhabyles' L'Algérie française vue par un indigène, Algiers, 1914, the Evolués were still discriminated against, in spite of naturalization and employment in the Government. In order to promote their case, they had sought to rally the entire Algerian population behind them. They branded the argument of action civilisatrice française. They espoused all the theories which went to indicate that here was France's primary concern in Algeria. These theories had been grafted upon the generally accepted view publicized by H. de Grammont's Histoire d'Alger sous la domination

The Algerian reformists had challenged this view of Algerian history. By the time Farhāt 'Abbās made his plea for assimilation to France, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had become enriched by the contributions of several important historical essays which all went to show that, although in a state of decadence at the eve of the French conquest, the Algerians were nevertheless not in any way in the state of barbarity some Algerians professed

tion turque (1516-1830), Paris, 1887, that this was a period of overt exploitation of the peoples of Algeria by their masters. France encountered barbarity upon landing in North Africa and sought to eradicate it. This view was being greatly elaborated at the eve of the Centenary. E.F. Gautier of the University of Algiers had prepared his L'évolution de l'Algérie de 1830 à 1930 for the occasion. Algeria prospered as a result of French government. "The hypothesis of Algerian independence is inconceivable... Algeria had never been independent...", see D. Gordon, The Passing..., p. 18. Another French scholar, A. Bernard the historian from the Sorbonne, had confirmed, in the volume on Algeria which he wrote for G. Monodaux, Histoire des colonies françaises et de l'expansion de la France dans le monde, Paris, 1931: "the Algerians whose sole industry, in 1830, was piracy now demanded French schools and desire to blend themselves with us", *ibid.*, p. 20. The editorial of the first issue of La voix indigène echoed such ideas: "Nous ne craignons pas d'exprimer l'avis suivant: l'Algérie doit devenir française... Aux Indigènes, nous dirons d'aller à la France avec confiance, de s'inspirer du génie français et de s'engager résolument dans la voie moderne. Aux Européens, nous recommanderons un peu plus d'esprit de conciliation, de justice à l'égard de ceux que les circonstances ont désormais indissolublement liés à eux". R. Zénati, the author of these lines, and the other leading Evolués welcomed the Violette proposal which V. Violette, at one time Governor-General, had made in his own l'Algérie vivra-t-elle?, Paris, 1931, and which condoned the principle that, eventually, all Algerians would become naturalized Frenchmen. More will be said on this later.

their own forefathers to be in. They had differentiated between barbarity and decadence and indicated that, while decadence had become a feature the Muslims would have to contend with, barbarity, on the other hand, was eradicated once and for all for the Believers by Islām .

3

3. The role which al-Bashīr Ṣafarr had played in the search, on the part of North Africans, for their own history begins to attract the attention of the scholars of the Maghrib today. This role had been connected with the Khaldūnīyya and was being influenced, no doubt, by ibn Khaldūn, whose History of the Berbers represented the sole major study of that area. The historical curiosity of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Maghribīs is to be tied to their own awareness of the decadence of North Africa. al-Bashīr Ṣafarr's Miftāḥ al-Tārikh, which I did not consult and which is mentioned in al-Muntadid, 8 October 1925, p. 1, appears to have laid the tone for historians to come. The questions this work seems to have raised had captured the imagination of several Algerians who had been associated with al-Shihāb. Their contribution resulted in the assertion that the histories of Algeria which had been written by the French were biased. For instance, both Muḥarak al-Millī's Tārikh al-Jazā'ir fi al-asāḍir wa al-ḥadīth, Constantine, V. I in 1928 and V. II in 1932, and Tawfiq al-Madani's Kitāb al-Jazā'ir, Algiers, 1932, had gone to show that, long before the coming of the French in 1830, Algeria had existed and had had its own greatness. al-Shihāb aired this opinion when it referred to the connex works of the Tunisian 'Uthmān al-Kaḥak, Belāghat al-'Arab fi al-Jazā'ir, Tunis, 1925, and Muḥiaz al-Tārikh al-ḥam fi al-Jazā'ir, Tunis, 1925 (in the May 1926 issue, p. 4) and the work of the Moroccan 'Abd al-Rahmān ibn Zaydān, Ithāf al-ḥam al-nās, Rabāt, V. I in 1929 and V. II in 1930, which concerns the history of western Algeria (in the March 1931 issue, p. 136). These works can be classified as belonging to the Salafi school of historiography in that they attributed the civilization of North Africa to Islām and its decadence to the departure on the part of its inhabitants from the tenets of religion. The implications of this view of history remain to be shown inasmuch as they would be related to France-Algeria.

Algeria cannot be France

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had shown little fear over the future of the Algerian nation. When the French landed in Algeria in 1830, they had found the population of this land to be of the Muslim faith. One hundred years later, the French still hoped to convert their Algerian subjects to their own civilization and nationality. They could never succeed as their own premises were wrong. As long as the Algerians retained their own religion, theirs was their best guarantee against either barbarity or assimilation⁴.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs clarified what he meant by the Algerian nation by refuting the claim that the Conquistador had liberated the Algerians from foreign bondage. The Arab invasion of North

4. The picture of Algerian society may have appeared grim, and indeed it did to one ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ibādī who wrote, in "Bilād al-ʿArabīya taht al-Sīk al-ʿurūbī", al-Shihāb, May 1937, p. 137, that: "al-haq anna al-ʿurūba wa al-islām māḥ al-andalus bi al-sūf wa al-ʿal-mashrib fa innahum yaddiyāni gabra illa in yaddarakha allāh bi lutfihi wa rahmatihī". ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had violently protested this view. In al-Shihāb, February 1938, p. 540, he had reported that, since 1830 and in spite of incessant efforts on the part of the Government to induce the Algerians to become naturalized, only 4,000 individuals out of a population of six million Muslims had, indeed, renounced their religion (it will be recalled that, under the Census-

Africa had, in fact, made the existence of nationhood possible for the inhabitants of the middle Maghrib. Indeed, before this invasion, the Berbers who had fallen prey to many foreign conquerors were never civilized. They remained in their state of barbarity. They could not found a nation of their own either. It is only as a result of Islām that Algeria was established. It is also because

5

of Islām that Algeria exists .

Consulte of 1865 and the Law of 1919, Algerians had to abandon their personal Muslim status, see J-P. Charnay, La vie musulmane..., p. 256). As early as 23 August 1925, al-Muntadid had quoted Mubārak al-Millī as affirming that Algeria was at the eve of its renaissance. This was repeated by ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs in al-Shihāb, April 1932, p. 223. There should, therefore, be no fear that Algeria cease to exist.

5. The role of Islām in Arabia, in the seventh century, had captured the attention of ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. The state of jāhiliyya of the Arabs was ended. A nation was created by Muhammad (karwana rasūl al-insāniyya wa rasūl al-‘awamiyya al-‘arabiyya umm al-‘alāma al-takwīn al-muḥkam al-‘azīm wa wajjahha li taqwā li al-islām wa al-bashariyya bi dhālika al-‘amal al-jalīl falam yukawwinha li taṣawwā ‘ala al-umam wa lākin li tanqidhum min sulṭat al-mustawliyyin bi ism al-dīn, from ‘Muḥammad rasūl al-‘awamiyya”, al-Shihāb, May 1936, p. 107) that would not have come about otherwise. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs likened the Arabs before the Prophet to the Berbers before Islām. These peoples resisted civilization and nationhood for many centuries until the Qur’ān brought about the fundamental principles of both civilization and nationhood to them. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs’s quest for historical data was determined by his own limited objectives. He has rejected, in al-Shihāb, April 1934, p. 29, the thesis propounded by Fāḥ al-Nasrūn on the state of poetry among the Arabs during their jāhiliyya. He relied upon Mubārak al-Millī and Tawfīq al-Madānī to indicate that the Berbers retained their barbaric customs in spite of a succession of rulers.

The Islamization of the Algerian Berbers provided them with the basis for religious and linguistic unity. Their political unity necessarily followed. It was gradually achieved by the successive dynasties which established themselves on part or all of the territory of present day Algeria. Under the rule of the Regents, Algeria reached the final stage of nationhood. Its borders were traced which differentiated it from neighbouring Tunisia and Morocco. It is this nation which had fallen to France in 1830. It is this nation which has been struggling for its autonomy ever since 1830. Its

They owed their name to the Romans who had failed to see any signs of civilization in them. Then came Islām. The Berbers who had always opposed their conquerors, for the first time welcomed the Arabs. al-Shihāb quoted Gustave LeBon: "lām yaʿrif al-tārikh fātihā arham min al-ʿarab li annhum fathū fath hiday- lā fath istiʿmār" (Nov 1936, p.107). Neither al-ʿilī nor al-Madani had mentioned the resistance of the Kahina which lasted until 701. ʿabd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs repeated their view that the Berbers joined hands with the Arabs in the conquest of Spain: "inna abnāʾ yaʿrab wa abnāʾ māziḡ add jamaʿa baynhum al-islām mudhū baqʿ ashraf am thumma dābat tilka al-qurūn tumazzij mā baynhum fī al-shidda wa al-ʿakās wa tuʿallif baynhum fī al-ʿasīr wa al-yaʿīr wa tuwakkidum fī al-sarāʾ wa al-darāʾ hatta kawwanat minhum mudhū ʿaḥab b-ʿida ʿunṣuran musliman jazāʾ iriyen ummuhū al-izāʾ ir wa ʿabū al-islām", see al-Shihāb, February 1936, p. 605. ʿabd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs and his followers were refuting the charges made by several Europeans that the Berbers had been conquered and exploited by the Arabs. In "al-islām mustaʿmir", al-Shihāb, March 1939, p. 167, ʿabd al-Hamid ibn Bādīs compared the Arab invasion of the Maghrib to the European invasion of America. In the former, the indigenous populations were civilized and became partners in all future campaigns while, in the latter, the indigenous Indians were exterminated.

national traits were based on Islām. Little did it share with the

6

national traits of France .

6. Algeria's history could be traced to the beginning of the 'abd al-Wāḍid dynasty, in the thirteenth century, although the city of Algiers itself was erected by Bulūjǧīn al-Zīrī three centuries earlier on the location of the islands (jazā'ir) which were settled by the Banū Muzgharna (see Description de l'Afrique septentrionale d'el Bekri, Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī's Kitāb al-Maghrib, trad. de Slane, Paris, 1913, p. 156). The actual Algerian entity resulted, meanwhile, when Baba Oruç moved his capital from Tījal to Algiers (the Angire, Algire, Argier, Argela and Argel for 16th and 17th century European historiography). From 1516 till 1830, Algeria received the shape we know it to have today. Tawfiq al-Madanī had delved into that period in Muhammad 'Uthmān Bāsha, Bay al-Jazā'ir (1593-1610), Algiers, 1937. His contribution was twofold: it showed that one could not speak of the Turkish occupation of Algeria, the Turks being Muslims, and that, during that period, great achievements had been made in the civilization of Algeria. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs highly praised this work, in al-Shihāb, September 1937, pp. 319-321. More will be said in what will follow. Meanwhile, the thesis that the Algerian identity could be found nowhere in 1830 was refuted outright by Mubārak al-Millī's Tarīkh..., II, pp. 402-403: the resistance of 'abd al-Qādir ibn Muhiyī al-Dīn was interpreted as the concerted effort of the Algerian people to oppose French occupation. 'abd al-Qādir was being referred to as al-Jazā'irī while the Qādirī coalition was played down. This may explain why several 'Ulamā' I spoke to at the Zaytūna considered 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs to be Qādirī; they themselves were Tījānīs. The historians attached to al-Shihāb had been writing in refutation of definite European claims. That they will have omitted to delve extensively into the rebellion in the Awrās, at the dawn of the Islamization of the Maghrib, that they will have ignored the consequences of the Hilālī and Sulaymī invasions for the economy of the area and that they will have presented Amīr Khālīd as a national hero is normal. The intellectual mood of this period was not conducive towards objective research. It is significant, for instance, that the only use which Mubārak al-Millī and Tawfiq al-Madanī made of ibn Khaldūn pertained to his study of the Berbers. His theory on the cyclical generation of Muslim polities did not interest them. More significant still is the observation that the only mention which 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs ever made in al-Shihāb of the great 14th century North African scholar was in terms of Law. ibn Khaldūn the faqīh received attention in the June-July 1938 issue, p. 188, in criticism of traditionalist Mālikī jurisprudence.

Indeed, both the culture and the civilization of the Algerians were distinct from the culture and the civilization of the French. The mores and the values of Algeria either accommodated to Islām or stemmed from it. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers pointed to the implications of the conversion of the Berbers to the religion of the Arabs. They had finally buried their secular divisions and submitted to the age of reason. They abandoned their unwritten languages for the language of the Qur’ān. All their institutions were consequently formulated by them and established for their own well-being. Learning had begun to prosper and civilization took roots in their cities. The mores and the values of Algeria conformed with the essentials of Islām. In order that Algeria become French, its people would have to undo history, abandon their religion and convert to the civilization of the French, as was being suggested by the ardent assimilationists among the Algerians⁷.

7. According to ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, the Qur’ān and Islām

in the Algerian identity had been Islām (see al-Shihāb, May 1930, p. 247). This had been explained at length in his new paper. Once the Berbers had converted to the religion of Muhammad, that which made them believe also induced them to act according to the norms of their faith. One Mubārak ibn Muhammad al-Salāfi wrote in the 10 February 1927 issue, p. 6: 'wa qadda al-ʿArab ila al-umma al-jazaʿiriyya waḥdataha al-lughawīyya bi ihlāl al-ʿArabīyya maḥal al-barbarīyya wa aʿānahum ʿala dhālika ḥajāt al-barbar ila al-ʿArabīyya min al-wuḥa al-dīniyya fa ʿasbaḥa shaʿbun ṣamīr al-lughā ʿarabī al-adīb'. Tawfiq al-Madani had reported, in Kitāb..., p. 40, that the historian ibn ʿAskar had praised the level of learning in Algiers in the 16th century. In Muhammad ʿUthmān Bāsha... he went to demonstrate that this intellectual revolution had led to the development of the craft, the political institutions and the arts. This period of the history of Algeria was well studied by G. Fisher's Barbary Legend... It indicated, indeed, that the Regency of Algiers had bloomed and benefited the entire Algerian territory. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's review of Muhammad ʿUthmān Bāsha..., in al-Shihāb, September 1937, pp. 319-321, provided him with the opportunity to underline the cause of such prosperity. In contrast with G. Fisher who attributed it to the ability to the Regents, assisted by the military power of the Ottoman Sultān and by the mercantile qualities of Jews immigrated from Aragon, to control the terms of trade to their own advantage, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had concentrated on the Islamic contribution to civilization. As was pointed out by al-Madani, there was an Islamic society and not one where the Turks ruled over the Berbers. This society abided by the Sharīʿa. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had not failed to point to the eminent place which the ʿUlamā held in that polity. Another associate of al-Shihāb, one Muṣṭafa al-Rāfiʿī, remarked in the May 1936 issue, p. 119, that historical continuity had been uninterrupted in Algeria ever since the Islamization of its people took place. In the picture he drew of Muslim Algeria, he contrasted the present religion of the Algerians to those of the pre-Islamic Berbers; Arabic had also replaced Berber; the Sharīʿa dislodged the ʿUrf. al-Rāfiʿī's Algerian values were the values of Islām and his mores were those of Algeria's Muslim history (wa al-ʿadāt hiya al-ʿadāt al-ladhiya ʿish fī al-ḥadīr fa al-ʿadāt qilāl al-madī fī kull shaʿb tarīkāt). In contrast with that Algerian entity was the French one which called for the surrender on the part of the Algerians of their entire history. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers rejected the possibility, let alone the feasibility, that this be attempted. On 2 August 1926, al-Shihāb made the distinction for the Algerians between their nationality and their loyalty to the Government: 'Inḥanū jazāʿiriyyūn muslimūn nuḥfīz ʿala jazāʿiriyyatīna wa islāmīna wa naḥnū farānḥiyyūn naḥnū naḥwa farānḥa bi kull wāḥidatīna ḥādhiḥi fikrat kulla jazāʿiriyyūn'. This was, in essence, the motto which the Muslim Boy-Scouts which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs founded in 1935 (Kashshafat al-Rajʿ), headed by M. ibn Tallis) adopted: Islām is my religion, Arabic is my language, Algeria is my country (see Leçons d'un anniversaire..., p. 4).

Algeria does not will to be France

The determination of Algerian reformism to resist assimilation to France had resulted from the view, on their part, that this would divert the Algerians from their unfinished task of bringing their nation to maturity. The seeds for Algerian nationality had been sown the time the Berbers of central North Africa embraced Islām. There remained for every Algerian to reap the full benefits of his religion, in terms of his civilization and his culture, before the Algerian nation could become completely established .

8

8. The view of history which was held by the associates of al-Shihāb had not been in contradiction with their Islāmic philosophy. They submitted that Islām was an ever expanding force in the world. Converts to that religion had been witnessed at successive times. In the Maghrib, the effects of Islām were not yet completed in that the pre-Islāmic features of that geographical area had not entirely disappeared. In al-Shihāb, February 1938, pp. 510-512, a rapid survey of this process was being presented the general public. The Berbers first accepted Islām, then followed the practical implementation of the shahāda to their lives. In the present, the development (naḍī) of Algeria was still incomplete. The survival of the Berber language and of Berber customs and the existence of the Evolués phenomenon well indicated that Algeria was not yet a nation whose religion was Islām, whose language was Arabic and who would not rest until this was achieved. In al-Shihāb, 1929, n. 6, in a lecture which al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī gave the members of Madī al-Farāqī, this idea was spelt in these words: "Yashāb hādha al-ḥaḍra al-ḥakīm mulāzīm lahu wa huwa al-ḥaḍra al-nashr al-luḥa al-ḥarabīya al-lati hiya luḥat al-dīn wa luḥat al-ḥadīth al-qawmīya wa luḥat al-tārikh al-qawmī".

Assimilation, it was rightfully contended, had been directed against the Arabic language. To 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Badīs and his followers, language and religion had become inseparably linked. The successful attempts, on the part of the French, to curtail the rights of Arabic in Algeria after 1830 jeopardized the Algerian nation as little else had in the recent past and in the present. Algerians could cling to their religion. The development of Algeria would depend on the extent to which the Arabic language would be allowed to thrive in all sectors of society .

9

9. The development of Algeria was what concerned the Algerian reformists. Speaking at the Annual Convention of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Badīs said: "fa ussistum 'ala dawā'id al-Islām wa al-'urūba...". About the renaissance of Algeria, he stated: "banaḥnāha 'ala al-dīn wa arkāniha...", see al-Shihāb, October 1937, pp. 357 and 359. In the May 1938 issue, p. 62, he wrote: "li al-muslimīna nāhiyatān nāhiya siyāsīyya dawliyya wa nāhiya 'adabiyya ijtīmā'iyya wa amma al-nāhiya al-'adabiyya al-ijtimā'iyya fa hiya al-lati wajib an taktam biha kull al-umam al-Islāmiyya li annha nāhiya tata'allaq bi al-muslim min jihat 'adidatihi wa akāsihi wa sulūkiki fī al-hayāt". al-Tayyib al-'Uqbī had been more explicit in al-Islāh and al-Shihāb, March 1930, pp. 153-154, reproduced his "Bān al-hayāt wa al-mawt": "amma al-tarīq al-awwal fa huwa tarīq al-tajānnus wa al-tanzul 'an al-qawāliyya wa al-luḡa wa nubūdh al-tārikh wa al-ta'ālīd wa al-dakḥūl fī jinsīyya jadida hiva jinsīyyat al-'unsur al-shālib wa al-iddimā'iyya wa qubūl mā yatba' dhālika min akāsihi jadida wa luḡa jadida wa 'adabiyya jadida wa amma al-tarīq al-thāni fa huwa tarīq al-muḥāfaẓa 'ala al-dhātīyya al-jazā'iyya ay al-muḥāfaẓa 'ala al-biḥāth wa 'ala luḡatiha wa 'ala ta'ālīdihā wa 'ala madaniyyatihā al-khāssa wa 'ala tawāliḥ al-rābi'a bayn qādirihā wa bayn tārikihā al-majīd wa al-akḥḥ min thamarat al-madaniyya al-sharbiyya bi kull nāfi' muḥid la"

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had focussed on the Berber segment of the Algerian nation. It represented the last stronghold of pre-Islamic features and would have to give in to the predication of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ. The French had long sought to preserve the Berber identities of the Awrās and of Kabylia. The various governments shielded these areas from the influence of Arabic-speaking Algeria. The missionaries, also, concentrated on the Berbers in their efforts to establish a foothold on Algerian soil. The reformists denounced the European policies of divide and rule which plagued Islām throughout North Africa. They tirelessly worked to mend the differences between Arabs and Berbers ¹⁰.

lā yamuss al-ʿaqīda al-dīniyya wa al-waṭaniyya wa lā yaʿtadī ʿala karāmāt al-bilād'''. This was in sharp contrast with the ideology put forward by La voix des humbles, ed. S. Façi, Oran, 1921, which was summarized in these words: ''Pour l'évolution des indigènes par la culture française''.

10. On 15 May 1930, in the French Protectorate of Morocco, a dahir (decree issued in the name of the Sultan) reverted the areas where Berber was spoken away from the Sharīʿa into the codified ʿUrf (see W. Zartman, Problems of new power: Morocco, New York, 1964, pp. 9-10). In Algeria, the French also had their politique kabyle which they inaugurated in 1871 (see Ch-R. Ageron, Les Algériens..., pp. 267-285). al-Shihāb, June 1935, pp. 233-239, and June 1937, pp. 202-203, thus

The problems which the Algerian reformists faced in promoting the Algerian identity were far more acute when they concerned the *Evolués*. They were the only Algerians to have become assimilated to the French culture. They also championed in Algeria the cause of naturalization. They represented the seriousmost opponent of Islamic reformism among the Algerians. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers would not have become concerned over the *Evolués* did they not assume them to be an integral part of the Algerian nation and one which had not ceased to grow in number and in importance ever

had warned that the aim of the so-called Berber Dahir was primarily to weaken Islām in Morocco. It prevented its subjects from the effects of Islamic civilization. It also eased the task of Christian proselytization among the Moroccan Berbers. In Algeria, during the establishment of the Financial Delegations, in 1898, the Berbers from the *Awrās* and from Kabylia and the Arabs from the lowlands were kept separate (see L. Milliot, 'Le Gouvernement de l'Algérie', pp. 30-34). The French took full advantage of frictions between both socio-cultural groups. In 1932, the reformists had reconciled Berbers and Arabs in Kabylia (see J. Despermet, 'Un réformateur...', p. 152). In 1939, al-Shihāb, May 1936, p. 54, uncovered French instigators in Tizwizū whose aims were to stand both linguistic groups against one another. Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs whose ethnic origins were certainly Berber had begun to sign his name as al-Ṣanhājī (see al-Shihāb, February 1936, p. 605). His struggle against Mystical Brotherhood had inevitably confronted him with the Berber identity and he sought to attenuate the consequences of a controversy which he wanted basically religious yet which carried its cultural implications because of the opinion of the Algerian reformists that the language of the Berbers was, in fact, the remnant of their pre-Islamic past and should be abandoned for Arabic, the language of Algeria's future.

11
since the Conquest .

11. Ismaél Hamet, the author of Les musulmans français du nord de l'Afrique, Paris, 1906, had deplored at the time that the Evolués were not sufficiently imbued with the French mentality (pp. 185-186). At the time of the first congress of the Fédération des Elus, held on 11 September 1927, its members had drafted a list of demands to be presented to the Government. These demands amounted to make the Algerians the equals of the French. They emphasized the limitations in education opportunities of the Muslims of Algeria. They called for the expansion of the French schooling system (see O. Depont, L'Algérie du Centenaire, Paris, 1928, p. 183). Years later Chérif Sisbane repeated this plea in his Note sur les réformes désirées par la Fédération des élus indigènes du département de Constantine, Constantine, 1931 (this association was formed in July 1930, see al-Shihab, August 1930, p. 434). The Evolués had not abandoned their determination to become assimilated to the French culture one day. On the question of naturalization, meanwhile, important changes of attitude had become noticeable after the first world war. Whereas the Jeunes Algériens had made little case over the terms of naturalization which were spelt out in the decree of 24 October 1870 and the Sénatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865, which called for the surrender on the part of the candidate of his own Muslim personal status, the Fédération des Elus objected strongly to the Law of 4 February 1919 which retained the concept of indigénat. On 11 September 1927, they demanded that the so-called Code de l'Indigénat be repealed (on this law, see O. Depont, L'Algérie..., p. 84). Algerians should be allowed to become naturalized Frenchmen without, for that matter, that they relinquish their Muslim status. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi had, no doubt, greatly welcomed this new line of thought. His faith in the Islamicness of the Algerian people had always been high. The Fédération des Elus, of course, had been moved against the discriminatory spirit of the Law and aimed at opening the doors towards naturalization wide open rather than wanted to preserve the Islamic features of the Algerians. This substantial change in approach, on the part of the Evolués, resulted in the unofficial 'Ulamā' and them eventually working together. Meanwhile, 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi put the blame for the departure of the Evolués from the religion of Islām on the 'Marabouts and the obscurantist 'Ulamā'. Siḥil..., p. 63, emphatically stated: 'min al-asbāb al-lati makkanat al-illāh fī nufūs al-shubbān al-muta'allimīn mujānabat 'ulamā' al-dīn al-jāmi'īn lahum wa nufūrukum minhum'. In 1934, the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' supported the establishment of a newspaper in the French language. La Défense, ed. Lamine Benoudi (al-Amin al-'Arabī) was printed in Algiers for the Evolués.

The language problem remained the most complex one for the Algerian reformists to solve. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs argued that the death of one's language would cause the death of one's nationality to follow. In Algeria, there is little doubt that the Arabic language was being seriously threatened by French. The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' would concentrate in great part on spreading this language in Algeria. Here was the language of civilization and culture of a people which, ever since the Conquest had been relegated to matters domestic to the nation. The rehabilitation of Arabic in Algeria would have to take place if Islām were, at all, to act meaningfully over the Algerians.

12

12. In a speech which 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had given on the Arabic language, he related that the poet Akmed Showaī had visited Algiers: "wa rawa 'an Bāst al-Sarbiyya fī al-ḥatba bi al-Sarbiyya al-Ulu bi al-Sarbiyya" (al-Shihāb, March 1934, p. 143). This sad state of affairs had resulted from the failure, on the part of the educators of Algeria, in the past, to meet their responsibilities and from the determination of the French to weaken Arabic. In 1886, for instance, the law of October 30 established state control of the teaching of Arabic (al-Shihāb, May 1938, p. 138). This was in strict contravention with the professed secularism of France in Algeria. The decree of 8 March 1938 had made the teaching of Arabic outside State-run schools a crime punishable by the courts (al-Shihāb, May 1938, p. 138). The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' defied the Government on this question. Arabic, to its members, was the language of civilization and of culture of Algeria and could not be legislated against. The movement

for the spread of the Arabic language gained momentum in spite of the arrest of several members of the association. Arabic was the language of civilization in Algeria. It was, indeed, the language of Islām. al-Shihāb, January 1934, p. 63, had reproduced an article by Shakhīb Arslān in which those who learnt about their religion from the writings of the Orientalists were being castigated. Like 'abd al-Hamīd, Arslān argued that, to claim Islām meant to be able to reach its teachings directly. The culture of the Algerian and their civilization could by no means be divided and to promote the one obviously benefited the other. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers therefore, concentrated on the dual task of predication and education. On the Arabic language, 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, addressing himself to the Evluēs, wrote in al-Shihāb, December 1936, p. 397: "wa lā yallīq bihi an ya'rifā shiksbīr qabla an ya'rifā al-mutanabbī...". He must have borrowed the image from Egypt. In his mind were the Evluēs whose fluency in the French language and French literature were, no doubt, most impressive. It will be recalled that, to the question "al-Islām al-dhātī wa al-Islām al-wirāthī ayyahuma yanḥad bi al-umam", 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had answered in al-Shihāb, May 1938, pp. 106-107: "amma al-Islām al-dhātī fa huwa Islām man yafham qawā'id al-Islām ...". The moto: "dīnī al-Islām wa lughatī al-'Arabīyya wa waṭanī al-Jazā'ir" which had resulted from a hymn the poet Muḥammad al-'Id composed for al-Shihāb, December 1937, pp. 452-453, summarized the ideology of Algerian reformism. al-'Id had been compared by Arslān to the Mekkan poet Bahā' Zuhayr, his contemporary, in al-Shihāb, March 1937, p. 122. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs called him the soul of Algeria (al-Shihāb, April 1934, p. 223). Muḥammad al-'Id had led the cultural renaissance of Algeria. He composed patriotic songs for the scouting groups affiliated to the reformist movement, the Rajā', the Ibbāl and the Shabāh (see al-Shihāb, May 1937, p. 143, September 1938, p. 288 and March 1938, p. 35). He also wrote plays for the Jam'iyat al-Shabāb al-Fannī of Constantine (see his Bilāl ibn Rabbah, in al-Shihāb, October 1938, p. 128). Other plays should be mentioned, al-Ramadanīyya and al-Tawba by Makki al-Junaydi, and Hannaba' by Tawfiq al-Madani (see al-Shihāb, July 1933, p. 348). They were being performed by the newly founded cultural centers which mushroomed in the cities of Algeria and were being inspired by the example of the center in Constantine. In Blida (December 1935, p. 528), in Miliya (May 1935, p. 112), in Sīdī ibn 'Abbās (February 1936, p. 632), in Guelma (April 1939, p. 155), in Bone (April 1932, p. 242) and in Oran (March 1936, p. 677) were the arts being encouraged. 'abd al-Rahmān al-Jundī, president of Jam'iyat al-Mazhar al-Būnī, wrote in al-Shihāb, July 1933, p. 348, on the benefits of theater for society and music for the individual. He saw all the signs of Algerian renaissance. The plea which Muḥarrak al-Millī made in al-Muntadī, 3 September 1925 (ayyuhā al-umam al-jazā'irīyya iri'ī ila dīnik wa lughatī fī al-ḥaqīqah al-ḥaqīqah bihi wa lan t'qadī bihi ila bi ikfā lughatīhi), was being answered by the great majority of the population. Impediments to the revival of Algerian civilization and culture in Algeria, on the other hand, remained the work of the French who opposed the Algerian renaissance for the implications it would carry for them in North Africa.

France and Algeria

The relationship between France and Algeria had lasted one century and it entered the second century. Among Frenchmen and Algerians alike there were various opinions as to how the future between the two countries should be. They ranged from the complete integration of Algeria to France to the immediate independence of Algeria from France. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs held his own view on the rapport between these two nations which history caused to interact. He could not agree with the integrationists as this would deny the right of Algeria towards nationhood. He dismissed the position held by Messali Hajj and his followers as totally unrealistic. Algeria had fallen to France in 1830 because of its weakness. Consequently, independence was the outcome of a deserving people and would be achieved in Algeria as soon as the evils of a backward society were cured by the Algerians.

13

Algerians .

13. Messali Hajj was born to an artisan family from Tlemcen in 1898. He migrated to France as a worker and joined the Hizb al-Nijma al-

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had shown little inclination for politics during the early years of his work. He dedicated his life towards the revival of Islām in Algeria. When he called upon the reformists of Algeria to work together, he made it clear that their actions would be a-political. When the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ was established, it openly stated that its concern would remain religious and cultural. It is not until ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs became assured that his mission was being jeopardized by the determination of the French to prevent reformism in Algeria that he finally rallied to the point of view of the political activists. He

Maḥribiyya which Ḥajj ʿAlī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz founded in Paris in 1926. He had rapidly risen to head this political movement and retained its alliance with the French Communists until Shukīb Arslān converted him to Arab Nationalism in 1935 (see D. Gordon, The Passing..., p. 28). Maḥribi Ḥajj had called for the independence of Algeria at a time when none other than him had proclaimed so. al-Muntaqid had made its development objectives known and hoped to achieve them bi-sāʿidat faransa al-dimuqrāṭiyya. al-Fayḍ al-ʿUbbī, in commemorating the 14 July 1926, wrote in al-Shiʿb, 15 July 1926, p. 1: ʿYā faransa umm al-burriyya innā al-jaḥāʾiriyyūn wurīdūn burriyyat al-ʿilm wa al-ʿamal wa al-taḥkīm wa al-nashr. At the first Algerian Muslim Congress, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs rejected the invitation of Maḥribi Ḥajj to work for the liberation of Algeria by means of the revolution of the workers. Together with the Fédération des Elus, the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ isolated the École Nord-Africaine at the congress (see al-Shiʿb, July 1926, p. 20).

realized the futility of expecting that the government in Paris assist the Algerians in their reconstruction. The real power was in the hands of the Settlers and they showed little preparedness to relinquish it for the sake of the Muslim population .

14

14. ʿAbd al-Ḥamid ibn Bādīs admitted the failure of his reliance on the good will of the Government when he wrote in al-Shihāb, February 1938, pp. 46-47: 'inna al-ʿaṣr ʿaṣr quwwa lā ʿaṣr haqq famā damna nuqaddim al-haqq wa nudāfi' Canhu bi sifatihi haqq lā waʿad mid illa ʿala al-naẓariyyāt wa al-aqwāl... ʿalayna an nukawwin anfusana takwinan jadīdan qawīyyan wa an takūna quwwatuna maddiyya fa ʿala quwwat kifāh silmi mashrūʿ in tokallamna istamaʿa al-nās aqwālana wa in talabna ʿijāba al-nās matālibana wa in ittajahna nahwa al-ḥukūma ʿamalātina kama tuʿmil al-aqwāyā lā kama tuʿmilna al-yawm'. He had in vain attempted to draw the attention of the rulers to the fact that their interests were not being catered to by the Settlers: 'naʿam tūjad fī al-bilād diʿāyan ʿanīfa qudd franṣa ianama lā y-aqūm biha missālī ḥajj wa lā al-nuwwāb wa lā al-ʿulamā' innama y-aqūmu biha wa yansurha wa yu-ḥadhdhina al-jumūd al-siyāsī al-ḥadhi vufīd laṣṣat maṣlaḥat franṣa al-lati hiya maṣlaḥatuna lākin maṣlaḥat al-ijlīya al-ḥadhiyya', see al-Shihāb, March 1938, p. 43. al-Najīb, whose loyalty to the Government was well established, cornered ʿAbd al-Ḥamid ibn Bādīs after his war of words with Farḥāt ʿAbbās in order that he state his position over independence. In al-Shihāb, May 1936, pp. 145-146, he had stated explicitly: 'inna al-istiqlāl haqq tabīʿī li kulli umma min umam al-dunya wa haqq istiqḍāʾat umam kānat dūnana fī al-quwwa wa al-ʿilm wa al-ḥadīth wa laṣṣa min al-ʿaṣr bal min al-murkin an waṭiʿa yawn tablaḥ fī al-ijzāʾ in damja ʿaliya min al-raʿī al-mādī wa al-ʿadabī wa tatagħaywar fī al-siyāsa al-istiḥḥāriyya ʿanna wa al-ḥadhiyya khaṣa ḥadha huwa al-istiqlāl al-ladhi natagħaywarhu lā istiqlāl al-nar wa al-dīn'. Meanwhile, the Algerians should expect little from the French in terms of reforms. In al-Shihāb, November 1937, p. 406, he again warned: 'lā naʿmid illa ʿala anfusana wa nattaḥil ʿala allāh thumma nahnu baʿda dhālika sanḥtāfīz li al-muḥsin bi iḥṣānī wa li al-muṣī bi istāʿtī wa al-khawr haqq wa in tāla li al-zamān hi i wa al-sharr ak ḥal mī ʿawḥitu min rāʿia'. This ancient determination had, no doubt, made ʿAbd al-Ḥamid ibn Bādīs strong and his weakness. This will receive due attention in our conclusion.

The change in the political structures of Algeria was being necessitated, according to 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, by the Algerian renaissance. In the past, the Algerians had succumbed to the manipulations of the French, unaware of their consequences for their own identity. They were, furthermore, a defeated people which had little say in its destinies. The reforms which 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs now demanded became Algeria's right. During the first world war, Algerians had died for France. The partnership between France and Algeria matured as a result of this historical event. It was high time the Government recognized its debts towards the Algerian people.

15

15. This notion of the rights which the Algerians had derived from their participation in the war was being reflected in the front page of al-Shihāb, after 1929: 'al-haq wa al-'adl wa al-mu'akkhat fi i'tisām al-huqūq li al-ladīna asmū bi jamī' al-wajibāt'. It was being borrowed from Khālid ibn Hashim ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jazā'irī (1875-1936), the grandson of the illustrious Algerian patriot, who had boldly submitted to President Wilson at Versailles the list of Algeria's grievances (al-Shihāb, February 1936, p. 624). Khālid had been exiled to Syria where he died. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs held prayers for the Amīr while al-Shihāb, which remarked that none of the Algerian establishment attended them, delved extensively in the details of his political role. According to the newspaper, Khālid had invited the population to rise but was let down. The reforms of 4 February 1919 which abolished the special indigenous taxes and increased Algerian representation resulted from his action. In an article entitled 'Alaw al-khubz kull mā nurīd', al-Shihāb, December 1936, p. 396, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs proclaimed: 'al-haq wa al-'adl wa al-mu'akkhat fi i'tisām al-huqūq li al-ladīna asmū bi jamī' al-wajibāt'.

The rights of the Algerian people were national rights. They pertained essentially to the civilization and to the culture of Algeria. They had been abused and denied in the past and continued to be so till the present. It is for this reason that 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs incessantly called for just representation, on the part of the Algerian nation, at all levels of the political system. He contended with the Algerian Muslim Congress as the most adequate representative of Algeria. Within the Congress, the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā represented the nation in its religious affairs. Other aspects of the life of Algerian society were catered to by its own representat-

qawmun lā nurīd illa al-khubz wa innā al-khubz 'indnā huwa kull shay'
wa innā idhā mālaḥat buṭūnā mahhadnā zuḥūrānā wa innahum idhā ḥāṭūnā
al-khubz ḥāṭūnā kull mā naṭlub fa hunālike mā 'alimtum min naṭālibnā
al-'ilmīyya wa al-iftīmā'iyā wa al-idtiṣādīyyā wa al-siyāsīyyā wa kull
ha ḡururīyyat fi al-hayāt'. And, in al-Shihāb, November 1937, p. 404:
'Innā al-urṣā al-jazā'iriyya tuṭālib faransa bi huḡūḡihā lima dafaṭṭhu
min thaman min darr abnā'ihā wa li māwāḡifhā al-ḡāḍiyya mā faransa fi
ayn shiddatihā wa lima hiya ḡāḍiyya bihī li faransa min kull mā hamala
ḡalūḡhā wa ladhā haḡḡ lā yastatī' an yankurhu shad yaktarim naṣaku wa
yuccadhir 'awāḡib al-tārikh'. This was in sharp contrast with the view
attributed by al-Shihāb, September 1938, pp. 68-69, to the 'National
Brotherhoods from the time of Bugaia till then: 'Idhā kunnā ḡadd
ḡabḡnā faransiyyīn fa ḡadd ḡadd ḡallā dhālike wa huwa 'ala kullī shay'
ḡadīr fa idhā ḡadd an yaksḡ al-faransiyyīn min ḡadīd al-bilād fa
wa kunnā dhālike ḡalūḡi ḡarīn waḡīr lā yastatī' an yankurhu shad yaktarim
naṣaku wa idhā ḡadd al-ḡawwā wa hiya māḡhar ḡadīd al-bilād
li innā'ihī'.

16
ives .

16. The Conquest and the Sen-tus-Consulte of 1865 granted all Algerians what 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs called political nationality (al-jinsiyya al-siyāsiyya) so as to differentiate it from ethnic nationality (al-jinsiyya al-qawmiyya). The two were obviously related and the demand, on the part of the delegates to the Algerian Muslim Congress, that definite political rights be granted the Algerian people could best secure, according to 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, the latter by way of the former: 'al-muhāfaẓa al-tāmma 'ala al-mumayyizāt al-shakhsiyya wa al-mutaleba bi jamī' al-huqūq al-siyāsiyya...', see al-Shihāb, February 1937, p. 505. The program of reforms agreed upon by the delegates to the Algerian Muslim Congress touched upon matters which were religious, economic, constitutional and political. All forms of interference, on the part of the French, in the well-being of the Algerians should be repealed. The so-called karrās al-mu'tamar, to be presented to the Government in July 1936, covered such subjects as the abolition of the status of indigénat, the prohibition against land expropriation, land redistribution, the right of labour to unionize, the right for representation in councils, assemblies and parliament. Concerning specifically 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers, the retention of the Muslim personal status, the separation of state affairs from religious affairs, the return of hubūs property to the Community, the independence of the 'Ulamā' and the rehabilitation of the Arabic language, were of vital importance. The Fédération des Elus, the Etoile Nord-Africaine, the Associations of School Teachers and War Veterans, who were represented at the Congress, acknowledged the right of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' to consider these demands as an integral part of badly needed reforms (see al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 235). By so doing, they had recognized the principles that, indeed, Algeria was a Muslim and an Arab entity. The Blum-Violette proposal, which would become a first step towards the adequate political representation of the Algerians, died in 1938. The Financial Delegates remained the sole representatives of the Muslims of Algeria. The Code de l'Indigénat survived. The Law of 8 March 1938 retained the control of the State over the teaching of Arabic. The unofficial 'Ulamā' were harassed as subversive elements and enemies of France would. The Government refused to relinquish its hold on hubūs property, on the administration of the Islamic law and on the training of the 'Ulamā'. Commenting on the past forty six years, 'Bayn al-māqā' wa al-hādīr', in al-Shihāb, April 1937, p. 67, had 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs indicate that, since the plea which Muḥammad al-Tāhir ibn al-Hajj Mu'izz, Ḥamīda ibn Bādīs and 'Ammār ibn Aḥmad made on 10 April 1891 to the French authorities for these same reforms, nothing had been achieved. In the last issue of al-Shihāb, August 1939, p. 356, he wrote: 'inna al-umma kādat taqtā' al-amal min istima' kalimat al-hukūma fī hādha al-mawdū' aw tara laha 'amal fī hādha al-mīdān'.

17

17. The social disorders of the thirties, in Algeria, differed radically from those of the previous century (the Margueritte revolt of 1902 in which Mers-el-Kharb was instrumental in causing the death of several Europeans was the last traditional revolt in Algeria, see Ch. Ageron, Les Algériens..., p. 606). In 1934, in Constantine, and in 1937, in Djidjelli, revolts of a social nature involved the new proletariat. They were not contained to Algeria but spread into Tunisia and Morocco (see Le Déniche de Constantine, 6 August 1934, 9 February 1937, 29 October 1937). Abd al-Qadir ibn Badis wrote in al-Shaikh, November 1937, p. 400: "Lamma nahnu fa inna natevaggan anna hāhiki al-umam al-islāmiyya al-ʿarabiyya istawzaṭ wa hābat li al-nuḥd wa sh-ʿarāt bi karāmatika wa sh-ʿarāt tadakur mādhika awḡam hurriyyatika wa istiqlāl-ika wa hukm shayr b-ʿid fī al-madī ʿanna fa inbaʿathat ʿamal li fakk awḡdika wa tabwīʿ tanzilatika al-lāʾia bika k- sʿir al-umam al-lāʾi lyaṣat hiya fī awḡmatika wa tarikhiha dunā". In Algeria, the Muslim

Modernism and Algeria

The struggle of the Algerians for political reforms had not been solely motivated by their determination to preserve their own identity. The Algerians faced their state of backwardness and were resolved to correct it. Whereas the reform of their society would be achieved by their return to the principles of their religion, the sciences which today flourished in Europe should be borrowed from the Europeans. The Muslims had already appropriated knowledge from other sources than their own in the past. Nothing prevented them from repeating this exercise in the present .

18

ims lost trust in France: "al-wāḥid¹ ana al-ihtifālāt bi murūr mi²at
Cam Cola ihtilāl al-jazā³ir lam tahmil li ahl al-bilād illa khitāban
fāriḡha wa mundhu arba⁴at a⁵wām lam yatshaddaq islāh waḥid mi⁶a al-isl-
āhat al-lati talabaha wa wu⁷id biha ahl al-bilād", al-Shihāb, June
1935, p. 239. And "hādhihi al-qawmīya al-lati lan tafna wa lan tazūl
hiya harakat umma turīd an tahfāz nafs-ha wa tusāwwin dhakrī aslāfiha
wa tahtafiz bi mumayyizātiha wa turāthiha al- anīq fa in kānat li ghayr-
ina karāmat fal ya⁸lam dhālika al-ghayr anna lana ayḡan karāma wa sha-
raf", al-Shihāb, May 1937, pp. 165-166.

18. The problem of Muslim backwardness greatly disturbed the Muslims after the middle of the seventeenth century. The observations by the Ottomans Koçi Bey and Hadji H-lifa Çelebi (see N. Berkes, The development of secularism in Turkey, Montreal, 1964, p. 19) were being shared by an ever growing number of Muslim intellectuals. In Algeria, 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers conceded to the Ev lues that, indeed, this country was in a state of backwardness in comparison to France, for instance. Civilization (tamadun) was presently in Europe

The Algerian reformists had refuted the view that Islām and the values which caused the Europeans to prosper were incompatible with one another. They had isolated the sciences and the technology of Europe from the rest of Western civilization and argued that only these should be borrowed by the Muslims. They had referred to the scientific knowledge which their forefathers appropriated to themselves from the Greeks, the Persians and the Indians. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs argued that they were only able to do so and benefit most from such appropriation in that they remained loyal to the principles of their religion and its language. This was a pre-condition which had been overlooked by the Evolués in Algeria¹⁹.

(al-Shihāb, 11 September 1927, p. 3). Over his Kitāb..., Tawfīq al-Madani commented, in al-Shihāb, May 1932, p. 261: "‘ulā’ika al-ladhina bazagha min ‘indahum al-tamaddun ayyām kāna al-gharb kulluhu fī zulimāt ba‘diha fawqa ba‘d...". Other nations had had their decadence as well and the Algerians should not despair.

19. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, addressing himself to the Evolués, had stated: "‘wa idha qāla abnā’ jilak al-muslimūn bi al-tha‘āfa al-jadīda inna al-haqīqa bint al-baḥth talmīhan aw ta‘rīd-n bi dīnak fa cull lahum mu‘azzizan mathalukum al-‘āla hādha anna al-islām sāmir al-baḥth wa khallīlihi wa ‘imādihi", see al-Shihāb, March 1930, p. 10. He had already quoted one M. Cassanova in saying, in al-Shihāb, January 1930, p. 29: "‘va ‘ta‘aid al-kathīrun minna anna al-muslimīn lā yastatī‘ūn

The Evolués confused the sciences harboured by the Europeans of the present with French civilization and French culture. They could not have been further misled. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs indicated the reasons behind European scientific achievement and compared it with the causes of decadence among the Muslims. The European renaissance stemmed from the liberation of the West from the shackles of their own Dark Ages. The contribution of the Muslims, at the time, was a significant one. The Europeans did not abandon their own identity for the sake of revival. Likewise, the Muslims should not be expected to surrender their own values for the sake of any kind of progress . 20

tamaththul arāḥana wa hadm afkārana wa taḥdīdūn dhālika wa yansūn anna nabī al-Islām huwa al-aḥḥad bi anna faḍl al-ʿilm khayr min faḍl al-ʿibāda".

20. al-Shihāb, September 1937, p. 314, reproduced an article by Muḥammad Ḥasḥayn Hawk-al. In 'Wasā'il al-iḥiyā' wa iḥiyā'una bi iḥiyā' mādīnā', the claim that Europe operated its renaissance by rejecting taqlīd and refuting jumūd, claim which suggested that the reforms being advocated by the iḥwā'īs would invariably result in the modernization of Islamic societies, was being aired. The same view was held by Shukīb Arsīlān whose Limādha ta'akkkhar al-muslimūn, Cairo, 1930, was partly reproduced in al-Shihāb, March 1931, pp. 211-224. The message of these authors was clear to the Algerians: they were mistaken to barter their own civilization and culture for those of the French. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs maintained that they would inevitably fail. The way towards modernization was to be sought within one's own religious tradition. The Evolués would simply have to reformat European history in order to test the veracity of this claim.

The attraction which certain Algerians had towards France, 'Abd al-Hamid rightfully remarked, remained essentially external and superficial. The Evolués borrowed the language of the French, their ways and their habits, their attitudes and their mentality. They had mistaken all these for the causes of European power. The advancements of the Europeans ought to be found in their mastery of scientific knowledge and technology and unless the Muslims were attracted by this feature of Europe, they were assured of little success in this world.

21. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi frowned upon the blind imitation of the Settlers by the Evolués, in al-Shihab, October 1938, p. 91: 'l-ysat al-madanīyya bi al-zakhrif al-lati yanshudha ba'd shabābuna al- an wa min warā'ihima al-shahwāt tahdim al-akhlāq al-fādila wa tadruk sarh hādhihi al-umma wa innama al-madanīyya mā sanna allāh li 'ibādihī fī kitābihī'. His observation was a correct one although he had failed to relate the superficial westernization of the colonial subject to the nature of colonialism (see, in contrast, A. Memmi, Portrait du colonisé précédé du portrait du colonisateur, Utrecht, 1966). Over assimilation, 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi had stated, in al-Shihab, February 1932, p. 174: 'inna al-ta'addus al-ladhi yab'ud min al-Islām khawrat al-shrī' yansihim min al-mu'tama' al-faransi wa lā yadkūlūhum fīhī'. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi had sensed the colonial situation correctly yet it is the Islamic identity rather than any socio-economic interpretation of French-Algerian relations which directed his thought. As early as 1926, in al-Shihab, 20 September, p. 2, he wrote: 'wa mā ta-dakkhara al-sharī'ūn illa li iḥlikim ilka al-sunūn al-lati hiya usul al-'umma'. In the tradition of modern reformism over the past century and a half, 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi clearly distinguished between sunūn or sunūn. While the former represented the key to religion (mistakenly), the latter were the key to development.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had committed his movement towards the modernization of Algeria. By this he explicitly meant the sciences which were now in the possession of the French should be acquired by the Algerians. He had congratulated themselves on their religion and on their language which made such modernization a simple formality. He gave the example of the Egyptians whom he considered were already well on their way towards mastering the techniques of the West. In comparison with the Algerian traditionalists, who successfully resisted all contact with the French civilization, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's stand on the desirability of his people to share in the techniques of the Christians could only but weaken the secular stigma against the totality of Western values.

22

22. He wrote in al-Shihāh, January 1932, p. 13: 'ʿal-ʿilm jihād al-hayāt al-wahid wa taʿlīm dinna ʿasās kull al-madanīyya ḡāʾib wa al-ʿumūn yanbū ʿal-tharwa wa innā kullā dhālika shart fī bulūḡ al-ḡāʾib min al-hayāt al-hadā wa al-madanīyya al-khulūʿiyya wa al-madīyya wa in mā tawallāhu min al-ḡawāʾil fī tafahhūm ḡāʾib al-nawāʾil wa fī ḡāʾib al-ḡadā ʿadd takūn kāfiya li bulūḡ al-hayāt al-nadī al-sāʾib'. The liberation of the mind which Islām had caused would consequently bring man to discover nature (idha karrana arwāḡana wa ʿuḡlana fa ʿadd

harrarnu kulla shay², al-Shihāb, January 1935, p. 548). al-Shihāb, 9 September 1926, p. 2, reproduced quotations from one Hugo Marx who had stated: "min al-mudhish anna falsafat kant tutābiq ta³alīm al-islām da⁴a kant ila al-⁵udūl an al-nazariyyāt ila al-haqā⁶iq wa rakkaza falsafatshu al-ikhilāfiyya ⁷ala al-dā⁸ida al-anīya i⁹māl mā tajīb an vashna¹⁰chu siwāk idha kāna makānak wa idha bika tajīd ta¹¹alīm al-islām al-ikhilāfiyya thumma shā¹²a akhīr mushtarak bayna falsafat sbīnūza wa bayna ta¹³alīm al-islām fa kilāhuma ya¹⁴ora an al-hawādith jamī¹⁵iha khā¹⁶di¹⁷a li irādat allāh wa innā li al-qadā¹⁸ wa al-qadār al-hukm al-a¹⁹la wa fa²⁰wa hādha fa innā al-faliyāsūf al-almānī nitshi yarmī ila nafs mā tara ilayhi ta²¹alīm al-islām fi mā yata²²allāq bi al-mithl al-a²³la idha kāna ya²⁴ta²⁵cid kama fi al-islām anna al-insān yartāfi²⁶ darajāt fi silm al-komāl bi ikhdā²⁷ nafsīhi li al-nozām wa anna al-ghāy²⁸ al-nihā²⁹iya li al-insān fi hādhihi al-hayāt hiya al-wusūl ila hādhihi al-martaba martabāt al-mithl al-a³⁰la wa yu³¹arrir al-islām kama yu³²arrir nitshi shamiyyat al-jism li al-rūh fa huwa yurīd an yakhda³³chu li al-nozām wa al-nozām fi³⁴ qur³⁵ al-islām mā³⁶nshu dabt al-nafs bi quwwat al-irāda wa khayr wasīlat li kabh al-shahwāt hiya quwwat al-irāda wa husn al-niyya ³⁷ala hādha fa innā najīd tashābuh tām bayna al-islām wa a³⁸ma³⁹ al-afkār al-falsafiyya al-urubiyya". al-Shihāb could not have been more apologetic in the address it made to the Evolues. This distorted exercise became understandable when one realizes how imbued the Evolues had become with everything Western. Now that Islām and a substantial part of Western thought were similar, there should be little point for the Evolues to continue to despise their religion. As al-Shihāb, 22 November 1926, p. 1, felt it should repeat: "yara al-gharbiyyūn hālat al-muslim al-ta⁴⁰ise fa yahsibūnha min dīn al-islām wa lākin al-ladhīna yadrusūn minhum al-islām darsan ⁴¹ilamīyyan yamtlikhum al-dahsh lima yushāhidun min al-fard bayna usūl al-islām wa ahwāl al-muslimīn". And over the invalidity of the Arabic language to cope with the sciences: "law lam takūn al-lughā al-⁴²arabiyya lughat madaniyya wa ⁴³umrān wa law lam takūn lughat muttasi⁴⁴at al-afā⁴⁵q ghaniyyat al-mufradāt wa al-tarākīb lima ista⁴⁶ta⁴⁷a aslāfukum an yandulū ilayha ⁴⁸ulūm yunān wa adāb fāris wa al-hind", see al-Shihāb, February 1939, p. 15. This was being addressed to the Evolues whom ⁴⁹Abd al-Farīd ibn Bādīs described, in the April 1936 issue, p. 11, in these words: "bi kaythi aktharuhum lā yata⁵⁰kallamūn ghāliban illa bi al-lughā al-⁵¹arabiyya wa law⁵² dhālike minhum bi qadā⁵³ al-ta⁵⁴zīkur bi al-tafarruj wa al-tashbīh al-mukhīf bi ummat hazat ⁵⁵ala al-quwwa wa al-madaniyya bal annahum fi dhālike muz⁵⁶amūn bi hukm ta⁵⁷allumihim al-lisān al-⁵⁸arabi wa qadā⁵⁹ lā ya⁶⁰qif hādha al-ta⁶¹thīr ⁶²inda al-takallum bal yata⁶³addāhu ila al-tafkīr nafsu⁶⁴ku hatta⁶⁵ fi shu⁶⁶bn al-hayāt al-⁶⁷adīyya". ⁶⁸Abd al-Farīd ibn Bādīs had urged the Evolues to learn their language. He encouraged those who did not know French to acquire its knowledge. He himself did not speak any French yet he agreed with ⁶⁹Muhammad ⁷⁰Abdū that none could serve his nation today who did not know a European language (see al-Shihāb, Farīkī, p. 24). al-Shihāb, 6 October 1927, encouraged the Evolues in the Arabic of the scientific subjects. The May 1936 issue, p. 22, continued on the condition related in Farīkī that

Secularism and Algeria

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been drawn into the discussion over the relationship between Religion and the State as a result of the

the Prophet had ordered one of his Companions to study the Book of the Jews so that, once he had learnt their language, he could correspond with them in their own language. The learning of foreign languages was being praised. The learning of Arabic remained a duty for every Algerian to abide by: 'min haqqina al-wajīb ʿalayna an nukarrim al-ʿArabīyya wa khuṣūsan man khadam al-ʿArabīyya bi ʿadlihi wa rūhihi wa ḥayātīhi... wa min haqqina aydan an nartabī bi anbaʾ al-ʿArabīyya irtibāt al-qalb wa al-lisān irtibāt al-ʿaql wa al-tafkīr irtibāt al-shuʿūr wa al-taʿdīr khuṣūsan ʿindama yataḥarrak al-shuʿūr al-ʿam li amrin ḥām wa tatawajjah al-qulūb al-ʿArabīyya li takrīm ʿazīm', see al-Shihāb, March 1934, p. 143. The gap which had been allowed to develop between the European languages and the Arabic language should be bridged, according to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, for the sake of achieving the modernization of Algeria. The example of Egypt where the sciences from Europe found their way into that country by means of the Arabic language, should be imitated. Instead, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had pointed to the type of traditional education which was being practiced in North Africa: 'fa baynama al-tilmīdh al-urubbī yataraddad ila al-madāris wa al-kulliyāt mutaladdiyan minha funūnan naẓariyya wa ʿamaliyya bi abṣaṭ uslūbihi wa ʿarabihi idha bi al-tilmīdh fī madārisna yataraddad bayna al-majālīs fī baḥr min al-khilāfāt wa al-munāqashāt al-mutarakima bi tūl al-zaman ʿala mā fī al-ʿulūm al-islāmiyya min jawhar ʿaṣī wa lubb mufīd', see al-Shihāb, 6 May 1927, p. 11. The reform of education was part of the modernization process. Its unification would also have to be achieved in which the pupil would soon become exposed to the teachings of his religion and to the sciences of Europe. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's argument for a national modern education in Algeria repeated the views of Bashīr al-Safarī in Tunisia. These views, to be found in Révue Tunisienne, II, 1895, pp. 277-278, were experimented with at the ʿAdīdiyya already. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, whose Tunisian experience deeply marked him, declared the absence of such an education in his country. The duty of every Algerian remained that he preserve his Muslim identity but never at the expense of the benefits of contemporary civilization (ʿadāzud khawāt al-ḥadāra al-ʿarabiyya). See al-Shihāb, June 1930, p. 282.

persisting interference of the French government in the religious affairs of the Algerians. After the Conquest, France was committed towards the complete respect of Islām in the newly acquired territory of North Africa. It had repeatedly formulated its successive policies with the overt intent of subverting that religion among its Muslim subjects. Both Evlués and unofficial 'Ulamā²³ had objected to the so-called indigenous policy of France in Algeria. While the Evlués urged the State not to perpetuate the religious institutions of traditional Algeria by protecting them against change, 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs differentiated between the existing relations between State and Religion in French Algeria and between the affairs of Islām in the life of the nation. They had supported the Evlués in their first contention. They warned against the implications of separating temporal and spiritual matters from one another.

23. The balance of Franco-Algerian relations had proved detrimental to Islām, according to 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. During one hundred years, the succession of French policies towards the Algerians interfered in the affairs of religion, in spite of repeated pledges on the part of the rulers that they would not do so. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs specifically pointed to the institutions of education and justice which, as soon as they became deprived of their endowed sources

of subsistence, were made financially dependent on the French State. By 1907, two hundred and thirty mosques, eighty two zāwiyas, the religious education at the three official madrasas and all Arabic education plus the entire qāḍī justice were being subsidized by the Government. Although the decree of 27 September 1907 re-iterated the independence of all Islamic affairs in Algeria from the State, the control which the State maintained over the hubūs made, in fact, such independence insignificant, each member of the religious staff in Algeria having to depend on the Government for his salary. See J. Courret, 'Le réformisme...', pp. 9-10. In 1909, a Law on education promoted the principle of secular education, reducing the teaching of religion to once a week. The so-called Kabyle policy of the Government, which aimed at attracting the Berbers away from Islam and Arabism, also undermined traditional education (see Ch-R. Ageron, Les Algériens..., pp. 332-334). Over the question of qāḍī justice, the decree of 17 April 1889, reduced the jurisdiction of the Shari'a to family and inheritance matters. In 1920, an attempt to codify this Islamic area of the Law had seen the Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Algiers, M. Morand, and the Director of Indigenous Affairs, M. Luciani, form a commission to study its feasibility (see Revue du Monde Musulman, June 1920, p. 20). In 1926, the Governor-General had appointed the members of this commission. They were French. al-Shihāb, 18 June 1926, p. 1, objected strongly to their qualification which indicated that a breach in the secularist policies of the Government was being perpetrated. In 1932, al-Hajj proposed the creation of a religious association to supervise the Islamic affairs of Algeria; this association would receive its directives from the religious establishment. al-Shihāb, November 1932, p. 571, rejected any formula in which the Government was directly or indirectly involved in the religion of the Algerians. During the Algerian Muslim Congress, in 1936, the objection of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' to the interference on the part of the State in matters of religion received the approval of all the delegates. The request that all hubūs property be reverted to the Community was made. This was the right of the Algerian nation. The Government should also withdraw from the field of education. The three existing madrasas should be replaced by new ones which the reformists would control. The function of qāḍī should be withdrawn from under the control of the State (see al-Shihāb, July 1936, p. 211). The Evolués had supported the unofficial 'Ulamā' in this demand not so much because they agreed with the principle of non-interference on the part of the French State in the Islamic affairs of the Algerians as in that they saw the religious policies of France as having sustained traditionalism in Algeria for much too long. Their own 'Islamicism' was, no doubt, well in the tradition of Voltaire and they deplored that the French assisted in the perpetuation of obscurantism among the Algerians. The 'anticlericalism' of many Evolués, R. Zenati and S. ibn Jallūl especially, had been directed against the members of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' whose aspirations were undoubtedly seen as reactionary as were those of the religious establishment itself. Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bāz was well aware of these sentiments and his own discussion over the general problem of Secularism ought to be perceived in this new context.

The separation between the affairs of the French state and Algerian Islam had been advocated by 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis and his followers so that matters of religion not become dissociated from the worldly matters of Algeria. The view that civilization could not be achieved outside nationhood and the contention that the nation had stemmed from religion, this view and that contention had not been restricted by the Algerian reformists to the only Muslims. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis argued that the very greatness of Europe resulted from the impact of Christianity over the Europeans. In his own time, he pointed to the major areas of European transformation, Eastern and Western Europe. Under Communism which set to destroy religion, chaos was the outcome. Fascism, on the contrary, had sought to rehabilitate religion and caused significant prosperity to take place. Both the French and the Europeans should remember that if they really showed any concern for Algeria in the present age.

24

24. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis acquired most of his notions about Communism and Fascism from 'Abd al-Aziz. al-Naba, March 1933, no. 142-

The debate over temporal versus spiritual matters swept Algeria as it had many other Muslim countries. The Turkish Revolution had set it on a new course. The various steps which were taken in Turkey in order to bring about the separation between Islām and the State did not pass unnoticed among the Algerians. The Evluvs hailed the reforms of Mustafa Kemal and the traditionalists deplored them.

186, carried an article by him which Arslān entitled "'Hal yadūlūna anna al-hukūma al-almāniyya rāji'iyya wa ann al-umma al-almāniyya umma shayr rājiya wa lā ʿaṣrīyya?'" In it, he had pointed out that Hitler rested the German Nation on Christianity and on its Christian past. This article was directed to the Turks but also to the Persians and the Arabs who began to toy with such ideas. No European nation was secular, according to Shakhīb Arslān: "fa al-zam bi anna al-urubīyīn tar-kū ʿaḍā'idhum wa ʿawā'idhum fa naichū laysa shih". This view was well in accord with that held by ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. Over the claim that France, for instance, was a secular nation, ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs saw little convincing evidence to this effect. In Algeria, the Church was a privileged institution. He wrote in al-Shihāb, October 1933, p. 439, in "Wiḥdat al-dīn wa al-duniya wa al-jamʿ bayna hum": "wa min ʿazam al-khatāya al-lati iṭarafath al-umam zannahum bi al-ikhtilāf bayna al-duniya wa al-dīn fa zaʿamū anna al-dīn wa al-duniya mutadāʿīn". This was the view which prevailed among the Communists. ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs who realized the fear of the Government for the spread of that ideology in Algeria advised them, in al-Shihāb, February 1932, p. 165: "wa naḥm tabāḍul tilka al-ʿawā'id al-lati ʿadathā fī al-shihāb ʿadīn ʿal-ṭaḥlīb al-ʿadī ʿala ʿayn ʿatīf mahmā kāna mustawāhu min al-rādī aw al-inḥitāt li annahu bi ʿitratiki al-islāmiyya al-lati fatāna ʿalayha yataḥash kull mā yuḡāḍim tilka al-ṣīra al-ʿaṣīya... fa min maslḥat al-sivāsa al-islāmiyya idhna tashjīl tilka al-thaʿāfa al-islāmiyya wa baṭṭalaha fī jamīʿ al-awā'id". Remained his own interpretation of Kemalism which many Evluvs shared as the first successful implementation of Secularism in any Muslim country.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs adopted a middle course. He regretted the promulgation of the Turkish Constitution of 1924, the abolition of the Muslim calendar and its replacement by the essentially Christian European calendar, and the adoption of European laws to replace the Sharīʿa. He had showed great understanding, however, for Mustafa Kemal whom, he considered, many had judged harshly and misunderstood in the process .

25

25. Eulogizing the father of modern Turkey, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs stated, in al-Shihāb, November 1938, p. 131: ''wa qawama dhālika al-khalīfa al-ʿasīr wa hukūmatahu al-mutadāʿiya wa shuyūkhahu al-dajjālīn min al-dākhil wa nahara duwall al-sharb min al-khārīj fa lam yakun kamāl muhiyī turkiyya waḥdah bal muhiyī al-sharʿ al-islāmī kulluhu''. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been categorical in his appraisal of the Ghāzī's relationship towards Islām: ''lam yathūr ʿala al-islām bal thāra ʿala al-l-dhīn yusammūn bi al-muslimīn (p. 132)''. The abolition of the Caliphate was, indeed, a commendable and courageous act. In another context, in al-Shihāb, May 1938, p. 63, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs stated: ''inna khayr al-khalāfa lan yathāʿud wa inna al-muslimīn sa yanhūnawman mā ila hādha al-ray''. The decadence of Turkey had been attributed to the Caliph, to the Shuyūkh al-Islām, to the ʿUlamā and to the Tarīqas. Mustafa Kemal abolished their functions and made Islām, for the first time, accessible to the people by making the Turkish language the means for understanding their religion. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs approved the use of Turkish in the adhān as well as the translation of the Qurʾān into the Turkish language. It is significant that his opponents on the Algerian language question, the Kabyle Rabbi Zénati among others, did not exploit this very contradiction. Over the Swiss civil code, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs maintained that the Mecelle was based upon the Ḥanafī madhhab and not upon the universal Sharīʿa. On p. 133, he wrote: ''inna mustafa kamāl nazaʿa ʿan al-ṣarḥ al-ḥkam al-sharʿiyya wa laya masʿulūn fī dhālika waḥdah wa fī irkānīhim an yastarjūha mata shāʾu wa kayfama shāʾu wa lākinahu

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs warned, however, the supporters of the Turkish Revolution and their admirers throughout the Muslim world against the excessive reforms which could turn the Muslims away from their religion and their national identity. The trend in the various countries had become that of re-interpreting religion to mean the faith of the individual in extra-terrestrial powers. In Algeria, certainly, the separation between things which were earthly and the things concerning the after-world gained popularity among an ever greater number of Muslims. Religion battled these subversive forces which would ultimately cause national identity and social life to become debilitated. The message of Islām was

rajjiaʿa lahum hurriyatuhum wa istiqlālūhum wa siyādatuhum wa ʿuzmatuhum bayna umam al-ard wa dhālika mā lā yashāh istirjāʿuhu law dāʿa". ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had obviously become dazzled with the victory which Muslims, for the first time in many centuries, scored against Europeans. He was prepared to forgive Mustafa Kemal all other sins especially that, as will be indicated in the next paragraph, his faith in the survival of Islām remained unshaken. al-Shihāb, October 1931, reproduced at the same time an interview with the Kazan Tatar ʿālim and traveller, Mūsā Jārullāh Bigiev (1875-1949). Bigiev had been asked about the state of Islām in Turkey. He emphatically rejected the insinuations of his interviewer, an Indian khālifist, that Kemal was an enemy of Islām and that his reforms had dealt Islām a deadly blow. This interview had certainly impressed ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs favourably towards Atatürk.

addressed to this world before it envisaged the next world. Secularism, therefore, was the Muslims seriousmost threat and should be resit-

26
ed .

26. The subversion of Islām by ideologies which advocated that religion was a personal matter and should not interfere with the nation and the state was a matter of deep concern for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs. About the decadence of the Muslims, he wrote, in al-Shihāb, October 1933, p. 442: 'tarāḥat fawāq al-islām al-sabgha al-yahūdīyya wa al-masīḥīyya wa imtāza 'inda al-muslimīn al-dīn 'an al-duniya hayth ja'alahuma amrayn mustaghilayn'. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs witnessed the symptoms of such division in various segments of the Algerian population. al-Najīh had suggested that religion become dissociated from all temporal affairs on 17 August 1928 and al-Shihāb refuted the concept of dīn, which ʿAbd al-Ḥafīz ibn al-Ḥāshimī, its editor, used in its secular meaning. The traditionalists, on the other hand, welcomed the liberalism of the Government in matters of Islām and had well accommodated themselves to upholding the colonial system as long as the practice of their religion was not interfered with. al-Shihāb, 23 June 1927, p. 3, rejected this attitude of complacency emphasising that Islām was a way of life. It is interesting to note that little mention or comment had been made by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs of the controversy which raged in Egypt over ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāzī's al-Islām wa usūl al-hukm, Cairo, 1925. al-Shihāb had not commented either on the movement which Ḥasan al-Banna founded at the eve of the Second World War. It may well be that his friendship with Rashīd Riḍa prevented him from venturing his own views on the question of the Caliphate. The Ikawān, on the other hand, were too embryonic and too close to al-Manār in that early stage so as to receive special consideration. It must be remembered that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's concern with the rest of the Muslims attracted him in as much as it touched upon his own Algerian situation. Events in Turkey were certainly of great interest to all Algerians. He therefore considered it his duty to sound warnings to the Kemalists in Turkey when he urged them not to trail after the Europeans. In al-Shihāb 10 November 1927, p. 5, in 'Kunn ra'san wa lā takun dānab', he urged Mustafa Kemal not to adopt everything Western without discrimination. He had believed, like all the Islamic reformists before him, that the Muslims could choose from Europe what they needed for their well being. The swift Westernization of Turkey by its new ruler spiced his own belief and led him to remind the Ghāfī of the Eastern nature of his country. His idea on the fundamental difference between the East and the West is rightly recovered that we consider it now.

Algeria and the East

To contend that Islām remained at the basis of Algerian nationality and to aspire for an Islamic nationality were two separate matters for Algerian reformism. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had mistakenly become accused of the latter by his opponents who detected too great an emphasis on Islām on his part. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs certainly provided them with enough grounds to misjudge him. His conviction that the world was divided into East and West with Christianity and Islām having been demarcated along these lines could not but lead to confusion. The attributes which ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs gave the East and the West ought to be measured against his own views on Islamism and on Arabism. He had provided his own followers with an identity which was essentially Islamic. Remained for him to relate this identity with those of other Muslims.

27

27. ‘Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs wrote in al-Sharīf, September 1932, p. 477: ‘Umm al-jazā’ir liyya ‘umma sharāfiyya islāmiyya tarakkabat ‘amshārihā min mabādī al-sarā wa al-islām. ‘Alayha in ‘abād al-taba‘ ‘umma yattasil mustaqbaluha wa hādihā bi wāḥida taḥḥiz

The East and the West had represented two distinct areas in which civilization and nationhood arose essentially from the impact of Islam and Christianity respectively on the peoples of parts of Africa and Asia, for the East, and on the peoples of Europe and America, for the West. East and West may have become interrelated to one another in recent times and as a result of European colonialism. In fact, they retained their own identities and their particular features in spite of common histories in the not too distant past. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi' had been confident in the survival of the East

'ala mabadi' al-Islam'. This reformist credo which, in fact, rendered the colonial concept of the franco-musulman invalid had drawn the anger of the supporters of the Government, Frenchmen and Algerians alike. al-Shihab, February 1933, p. 136, reported, for instance, the lecture of one M. Pellage to the alumni of the Madrasa in Fes in which he accused the Association of Algerian 'Ulama' of fanaticism. In the April 1933 issue, p. 235, one C. Colombe accused 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi' and his followers of being the agents of Pan-Islamism and Wahhabism in Algeria. This was repeated in al-Haish, 24 April 1936, and the Algerian reformists were referred to as muta'assibin. The newspaper stated: 'inna dinna din wa 'adida wa layso huwa bi dinna watanī siyāsī itimā'ī dīn tatamatta' bīhi al-aufūs lī al-ajām iana hādha al-dīn tarīqat khala wa rajā' wa layso huwa bi duktur kamil ta'arid 'alayhi hukūmat wa idā'at mamlik'. This was in reply to the praiseworthy attitude of al-Shihab towards 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Su'ūd, referred to in the April 1935 issue, p. 62, as Malik al-Islam. His reforms had excited so much enthusiasm on the part of the Algerian reformists as had those of Mustafa Kemal. In Algeria, the great sympathy for 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Badi' and his followers displayed towards the Arab monarch was being interpreted as enough evidence for their participation in an international Muslim conspiracy against the Europeans.

in the face of the deadliest blows which it kept receiving from the West. It began, meanwhile, to repeal the thrust of its enemies from within its lands. The awakening of the East was imminent 28.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs favoured the concerted action of the Muslims in order to improve their lot. al-Shihāb showed concern for all that took place in the Muslim world. The abolition of the Caliphate, in 1924, drew a cry of unanimity from all Islamic lands

28. It appears as though this idea of the Muslim East versus the Christian West will have originated with Shukīb Arslān. The first mention of East and West, in al-Muntaqid, 10 September 1925, p. 3, reproduced a poem by the Lebanese activist in which the religion of the Easterners and that of the Westerners were contrasted. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs took these concepts from there further on. He showed the fundamental differences which existed between the two religions on their adepts. In his interpretation of the Qurʾānic verse: 'fa men iʿtada ʿalaykum fa iʿtadu ʿalayhi bi mithli mā iʿtada ʿalaykum wa iʿtaqu allāh wa ʿalamū anna allāh maʿa al-muttaqīn' in al-Shihāb, September 1937, p. 307, he argued that the Muslims were being urged by their religion to defend its features against all those who would undermine it. The relationship between the East and the West was determined by the determination on the part of the West to attack the East on its own grounds. The East, on the other hand, always showed tolerance towards the West. It was thus normal that the military victory of the Turks over the Greeks, in 1922, be hailed by many Muslims. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs commemorated it by reading a poem at the Green Mosque on the very day of the Hawlīd: 'wa darru lana yā mustafa saʿfā murhafa li naqri dīn al-mustafa abtāḥ turkiyya al-faṭṭān sarū dīnana al-hamāh abnāʾ ulāʾik al-shuʿāh nā al-al-mulūk al-ʿaṭīqīn...', reported by al-Zuwāwī ibn al-Jawālī. Elsewhere, in the Muslim world, the awakening of the Muslims had begun. 'Inna bi al-jawālī al-yawm kama bi al-awṭān al-sharīf al-karīm mubāraka...', see al-Shihāb, April 1932, p. 223. The awakening of this awake lot, no doubt, was the Association of Algerian Muslims.

in apprehension of what this may mean for the future of the unity of the Muslims. Islamic reformism also embarked the various Islamic peoples in their confrontations with their European masters and their traditional leaders. There was finally the debate over Modernism and Secularism which the westernized Muslims had inaugurated.

ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Badi would not dissociate himself from the concerns of Muslims outside Algeria. He dismissed, however, the charges of Muslim nationalism which were being made against him when he indicated that the problems of Algeria would receive precedence

over those of other Muslim countries for him and his followers 29 .

29. ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Badi differed in his interests from Rashid Rida in that he always limited his objectives to Algeria rather than the entire Muslim world: “la yusa al-shara umma wa hida yunkin an takun matlibuhu wa hida bal huwa umma kathira mukhtalifa takhtlif matlibuha bi ihtilaf nafsiyyatin wa shawalin al-ittimāʿiya wa zurʿatin al-siyasiyya”, in al-Shihab, 21 July 1927, p. 2. This was most apparent on the question of the Caliphate. al-Shihab was not represented at the Congress on the Caliphate, held in Cairo from 13 till 19 May 1926. Nor did any of ʿAbd al-Hamid ibn Badi's followers attend the Islamic Congress which was held in Mecca on 7 June 1926. These two congresses were concerned with the rehabilitation of the function of the Caliphate, in Turkey or in Arabia, and Rashid Rida played an active though unsuccessful part in each of them (see A. Sekaly, “Les Deux Congrès...”). His interest in a Higher Islamic Committee to rally all reformist movements from all over the West, on the contrary, remained his dream (see al-Shihab,

The relationship of Algeria with the Arabs, from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean, was a different matter for 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. The affinities of the Algerian people with the Arabic speaking peoples were such that he conceded to Arab nationalism that all the Arabs, including the Algerians, would ultimately become united into one single nation. Their religion, their language and their history made such unity inevitable. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had warned against the regionalists among the nationalists who promoted divisive attitudes among the Arabs. In North Africa, he

January 1938, p. 134). This body would share in formulating the single Sharī'a as well as it would discuss the problems which the Muslims shared in common. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had, no doubt, been impressed by the institution of the Church which he admired for its centralization (see al-Shihāb, May 1939, pp. 112-113). His utopian conception of an integrated East was being reflected by such little things as his call for all Muslims to celebrate their religious feasts as national feasts (see al-Shihāb, May 1931, p. 309) or in his advice to Mustafa Kemal which read that the Muslims had their own Friday to rest on, their own music, their own calendar (see al-Shihāb, 10 November 1927, p. 5). The specificity of the East permeated all aspects of life and 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs envisaged the day when the 'Umma would play a still greater role in society. The theocratic ideal which he owed Ibn 'Arabi, no doubt, was present in his mind. In al-Shihāb, March 1932, p. 5, he stated: 'Il faut al-muslimūn hizban wa-nubhan yakūnūna yawma min al-umma'. The process which 'Muhammad had begun still remained to be achieved and completed.

saw Maghribī nationalism as featuring Berberism in disguise. In the controversy which opposed Shakhīb Arslān and Sulaymān al-Bārūnī over the future of the Maghrib, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs sided with the former against the latter thus deserving the place he was given by friend and foe among the leaders of Arabism .

30

30. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs indicated that Algeria became Arab as soon as the majority of its people adopted its language. The concept was linguistic rather than ethnic for him. In 'Muḥammad rasūl al-qawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya', al-Shihāb, May 1936, p. 105, he provided the following Tradition in evidence of this: 'Jāʿa qays ibn maʿāṭa ila ḥalaqa fīha sulaymān al-fārisī wa suhayb al-rūmī wa bilāl al-habashī...'. The confrontation which had opposed the Arab to the foreign neophytes was, no doubt, racial. The Prophet judged it opportune to interfere: 'ayyuha al-nās al-rabb wal al-ʿab waḥid wa inna al-dīn waḥid wa laysat al-ʿarabiyya bi ʿahdikum min abin wa lā ummin wa innama hiya al-lisān fa man takallama bi al-ʿarabiyya wa huwa ʿarabī'. This Tradition addressed itself perfectly to the Algerians and sought to alleviate the racial tensions between Berber and Arab. Racial identity had remained strong ever since the Islamization of the Maghrib and its Muslims prided themselves in tracing their own lineage to some Arabian ancestry. In al-Shihāb, February 1938, p. 511, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs indicated that the Arabization of Algeria accompanied its Islamization and he congratulated the Berbers for this linguistic mutation. It is therefore evident that, when the Libyan Sulaymān Bāsha al-Bārūnī claimed that he was a Maghribī nationalist, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs could not agree. He sided with Shakhīb Arslān in maintaining that the North African entities of Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco were part of the Arab Nation which stretched from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. These entities were incomplete to sustain a nationality of their own and the Berber identity of the Maghrib was simply the means of colonialism to divide the Arabs so as to rule them (see al-Shihāb, December 1937, pp. 322-323). In al-Shihāb, August 1932, p. 489, he had conceded that the North African entity did exist in that its parts shared the same religion, the same sentiments and the same plight. These were also the bonds of Arabism and should not be forgotten or belittled.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs and his followers had concerned themselves with all that affected the Arabs inside and outside Algeria. Their great Arab awareness and their acute Arab sensitivity had been misread by Shakhīb Arslān who campaigned for the instant liberation of all Arab territories and for their unity. Shakhīb Arslān was being motivated by his own sense of political action. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs could not share this view of national maturity. He was a reformist first and foremost. He saw the reconstruction of Algeria as having to precede any greater Arab unity. It should be accompanied by similar reconstruction in the various parts of the Arab Nation. Indeed, as much as disunity had resulted from decadence, the eradication of the causes of decadence would bring the unity which all Arabs aspired for about. The meaning which ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs continued to attribute to nationalism was well in accord with the mission he had attributed to the prophet Muḥammad ^{31.}.

31. The space which al-Shihāb reserved for news and commentaries on

The Meaning of Nationalism

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had not formulated his ideas on the Algerian nation independently from the reformism of Algerian Islām.

the Arab world were far from insignificant. Tawfīq al-Madani, certainly the most ardent Arab nationalist among ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's followers, carried a monthly review of event in the East and in the West. His column concerned itself with the liberation movements in the Arab lands (see al-Shihāb, January 1938, p. 15, on the struggle of the Libyans against Italian occupation, and August 1938, p. 137, on the up-coming Congress on Palestine, to be held in Cairo on 17 October 1938). The regular correspondence which ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs carried with Shakīb Arslān has oftentimes been mentioned. He was also in contact with Amīn al-Husaynī, the Muftī of Jerusalem and the main Palestinian patriot of the pre-war period. Others to be mentioned were ʿalāl al-Fāsī, in Morocco, ʿabd al-ʿAzīz al-Thaʿālībī, in Tūnis, and ʿUmar al-Mukhtār, in Lybia. This concern had not made ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs neglect however his prime concern for Algeria. In al-Shihāb, January 1938, pp. 472-473, in "al-Wihda al-ʿarabiyya hal bayna al-ʿarab wihda siyasiyya", he argued with Shakīb Arslān over the meaning of unity. He had indicated that unity already did exist between all Arab speaking people, and he included here the Christians of Lebanon whom, in al-Shihāb, 11, September 1927, p. 6, he congratulated on the care they showed to protect the language that had been entrusted to them, these Arabs were united at the levels of culture, history and civilization. The type of unity which Arslān had called for remained, according to ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, a political one and could only be reached by free nations. It was not the most important one as it would become the last to be achieved by the Arabs. More important remained the unity in reformism and aspirations. This, al-Shihāb was confident would not be far away. The isolation of the Maghrib from the rest of the Arabs of the Mashriq had been ended and ever greater cooperation was being witnessed between the various reformist and nationalist organizations. The Association of Algerian ʿUlamā cemented close links with the Istiqlāl Party, the Dustūr Party, in the Maghrib, and with the mouthpiece of Arab Nationalism in the Mashriq, the Rabita al-ʿArabiyya of Cairo and the Jazīra of Damascus. That the conflict will have remained localized with Shakīb Arslān on this issue is due to ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's specific concern for the religious reformism of his society whereas Shakīb Arslān's concerns were of a secularist nature. This will appear more clearly in the paragraph that follows.

Nor had he conceived of reformism as an ideology for the Algerians.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's commitments reflected his own philosophy of history which was distinctly Islamic. The revelation made to the prophet Muḥammad had been addressed to humanity for all times to come. The significance of Islām for mankind had made itself felt in the nation which was brought about in Arabia as a result of the flight of the Prophet and his Followers from Makka to Madīna. This nation has been growing ever since and not too far is the day when

32

the entire human race will submit to its laws .

32. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs underlined that the Qurʾān had been revealed to an Arab in his language. The Arab nation (or religious community) which resulted from the prophecy of Muḥammad had destined its message to the whole world. This process of conversion had been willed by God who, otherwise, would have created this world differently. This commentary on the verse: "Wa anzalna ilayka al-kitāba bi al-ḥaqqi musaddiqan lima bayna yadayhi min al-kitābi wa muḥayyiman ʿalayhi fa uhkum baynahum bima anzala allāh wa lā tattabiʿu ḥwāʾishum ʿamma jāʾaka min al-ḥaqqi li kullin jaʿalne minkum shirʿatan wa minhājan wa law shāʾa allāh lajaʿalakum ummatan wāhida wa lākin li yabluwakum fima atākum fa istabīqū al-khayrāt ilā allāhi marjiʿukum jamīʿan fa yunabbiʿukum bima kuntum takhtalifūn", represented the entire process of Islamization of mankind, according to ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs. See al-Shihāb, June 1937, pp. 201-202. The role of Muḥammad would therefore become universal and ʿabd al-Ḥamīd referred to him as the Prophet of Humanity (rasūl al-insāniyya) in an article in commemoration of his birth (see al-Shihāb, May 1936, p. 105).

The process of Islamization and that of Arabization had been seen as two separate although inter-related processes to affect all peoples, according to 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. Islamization implied that all men embrace Islām. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs was confident that his religion would one day prevail over all others. Arabization lagged behind Islamization, however, and until the language of the Muslims became that of the Qur'ān, there would always remain a certain element of misunderstanding of religion on the part of the Believers. 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs saw the Algerians as closer to the ideal than were other non Arabic-speaking Muslims. They trailed, meanwhile, behind the Muslims of the Arabic Mashriq .

33

33. In a speech to the annual convention of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs declared: 'fa ussistum 'ala qawā'id al-islām wa al-ṣurūb'. He then quoted: 'banayna 'ala al-dīn arkān al-naḥḍa fa kānat salāman 'ala al-bashariyya', see al-Shihāb, October 1937, pp. 357 and 359. Indeed, he stated earlier, in al-Shihāb, 16 August 1926, p. 1: 'hādha al-dīn al-ḥalī lā yafhamūhu al-jazā'iriyyūn illa bi fahm lisānihī al-ṣarabī al-ladhi huwa lisānihim al-qawmī illa 'aḥalliyya wa lisānihim al-dīnī bi dūn istithnā' 'fa min al-darūri li tahdhībihim wa t-rqiyatihim an yata'allamū hādha al-lisān'. This view was re-iterated in the advice he offered Mustafa Kemal over the abolition of the latter of the teaching of Arabic in Turkey (see al-Shihāb, May 1938, p. 63). As much as he could not conceive of a Berber Muslim, he found it difficult to accept that Islam be embraced outside the Arabic language.

Nationality, therefore, became the only vehicle for the Islamization and the Arabization of peoples. Every nation emerged as a result of the beneficial influence of religion on various societies. The Algerian nation, for instance, had stemmed from the impact of Islam and its language on the un-civilized inhabitants of the middle Maghrib. The nation was the product of individuals who had embraced religion. It was the composite of separate Believers who aggregated in order to apply the laws which were revealed for them by God. ^ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs shunned away from the racial concept of the nation which divided the world and set men against one another. It remained the most workable association for individuals to lead the good life. It did not necessarily lead towards the eventual physical unity of the world ³⁴.

34. al-Shihāb, October 1937, p. 344, reported: "al-umam tukawwin al-afṛād wa al-afṛād tukawwin al-umam...". Sijil..., v. 13, was more explicit: "Inna al-awṭān taḥmaʿ al-abdān wa innama al-ladhi yaḥmaʿ al-arwāḥ wa yuʿallifuha wa yasīl bayna nakaṛāt al-qulūb fa yaʿrifuha huwa al-dīn". In al-Shihāb, 1 July 1926, p. 1, al-^ʿArabi al-Tabassī wrote: "al-waṭan wa in ittasaʿa lafṣahu wa intashara

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's nationalism had conformed with the coming of age of Islām in Algeria. The Arabization of its people was well advanced for any one to doubt the nationality of the Algerians. Remained the final implementation of the Sharīʿa which would regulate the social actions and attitudes of the Algerians. ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had determined the nature of the reforms to be introduced by the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ so that the full benefits of Islām be reaped by the Algerians. Their unification in belief would have to be followed by the realization, on their part, that their ideals and aspirations would also have to become one and the same. To imprint an Islamic and an Arab char-

mafhūmahu wa tanazaʿathu al-tābiʿ fa layya fi shayʾminhu mā yarḡhab
ʿanhu aw yashad fīhi mā dāma al-hasan hasan wa al-qabīh qabīh takūn
dhrīka al-wataniyya raʿa ʿamat al-fadāʾil wa qutb rasmi al-sharaf
wa hāmat al-maʿālī wa ebīhi ummihi iʿtasamat avyūha wa istamsakat
bi mīnāha al-ladhi yahiwi wahdatāha wa yahfez ʿalayha jamīʿatāha
lam taʾkhudh li mustaqbeliha bi awthāq al-asbāb". Because of the necessity of men to live in society, Islām which was an all encompassing way of life found its finest expression in the national entity which submitted to the precepts of religion as well as to the individual features of locality and culture. In al-Shihāb, September 1937, p. 306, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs rejected the narrow meaning which some nationalists gave the nation. It was an integral part of the universe and should not separate itself from this universe.

acter became the duty of Islamic reformism in Algeria as in the rest
 35
 of the world .

Algerian nationalism was determined by history to grow and fulfill itself. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had urged France to realize it. Algerian nationalism was a guarantee for a better world and France should not stand in its way. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs enjoined all Frenchmen of goodwill to press their Government not to interfere with the awakening of the Algerian nation. In fact, the successful

35. 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs stated, in al-Shihāb, October 1931, p. 631: 'nahnu amām wājib yafazna ila isti'māl jamī' al-turuq li inhād al-sha'b bal min al-wājib tawtīn al-nafs 'ala al-'amal al-mutawāsīl ma'a ittikhādh kull tabaqa laha isti'dād li hadhā nāhiya min nawāhī al-nuhūd tarīqat min al-turuq kayfama kānat ghāyatuha qarība aw ba'ida wa kayfama kānat nati'atuha nāqisa aw tamma wa innama al-khatī kulla al-khatī hasr jamī' tabaqat al-sha'b a'māluha fi nāhiya wahīda'. His objective had been stated in the strongest humanistic terms in al-Shihāb, 7 Jult 1927, p. 2: 'fā'a al-islām bi huriyyat al-nafs wa huriyyat al-'aql wa huriyyat al-'ilm li yasīl al-insān ila darajat al-kamāl'. Siṭīl..., p. 30, explained: 'Fa yā wayluhum innā tarīqat al-islām wahīda fa mā hājat al-muslimīn ila turuq kathīra...'. The objective would therefore become that of operating the unity of actions and of purpose under the guidance of the (Ulamā). The aspirations of the nation would unify the Law, unify learning, unify the bodies by unifying the hearts. al-Shihāb, 9 September 1926 had it not proclaimed: 'tawhīd al-shar' wa al-tarbiya wa al-ta'lim fi al-umma ka al-tawhīd fi al-islām'. al-Shihāb, 4 November 1926, p. 1, considered as national (qawmī) all that pertained to religion and its language in Algeria.

maturity of the Algerian people would benefit not only themselves but the French as well. Colonialism had subverted the colonizers and enslaved them to their vilest instincts. Algerian nationalism would force decolonization on France and liberate it in the process. Maybe then will the West merge with the East to form the kind of world which was advocated by the prophet Muhammad .

36

36. 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi had raised his voice against the prejudices which the West practiced against the East and which no religion condoned. In al-Shihab, February 1932, p. 167, he stated: 'inna al-i'tiqad bi anna ghayr al-lawn al-abiyad jarima mazhar min al-mazahir al-sathiyva al-lati ta'tamid 'ala burhan quwwa wa laysa al-mas'ala mas'alat lawn bal mas'alat 'aqida'. He went on to demonstrate that religion emerged in the East and that Islām was the culmination of revelation. Islām spread by means of its undoubted superiority while Christianity made full use of the powerful colonial machine. In al-Shihab, November 1937, p. 400, he stated: 'wa ma min 'ilaj ille tabdil al-siyasa al-'atiga al-baliya bi siyasa jadida ta'tarif li hadhihi al-shu'ub bi kiyaniha al-qawmi wa yafsaḥ amamah majal al-'amal li al-taqaddum wa al-raḡi wa tunluha a'zam qast min al-tahrir wa tash'urha bi annaha tusa'idna li tablagh rushdaha fa takun bi dawriha yawn rushdiha al-tam 'adan laha fa hal yas-tati' al-sasa hadha al-'ilaj?''. The events proved that France, indeed, could not modify its stand vis-à-vis the Algerian nation and that the inevitable conflict erupted in which Islām was forced to take arms against Christianity in self defense. The moto of Algeria, Arabism, Islām, which first appeared in al-Shihab, February 1930, p. 38, was carried ahead by the Union Democratique du Manifeste Algerien, of Farhat 'Abbās (1943) and the Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Democratiques of Messali Hajj (1946). The Comité Revolutionnaire d'Unité et d'Action and the Front de Liberation Nationale which will result from the political lethargy of the old leadership and will proclaim the war for independence in 1954, also, will remain loyal to these principles although their meaning will have substantially evolved from the meaning which 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badi gave them.

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العرق الكبير الشريف

تیسرا منظر

CHAPTER IX

Conclusion

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's ideas on reformism and nationalism for Algeria have been presented. An appraisal of his thought now remains to be made. In the first half of our century, the impact of French colonialism had made itself felt in all its intensity in that country. The medieval society existed no longer in its intact form and the Algerians were still far from having entered the modern age. At this moment of great crisis, ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's role had become witnessed in two distinct areas. He aimed to liberate Algerian Islām from the shackles of traditionalism and to recuperate their culture for the Algerians.

ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had been the only Algerian intellectual in his own time to appreciate the implications of the French presence in Algeria for the identity of his people. To the Algerians who remained under the influence of traditionalism, he provided relevant arguments in favour of change. His own fundamentalism had

freed Algerian Islām from the values and the mores of the Algerian middle ages and contributed to convince the traditionalists that they could retain their faith while, at the same time, submitting to the transformations which were being brought about in their society.

One other aspect of French rule in Algeria had been the systematic subversion by the State of the culture of its Muslim subjects. In this area of colonial rule, ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs's efforts to salvage and recover the language and the history of the Algerians was undeniable as well. At a time when a substantial portion of the Algerian population sunk into complete illiteracy, he tirelessly laboured to make the Algerians rediscover their cultural heritage. At a time when an ever growing number of Algerians was being assimilated to the French identity, he resisted the incursions of the French language into Algeria. Neither Farḥāt ʿAbbās who envisaged change to mean assimilation to France, nor Messali Hajj who rested his ideology on the yet inexistant class struggle for Algerian independence, or Ahmad ibn ʿAlīwa who sought to mod-

ernize the secular mystical tradition of Algeria, proved as sensitive as 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had to the realities of their time. His fundamentalism accounted for the new trends within Algerian society. The transition from one civilization to another was being expressed, in Algeria, by the transformation of the indigenous social structure. The Algerians had ceased to remain the peasants and the nomads of yesteryears as soon as the revolution in land tenure came into effect in their country. They abandoned their traditional habitat and their clan, tribe or village and sought a new livelihood in the monetary economy of the French. 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs addressed this particular audience when he preached reformism and nationalism. Unlike the other major ideologues who were his contemporaries, he was successful in formulating ideas which accounted for the transformation of Algeria and appealed to the objects of this deep cultural and civilizational transition-period in the life and the experience of the Algerians.

The ideology of 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs had remained religion-oriented and it sought its inspiration from the past. It also re-

flected the values and the mores of traditional Muslim capitalism which, in Algeria, had successfully survived within the precincts of Constantine. This ideology remained outside the mainstream of European capitalism in spite of the ties which the traditional bourgeoisie succeeded to cultivate with colonialism. It is evident that 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had shown little understanding of the economics of Algeria under French rule. His total unawareness of Lenin warranted his failure to see change in Algeria as having resulted not so much from the immanence of Allāh in history as from the dialectics of imperialism. In this was he little different from other Islamic reformists.

The inherent contradictions which have characterized Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and those who drew their inspiration from his avowed Salafism ought not to be attributed, as they often have been, to the shortcomings of individual Islamic reformists. The phenomenon to which they belonged is best understood as soon as the very historical context to which they belong is recreated. Their place, in the process which saw an essentially Islamic civilization

crumble under the weight of its own obsolete institutions and under the impact of European ambitions and pretensions, was certainly a different one from that of the traditionalists, who aspired to perpetuate these institutions, and of the westernists, who aimed at adopting indiscriminately the ways of the foreigners. They arose to challenge the validity of either traditionalists or westernists in terms of ideals which were, no doubt, most commendable although they were self-contradictory. They were upset by the excesses of both traditionalists and westernists alike and they sought to reconcile the civilization of Europe with that of Islām. They could not realize that only cultures are reconcilable to any civilization and that different civilizations cannot be reconciled with one another.

ʿabd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had aimed at accomodating the sciences and the technology of Europe, which were part of Western civilization, to the type of Islamic values which, under Ashʿarism, had become adapted with the reflection of the sciences and the technology of medieval Islām, its own interpretation of Aristotelianism. Here

was certainly an exercise in futurity. The best of European civilization could not be extrapolated and grafted into an Islamic civilization which itself had been shed of its worst features. Against Muhammad 'Abdū's and Muhammad Iqbāl's attempts to reconstruct civilization for the Muslims, 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs offered the artificial juxtaposition of precipitative and unsolvent elements. There was the cause for his own dilemma. It was not in any sense peculiar to him but was an indicative of the significance of Algerian transition from its own medieval state to one which would become modern. 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs died before the independence of his country would be achieved. The events which followed his death remain our best means to measure the incidence of his ideas for the sovereign Algerian nation. They represent the aftermath of 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs.

APPENDIX:

the Aftermath.

Not until the signing of the Evian Agreement of 18 March 1962 had the Algerian Revolution which officially began on 1 November 1954 end with a cease-fire between the French Army and the National Liberation Army. On 1 July 1962, the Muslims of Algeria overwhelmingly cast a ballot for independence. One hundred and thirty two years of French rule were being terminated as a result of a long and bloody confrontation. It now remained for the leaders of the sovereign Algerian state to rebuild the house which colonization and war had left in ashes. For the last eight years, Algerians are still at grips with the problems of reconstruction. For the first time in their modern history, the Algerians face the arduous task of giving themselves a constitution.

The constitutional debate was brought to Algeria as a result of the dissolution of French Algeria. In their search for a new identity, the Algerians have had to consider the various options which were being thrust upon them. One such option resulted from

the ideology of 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs. It called for the restitution among the Algerians of their Muslim and Arab personalities. Its validity arises from the realities of the Algerian scene. Its limitations, on the contrary, stem from the anemia of the reformists themselves. The appraisal of the place of 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs in modern Algerian history is still in the making. The policies of the present leaders of that country well indicate that his contribution to the Algerian nation awaits the recognition of the Algerians.

The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' joins the Revolution

Two years after the National Liberation Front had decreed that it would carry the struggle against France until Algeria had been finally liberated, the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' had rallied to the cause of the revolutionaries. Tawfīq al-Madonī had made the announcement in Cairo on 22 April 1956. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, the association's president ever since the death in 1940 of 'abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs, preached the jihād over the radio, on the Voice of the Arabs from Cairo. The Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' was

dissolved by its leaders and it was affiliated to the National Liberation Front. Its newspaper, al-Basā'ir, was discontinued and its membership disbanded¹. The institution which 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had brought about would never be reconstituted again.

The ideals of Algerian reformism had, meanwhile, been kept alive by the followers of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs. They justified the struggle which was being carried by the mujāhidīn as the unescapable duty of the Algerians to defend their nationality. Once the signs of peace and independence had become visible, these ideals were reiterated during the Evian Agreement of March 1962 and in the Tripoli Program in June of the same year. In these two documents, the Islamic and Arab foundations of Algeria were recognized. They contrasted with the Marxist aspirations of the champions, among the members of the National Liberation Front, of a popular democratic revolution to be realized prior to everything else².

1. See D. Gordon, The passing..., pp. 100-101.

2. ibid., pp. 107-108.

The ideological confrontation which opposed those who stressed the Islamic and Arab characters of the Algerian entity to those who saw their revolution as part of a world revolutionary movement had been carried beyond the confines of the executive of the National Liberation Front, the sole political party in the country. The Students Union Movement and the Trades Union Movement had moved towards a clear commitment for the creation of a society built along marxist lines. They emphasized the mission of the Algerians to liberate Africa from Western colonialism. They played down Algeria's links with the Arabs and the Muslims and found greater affinities with Castro's Cuba than they did with the East. In the first issue of a students newspaper, Le Normal Lien, the Qur^{ān} was denounced for its regressive influence over the Muslims. The French language was also defended against Arabic in that it maintained the Algerians open to the progressive world³.

Against this point of view, the Islamicists, those who had once upon a time been the followers of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, could

3. idem., p. 111.

point to the popular reaction in the face of independence in support of their own arguments. On 6 July 1962, once the results of the referendum on the question of independence had been known, thousands of Algerians invaded the Cathedral of Algiers and reverted it to the mosque it had once been. Similar outbursts of popular anger against the desecration of their religious buildings by the French were witnessed all over the country. Alcohol storages were also destroyed by the mob. The Algerians expressed their existence and their distinctness by an unprecedented display of religious fervor. A member of the 'Ulamā', Muḥammad Shubūkī, issued a statement on 2 August 1962 to the effect that the Algerian revolution had intended to revert the Algerians to their religion and to their culture. Independence would represent the victory of the ideals of Islām over all others⁴.

Ben Bella and the Constitutional Issue

On 27 September 1962, Aḥmad Ben Bella was elected President of

4. idem., pp. 111 and 151.

Algeria. His sudden rise to power coincided with the constitutional debate which had bitterly opposed Islamicists to Westernists from the end of 1962 onwards. On 28 August 1963, the country had finally been granted its first constitution which the Constituent Assembly ratified. The task of reconciliation and reconstruction would now begin. Ahmad Ben Bella sought to operate the fusion of the various ideological factions in the type of populism he instaurated in Algeria. The Preamble of the Constitution declared the orientation of the nation to be Arabo-Islamic. It stated that 'Islam and the Arabic language were effective forces of resistance against the attempts of the colonial régime to depersonalize Algeria. Algeria owes it to itself to assert that the Arabic language is the national language, and that it (Algeria) draws its spiritual being from Islam'. By the same token, referring to the National Liberation Front, it indicated that it 'mobilizes, enframes, and educates the popular masses towards the realization of socialism'.

5

Ahmad Ben Bella had seen no incompatibility between Islām and socialism. His government sought to implement the two at the same time. It was, in part, inspired by the Egyptian Revolution of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and was influenced by the revolutions of China, Vietnam and Cuba, all of them peasant revolutions. Over socialism, the State had undertaken the extensive nationalization of Settlers property. It became the ownership of the people and was self-administered by them. The leftist elements within the country were allowed to operate inasmuch as they submitted to the directives of the National Liberation Front, the only legal party. In foreign affairs, the régime entertained the best of relations with the socialist camp.

The Arabo-Islamic specificity of Algeria was also being elaborated and implemented by the government of Ahmad Ben Bella. The Constitution had stated that only a Muslim could become President. His oath to office read as follows: "Faithful to the principles of the Revolution and to the memory of our martyrs (shuhadā'), I swear by Allah the All-Powerful...". The Arabic language became the official language of the nation, although French would still remain in

conceding that: "the theoretical foundations of their actions should be nourished, not by foreign doctrines (Marxism presumably), but from our Arabo-Islamic roots". Colonel Muhammad Sha^cbānī also reminded the delegates of the place which Islām held in the history of Algeria and of the Revolution. The Islamicists among the delegates denounced the "cultural cosmopolitanism and the occidental impregnation which had contributed to inculcating into many Algerians a contempt for their language and their national values". The Congress resolved to accelerate "the elaboration of a program of Arabization", to create a family code which would conform with the traditions of the Algerians as well as with their socialist options, and finally to conduct Algeria's domestic and foreign policies under the aegis of socialism and the Arabo-Islamic personality⁷.

Ahmad Ben Bella had been impressed by the intensity with which the Islamicists reacted to his rule. He set to placate them by moving to the right. In September 1964, the marxist editor of Révolution

7. idem., pp. 147-148.

Africaine, Muḥammad Ḥarbī, was replaced by Ḥammār Ouzegane. The editorial of 12 September, entitled al-Jihād fī sabīl al-ishtirākīyya and written in Arabic, had argued that Algeria's socialism was universal and scientific but that it remained Muslim in spirit. The article had, meanwhile, denounced those fanatics who wore turbans and opposed the progress which Islām advocated. This may have been in reference to the incidents of 5 January 1964 during which thousands of followers of al-Ḥashimī Tijānī, a lecturer at the University of Algiers and the head of an organization called Jamʿīyyat al-Qiyam al-Islāmīyya, demonstrated against the teaching of French, against the use of foreign programs over the radio, for the closing of shops during prayer hours and for the exclusion of all non-Muslims from government offices. It surely had the followers of ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs also in mind. These elements were considered counter-revolutionaries by the government spokesman. They should be suppressed. Ahmed Ben Bella had tightened his grip over the party. He excluded Tawfīq al-Madanī from his cabinet after the reshuffle of 1964. He also antagonized his allies of yesteryears. Opposition to his personal rule

mounted from all sides. On 19 June 1965, Colonel Huwārī Boumedienne, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, deposed the President in a bloodless coup d'état⁸.

The Boumedienne Interlude

Huwārī Boumedienne had moved against Ahmed Ben Bella as soon as he felt that his own position was being threatened by the President. The deposition of Ahmed Ben Bella was welcomed by all sides in Algeria. The Socialists, the Liberals, the Regionalists and the Islamists had resented the dictatorship of the past régime. They hoped that the new régime would restore the necessary liberties for their respective ideologies to thrive. Huwārī Boumedienne had seen his rule otherwise. He retained the one party system and assigned the maintain of law and order to the Army. He had, meanwhile, disengaged Algeria from its international commitments. Algeria would concentrate on the reconstruction of its society before it assumed any role in the Maghrib,

8. idem., pp. 202-204.

in the Arab World or in Africa.

Huwārī Boumedienne had appointed Aḥmad Ṭālib as his Minister of Education. The latter had been imprisoned under Aḥmad Ben Bella. He was the son of al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī. He had trained as a medical doctor yet he received a solid Muslim education at the hand of his father. This important appointment had not been aimed at appeasing the Islamicists in the country. It indicated the new leader's appreciation of his minister's views on the culture of Algeria. These views had once upon a time been aired in Jeune Afrique. They well expressed the ideological committment of the young doctor⁹.

In Décolonisation culturelle en Algérie, Aḥmad Ṭālib had reiterated familiar views in the language of the younger Algerian élites. He emphasised that French colonialism had depersonalized the Algerians and imprinted in them a deep inferiority complex about their Muslim and Arab heritage. Many Algerians were convinced that, prior to 1830, they were uncivilized and that civilization was brought to them by

9. See Jeune Afrique, 10 December 1963, pp. 26-27.

the French. The so-called Evlués were uprooted from their society and had become alienated to it. Were it not for the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā', the culture of Algeria may well have perished. It survived because of the schools which this association founded. It should become the task of the successive generations of Algerians to spread this culture¹⁰.

Ahmad Tālib had shown great realism in his exposition of the cultural problems of Algeria. He stressed the importance of Arabization for Algeria yet he warned against the consequences of rushing such a process through. Algeria would need the French language for many years to come. The civilization of the Algerians lie in the sciences which the French harboured and which the Algerians ignored. For the time being, at least, one culture complemented the other. As soon as he became Minister of Education, Ahmad Tālib set to implement this principle.

10. It is interesting to note that, in 1952, the June 6 issue of Le Jeune Musulman reproduced the manifesto of the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' which once appeared in al-Shihāb. The editor of the newspaper considered "'Bases fondamentales de la doctrine de l'association des oulāmas musulmans algériens'" to still be relevant fifteen years after it appeared. Meanwhile, A. Berque, commenting in Revue Africaine, 1947,

Huwārī Boumedienne had also recalled Tawfīq al-Madanī to the service of the State. The eminent historian was appointed Ambassador to the Arab League. This appointment could be seen to emphasize the commitments of the new Algerian leadership to Arab Nationalism. The State had also become involved in the financment of constructing mosques and religious teachers training schools. Close to four hundred centers of worship were opened since independence and more than sixty thousand students were prepared to teach Islām in the public schooling system. The Socialists who blamed Ahmad Ben Bella for having betrayed the Revolution, the Liberals who aspired for a return to parliamentary democracy, and the regionalists, Berber-speaking Algerians from the Awrās and from Kabylia, who supported their French educated leaders against the hegemony of the Arab element within the Government, all were being greatly disappointed at the orientation of the new régime of Huwārī Boumedienne. Their respective weakness,

pp. 131-132, on Chérif Benhabylès's Ames frontières, contrasted the évolué to the islamisant; the former had lost his roots in society while the latter remained well rooted in it in spite of decadence. J. Berque, in Jeune Afrique, 25 November 1970, pp. 52-54, repeated this view.

on the one hand, and their own inability to unite against it, on the other, had allowed the régime to pursue its course undisturbed and unthreatened. Only the future will show whether or not the policies of Arabization and of Islamization of the Government can be undertaken to their final conclusion. The vicinity of Algeria to France, its continued dependence on the technical assistance of the Europeans and its own inherent social and cultural disparities remain important factors which Algeria will have to account for and which will determine the face of the morrow in that country and among its people.

Validity and Limitations of Islamic Reformism for Algeria

The Algerian Islamicists had raised the question of identity in a manner which remains unchallenged. In 1963, the Nationality Code was formulated under their influence. It differentiated between the native Algerian, any person whose parents were Algerian-born Muslims, and the naturalized Algerian. In spite of the antipathy which all Westernists showed this piece of legislation, little had it been contended that, indeed, the Algerian identity remained other than

11
Eastern .

The essentially évolué novelists of post-independence Algeria, Jean Amrouche, Mouloud Feraoun and Kateb Yacine had, meanwhile, indicated that their identity continued to disturb the Algerians. Amrouche was of Berber origin and had converted to Catholicism. He rallied to the cause of the National Liberation Front after the Sétif massacre of 1954. For him, France had represented the intellect of Algeria yet he now sought to liberate his country from French oppression. He eventually rejected the view which some Frenchmen held that independence brought about the divorce of two peoples. There had never been any marriage for a divorce to take place. Algeria had simply been raped by France .

12

Mouloud Feraoun and Kateb Yacine were also French-educated. The former was from Kabylia and the latter belonged to a traditional family from Constantine. Like Amrouche, they had been in quest of

11. See D. Gordon, The passing..., pp. 162-163. It may be recalled that Frantz Fanon had been naturalized Algerian. His admirers objected to the essentially discriminating legislation.

12. ibid., pp. 165-169.

their identity. They rejected the French one and moved away from the aspirations of the Evolués of yesteryears. In his novel, Nedjma, the youth symbolizing Algeria, Yacine showed her being baffled by the winds of time. Her origins were mixed and mysterious. She remained the prisoner of the stellar system. Yacine, like Feraoun, had submitted to a non-French identity although he did not know what his actual one represented. He had asked himself who he was and could only reply that he was not a Frenchman nor could he become assimilated to France. Yacine described the peculiarity of the Algerian personality and he remarked that, at most, the French could understand it; they would never succeed to assimilate it ¹³.

In political circles as well, the Eastern character of the Algerian identity was being upheld. Most contemporary political thinkers had rejected the ideologies of the West and were in search of ones which would best accommodate the aspirations of the Algerians to their past. The Liberals sought the clues to this intricate problem in the ideology of Habib Bourguiba which fed on the tradition

13. ibid., pp. 169-176.

of the Şādiqīyya while confronting the problems of modern government. The Socialists were, meanwhile, being attracted to Sultan Galiev. The Kazan Tatar bolshevik had distinguished himself at the Baku Conference of 1921 by his opposition to the Indian Roy over the universality of the socialist ideology. Galiev's socialism was conceived as arising from the peculiar social organization of the Eastern peoples and contrasted with the socialism which arose from the class struggle that was peculiar to European capitalism¹⁴.

The Islamicists had become conspicuous for their failure to participate in the ideological debate which aspired to reconcile the past and the present. On 16 April 1940, al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī succeeded 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs as head of the reformist movement. He remained the most prominent figure among the Islamicists until his own death, on 20 May 1965. He showed what great a loss the disappearance of 'abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs had been to Algerian reformism. al-

14. ibid., pp. 103-104, and J. Berque, Dépossession du monde, Paris, p. 141. Ahmad Ben Bella, among other, must have discovered about Galiev from A. Bennigsen's Les mouvements nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie, the Hague, 1960.

Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī was faithful to his own litterati tradition and he reiterated the views which were once being held by the Association of Algerian 'Ulamā' on identity and development. He had obviously not understood the Algerian revolution. Aḥmad Ben Bella and Huwārī Boumedienne had confronted the intricate problem of transferring the assets which the French once owned to the Algerians. The administration of these assets posed a significant challenge to the Government. The development of new industries to absorb an ever growing supply of labour was yet another case in point where the State weighed national expediency against ideological principle. During the debates in the National Assembly, the Islamicists ignored these serious questions and opposed the solutions which were being offered by the essentially Westernist elements among the deputies.

The association of Tawfīq al-Madani with the reformist movement had, meanwhile, been a special one from the very beginning. Although he did train at the Madrasa of the Olive Mosque, he was closest to the aspirations of al-Bashīr Ṣafarr and the Khaldūnīyya than 'Abd al-Ḥamid ibn Bādīs had ever been. In 1923, he had distinguished

himself as a revolutionary by publishing a work on the Irish Revolution. In Nidāl Irlanda, he argued that freedom could only result from armed struggle. He committed himself to nationalism in its secularist sense. He accepted to head the Ministry of Culture in the Provisional Government of Yūsuf Ben Khedda before he was awarded the portfolio of the Ministry of Ḥubūs by Aḥmad Ben Bella. Tawfīq al-Madani's ideas brought him closest to the new leaders of Algeria. They also distinguished him from the bulk of the Islamicists who continued to incarnate the ideals of the traditional bourgeoisie of Algeria¹⁵.

Beyond ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs's Reformism

The contribution of the Islamicists members of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamāʾ cannot anywhere be underestimated and it will remain for the Algerians one day to award ʿabd al-Ḥamīd ibn Bādīs

15. It is noteworthy that Tawfīq al-Madani had named his only son Islām. He later told me that he had been impressed by Namik Kemal's Vatan. The hero's name was, of course, Islām. He was presumably acquainted with the Ottoman thinker by way of Majallat al-Badr, ed. Zayn al-ʿAbidin al-Sanūsī, Tunis, 1923, which regularly printed translations of his articles.

his rightful place in their pantheon. Before his movement was formed, no serious effort had been made in this country to eradicate the marks of the traditionalist world view from Algerian society. The Algerians remained under the influence of an obsolete ideology or else they rejected all that had once been their own for the values and the mores of the French. After 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, an alternative to traditionalism and to assimilationism was coined which proved, in the long run, closest to the Algerian reality.

After independence, the Badisian ideal was being taken further but yet another product of the notability of Constantine. Malek Bennabi received an education in both cultures. He became the Director of Higher Studies at the University of Algiers in 1964. His most significant works, Les Conditions de la Renaissance Algérienne and La Vocation de l'Islam, were translated into Arabic and favourably received throughout the Arab and Muslim worlds. Malek Bennabi argued like 'Abd al-Hamīd ibn Bādīs, that the Muslims decayed because they abandoned their religion and were consequently surpassed by the West.

Malek Bennabi had not intended to reiterate the position of the

reformists. He accused them of paying lip-service to the sciences. He aimed to reconstruct the civilization of the Muslims in terms of the revelation made to Muhammad and the scientific achievements of Europe. He also had misread Islamic history where the greatest achievements in the arts and the sciences had invariably occurred at the moments of great heresy in Islam. Malek Bennabi belonged to his own time as had 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis before him. He focussed on the particular state of his age and attempted to solve the problems of religion in change. He represented a further and higher stage in the controversy between Islam and Islamic history. He was the latest heir to a long tradition of Islamic culture in Constantine¹⁶.

16. The influence of 'Abd al-Hamid ibn Badis also spread outside Algeria. We owe it to V. Monteil's L'Islam noir, Paris, 1964, p. 310, that Shaykh Touré, the Senegalese founder of the Union Culturelle Musulmane, who spearheaded reformism and was a violent opponent of the Tijaniyya in the Senegal, studied at the Badisiyya, in Constantine in 1952. The appraisal of his movement, no doubt, will greatly contribute to completing the general picture of the Salafiyya movement which H. Leoust started.

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