

MUHAMMAD 'ABDUH'S AND AHMAD KHAN'S EDUCATIONAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES

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I. Introduction

"Any Islamic reform now must begin with education,"¹ declares Professor Fazlur Rahman in the epilogue of his book, *Islam*. The importance of education as the prerequisite of Islamic reform was, in fact, also recognized by two 19th century Muslim reformers, namely, Muhammad 'Abduh from Egypt and Ahmad Khan from India.

'Abduh, who was born in 1849 in a fellah family, recognized the inadequacies of the system of education imparted to Muslim students as a result of studying at al-Azhar. The subjects taught at this university were only classical Arabic works of dogmatic theology. Moreover, the method of teaching was such that 'Abduh, recalling his student life, once wrote that the Shaykh, in giving lectures, spoke as if he spoke a foreign language.² This condition was further aggravated by the conservative Shaykhs who abhorred change and improvement and, therefore, opposed any enlargement of the curriculum of al-Azhar.

Ahmad Khan, who was born on 17 October 1817 in a noble family, also paid great attention to the improvement of the system of education prevalent in India. Long before he plunged himself into the service of his people, Ahmad Khan realized the inadequacies of education imparted to Muslims. The madrasahs still used the old system and excluded Western sciences from their curriculum. Furthermore, there were not many Muslim students who attended Government schools and colleges where Western sciences were taught. The condition of Indian Muslims reached its lowest ebb after a mutiny broke out in 1857 when the Muslims suffered the most socially, economically, and politically.

'Abduh and Ahmad Khan, in their attempt to ameliorate the conditions of their respective communities, introduced reforms in various aspects, among which were religious, social, and educational reforms. However, being convinced that only through education could the other aspects of their reforms be executed and the conditions of their communities who were under foreign rule be improved, they focussed their attention on educational reform. This policy of theirs greatly influenced their political ideas and activities.

This paper will discuss 'Abduh's and Ahmad Khan's educational and political ideas and activities.

II. Muhammad 'Abduh's Educational Ideas and Activities

'Abduh's educational ideas and activities which evolved according to circumstances can be divided into three phases, namely, pre-exile, exile, and post-exile.

A. Pre-exile

Any study of 'Abduh's educational ideas and activities during this period, which ended in 1882, must begin with an appreciation of the contribution of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. It was al-Afghānī who aroused 'Abduh's attention to modern sciences taught in the West and the problem of the reform of al-Azhar while he was a student at this university.

Al-Afghānī's influence may be inferred from the fact that the two earliest articles 'Abduh contributed to the newspaper *al-Waqā'i al-Misriyya* (the Egyptian Events) contain the substance of two of al-Afghānī's lectures. One of them was on the "philosophy of education" in which 'Abduh asserted that it was necessary for those who were entrusted with the education of a people and the training of its morals to be familiar with the principle of moral health as physicians were with those of physical health. These people, whom he called "physicians of souls and spirits," should know the history of their own nation and other nations, their period of advancement or decline, the causes of moral weakness which had appeared among them, and the proper remedy to be applied for their cure.⁴

Nevertheless, the concept of education set out by al-Afghānī in his book, *Refutation of the Materialist*, was expressed in such general terms that it gave little indication of his thought.⁵ Al-Afghānī did not devote himself to educational problems because he was a revolutionary whose overriding aim was political change. 'Abduh, on the other hand, having at least in the later period little faith in al-Afghānī's methods, adopted peaceful methods and, therefore, proposed a gradual transformation of the mind through education and training. This was, in fact, the prerequisite of the other aspects of his reform, i.e., the reformulation of Islamic doctrine and the purification of Islam, because he was of the opinion that the corrupting influences could be exposed and eliminated only by raising the general level of Islamic education and by reasserting the basic tenets of Islam.⁶ It is, therefore, natural that 'Abduh should particularly concern himself with the problems of educational reform.

The essence of his reforms is to introduce modern (Western) sciences and technology into Muslim life. In an article written in 1877, he urged that modern sciences together with the local sciences be introduced into al-Azhar University.⁷ He continued that Muslims had to acquire these sciences (modern sciences) and had to strive towards their mastery.⁸ It should, however, be pointed out that 'Abduh not only advocated the introduction of modern Western sciences into al-Azhar, but also the revival of the old and original Islamic classics.⁹

The purpose of education was, according to 'Abduh, "to bring up minds and souls and to raise them to the point where the person becomes capable of achieving full happiness or as much of it as possible in this life and after death."¹⁰ He then explained what he meant by the education of the mind and the education of the soul:

We mean by the education of the mind bringing it out of simplicity and emptiness of knowledge and away from false concepts and bad ideas so that it acquires correct concepts and information. From this the mind becomes capable of distinguishing between good and bad, harmful and useful.

We mean by the education of the soul the creation of qualities and good manners in the soul and training her in them and keeping her away from bad qualities so that person grows up in accordance with the rules of human society and accustomed to them.¹¹

In keeping with this contention, 'Abduh devoted his attention to the importance of education in matters of cultural influence. He warned parents not to send their children to missionary schools, which were conducted by other faiths or other religious bodies than their own, unless they were prepared to see their children change their faith and accept that of their teachers.¹² In conjunction with this, he was opposed to a foreign medium of teaching for popular education, saying that the language of primary education, particularly in the evening schools, had to be the language of the country so that the ignorant and the lazy would have no excuse in not joining them. He called upon the Ministry of Education to provide the students with simplified books written in Arabic.¹³

'Abduh, in his attempt to reform education in Egypt, directed his attention from the beginning to the state of education in the country and frequently criticized, through his articles, the schools, teachers, methods of instruction, and general conduct of the educational programs which reflected upon the work of the Department of Education. As a result of his criticism, the Superior Council of the Department of Education, which had executive powers in the administration of general education, was established on March 28, 1881, and 'Abduh was appointed a member of this Council. He was also appointed a member of the sub-committee of this body which was later created to study the matter of the improvement of the educational program in all schools.¹⁴ As a member of the sub-committee, 'Abduh suggested that the Department of Education should supervise all the schools run by foreigners which received subsidies from Government.¹⁵

B. Exile

Muhammad 'Abduh, due to his participation in the 'Urabi Revolt which took place on July 11, 1882, was arrested and then exiled. At the end of 1882, he left for Syria and stayed in Beirut for about one year. Early in 1884, upon receiving an invitation from Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, who had been in Paris from the beginning of 1883, he left Beirut to join al-Afghani in Paris

where they published *al-'Urwah al-Wuthaqā* whose main concern was politics. With regard to the problem of education, *al-'Urwah* was concerned only with directing public opinion towards Muslim unity and resistance to Western aggression.¹⁶

After his return to Beirut in 1886, he expressed his ideas on religious education. In a speech he gave at al-Madrasah al-Sulṭāniyyah there, he asserted that the science Muslims needed was not technology and other means of mastering agriculture and trade. This was because technology was helpless in a society where the lack of ambition, laziness, disunity and disregard of obvious interest were rampant. He, therefore, contended that Muslims needed to learn disciplines which revived the souls. Because such disciplines existed only in religion, what Muslims needed was to have a true understanding of religion.¹⁷

During his stay in Paris, he submitted two proposals for the reform of religious education. The first was "Proposals on Reform of Religious Instruction" addressed to the Amīr al-Mu'minīn in Istanbul in which he pointed out that, due to the ignorance of Muslims, moral decay had emerged and foreign influences held upon the minds of the people through their schools. This religious decline was caused by lack of religious instruction and the only remedy was to improve this instruction.¹⁸

In his proposals he divided the Muslims into three classes or groups according to their occupations, although this division was not meant to be permanent. These classes were: the general public, which consisted of the artisans, tradesmen and agricultural people; government officials; and the 'Ulama, whose concern was the guidance and education of the people.¹⁹

With regard to the course of instruction for each class, 'Abduh proposed that the general public should be taught the three Rs (reading, writing, and arithmetic) and all agreed principles of Sunnī Muslim theology, supporting them with easily understood proof. Qur'ān and authentic tradition should be used as evidence. The public should also be taught a brief account of the history of early Islam and the days of Muslim glory, followed by a brief history of the Ottoman Caliphs. The educational program for government officials would be similar to this but more intensive. This class should also study history with an emphasis on the purely religious aspects and it had to be calculated that, in so doing, the officials were incited to regain the lost lands of Islam. The 'Ulamā had to study Arabic and take intensive courses in the various Islamic disciplines. The aim of the study of history was to prove that religious ignorance was the only cause of contemporary Muslim difficulties.²⁰

The aim of 'Abduh's program was to make religion ingrained in the hearts of the students so that it directed their every action, thus uniting them materially and spiritually in the service of Islam and in the support of the Amir al-Mu'minīn.²¹

The second proposal was "Proposals on Reform in Syria," submitted to the Governor of Beirut, in which he surveyed the state of religion and education and their political affiliations and sympathies among classes and sects in the provinces of Syria. He pointed out the bad influences of foreign schools and suggested that suitable schools should be established and religious education be increased.²²

It is clear from the account above that 'Abduh's educational ideas during this period reflected his political attitude, namely, Pan-Islamism.

C. Post-exile

When 'Abduh returned to Egypt in the latter part of 1888, he adopted a conciliatory attitude towards the British. This was due to the waning influence of al-Afghānī and particularly his own experience during the period of secret agitation in Paris which convinced him that al-Afghānī's method was ineffective. He criticized al-Afghānī, saying that he never did any real work except in Egypt and that he should have tried to persuade the Sultan to reform the system of education instead of meddling in the intrigues of the palace in Istanbul.²³ He contended that Egypt needed a period of genuine national education and, therefore, every political and social problem should be seen in the light of this need.²⁴ He was, therefore, prepared to cooperate with the British in so far as they helped in the work of national education. As a corollary, he tried to convince the Egyptians that cooperation between Muslims and non-Muslims was not against the very nature of Islam. He asserted that "the true religion of Islam is not against friendship and it does not war against love, nor does it forbid Muslims' taking advantage of the action soft he other religions with whom they have common interest."²⁵

'Abduh's educational ideas and activities during this period reflect those of his before and during his exile from Egypt. He asserted that secular education had to be accompanied by religious education because purely secular education would never succeed. He continued that the failure of purely secular education was due to the fact that its products, for all their greater knowledge, became worse since their general knowledge and demeanor were not based on the principles of their religion and, therefore, it left no effect on their souls.²⁶

He was, therefore, in favor of the unification of education in Egypt and suggested that this should be carried out through the development of Dār al-Ulūm,²⁷ a new college which provided modern education for al-Azhar students who wanted to qualify for government positions,²⁸ In line with this idea he stated that "al-Azhar might be merged into the general educational system-as the center of Islamic education-instead of remaining a curious enclave or museum of Islamic medievalism ... "²⁹

As before and during his exile, 'Abduh was opposed to foreign schools, asserting that they were more harmful than useful.³⁰

With the aforementioned ideas in mind, 'Abduh devoted himself to the

task of reforming al-Azhar which he had attempted to do during his student days. He submitted proposals concerning the introduction of certain studies into the curriculum to the then Shaykh al-Azhar, Shaykh Muhammad al-Anbābī, but the latter refused.³¹ Moreover, Tawfiq, the then Khedive, was not willing to help. When 'Abbas Hilmi came to the throne, 'Abduh won the favor of this new Khedive and was able to persuade him of the need of reform at al-Azhar. As a result of his efforts, an Administrative Committee was formed on 15 June 1895 with 'Abduh as a member representing the Government.³²

'Abduh began his efforts by taking measures to improve the material well-being of the Shaykhs of al-Azhar, namely, by increasing their salaries. He also made efforts to improve the living condition of the students.³³

After this economic and material reform had been carried out, he made efforts to reform the system of examinations, the curriculum, and the method of instruction. The students who wanted to get the diploma of 'ālim (scholar, one fit to teach) had to pass an examination in all "fundamental" subjects (i.e. al-Tawhīd, al-Tafsīr, al-Fiqh, Usūl al-Fiqh, and Akhlāq) and some other fields which were regarded as a means to the attainment of the former (i.e. al-Mantiq, al-Nahw, al-Balāghah, Arithmetic, and Algebra). Some secular sciences such as history, geography, philosophy, social economy, and natural sciences were also added to the latter group.³⁴ 'Abduh was also of the opinion that the study of classical Arabic literature had to be revived and encouraged.³⁵

Another important work of 'Abduh was his effort to establish a central library at al-Azhar. With the cooperation of important Shaykhs of al-Azhar and the permission he obtained from the Khedive, 'Abduh succeeded in accomplishing this work. The books which were lying scattered among various loggias (*arwiqa*) and in the mosques close to al-Azhar were collected and their condition improved.³⁶

In spite of the ceaseless efforts and activities of the Committee of al-Azhar in which 'Abduh was the driving force, the actual amount of success he achieved was insignificant. A number of administrative reforms were adopted, but the academic reform, which was more important than the former, was totally rejected. This was due to the strong opposition he faced from the conservative Shaykhs who were of the opinion that the only objective of al-Azhar was the protection and dissemination of religion and its law and, therefore, any change had to be abandoned.³⁷ This failure was also due to the change in the attitude of the Khedive, who gave his support to the conservative Shaykhs. The Khedive, who was once a supporter of 'Abduh's efforts to reform al-Azhar, turned against 'Abduh when the latter tried to prevent the misuse of *waqf* properties for the royal purposes.³⁸ The Khedive's opposition became stronger when 'Abduh was opposed to the former's candidate for the assignment of the "robe of honor" (*Kasāwī al-tashrif*) which was vacant after one of the grand 'ulama passed away. The Advisory Council

of al-Azhar, which was under the influence of 'Abduh, rejected the directive of the Khedive.³⁹ The Khedive was so hostile to 'Abduh that he even tried to remove the latter from the office of the Grand Mufti of Egypt. He was, however, unsuccessful, owing to the strong support of Lord Cromer that 'Abduh enjoyed.⁴⁰ Towards the end of 1904, the Khedive and a number of Shaykhs of al-Azhar denounced the modernist group at al-Azhar and above all 'Abduh, who was its leader. When 'Abduh found himself unable to contend with the current opposition at al-Azhar, he, finally, resigned from the administrative Committee on 5 March 1905.⁴¹

III. Muhammad 'Abduh's Political Ideas and Activities

'Abduh's political ideas and activities were a reflection of the circumstances of his environment. His views on this matter were fragmentary and changed according to circumstances. His political thought, like his educational ideas, can be divided into three phases, namely, pre-exile, exile, and post-exile.

A. Pre-exile

During this period 'Abduh concentrated on the politics of Egypt. Through his articles and speeches he put forward his political ideas which, in the early period, supported the despotic regime of Riyāḍ Pāshā, the then Prime Minister, and preferred the authoritarian type of government to the representative form as long as the people were unprepared to accept it.⁴² 'Abduh was opposed to the representative form of government because he believed that people had to be educated and trained before this form of government was introduced. He held that the most important thing to do was to start educating people in order to produce cadres who would carry out the responsibilities of a representative government.⁴³ 'Abduh, however, was not against a representative government as such. It was he who first stated the need for representative government and limited powers of the ruler.⁴⁴ But such a form of government, he believed, could only emerge on the basis of a conscious and mature public opinion and should be established only with the consent of the ruler and his government, not by rebellion against him.⁴⁵ 'Abduh was against violence as a method because he realized that it would overthrow the work he had begun and every reform the government was accomplishing or had in view, and that it would instigate foreign powers to intervene.⁴⁶ He, therefore, continued to oppose the 'Urabi party which demanded constitutional government and subscribed to the revolutionary approach.

'Abduh's opposition to the demand of constitutional government, however, did not last long. With the dismissal of Riyāḍ Pāshā and the emergence of army officers, he changed his political stance from a cautious

and gradual approach to a revolutionary one. Together with the civilian members of the Nationalist Party, 'Abduh again put forward the demand for a constitution.⁴⁷ In one of the articles he wrote during this period, he claimed that

the Egyptians had achieved national consciousness and the spirit of unity pervaded the ranks and files of the Egyptians. They had become sufficiently mature to shoulder democratic responsibilities, and they should be counted among enlightened nations to manage democratic institutions.⁴⁸

In December 1881 he wrote an article on *shūrā* (mutual consultation) in which he contended that the national assembly demanded by the 'Urābists was the modern equivalent of early Islamic tradition. *Shūrā* of the past was completely identical with the consultative assembly of the present.⁴⁹ Despite 'Abduh's opposition to the demand for representative government in his early activities, the nationalist element was important in his thought from the beginning. In his first article published in *al-Ahram*, he talked about the great past of the kingdom of Egypt and he regarded the common history and interests of people who lived in the same country as a deep bond between them, irrespective of their faiths.⁵⁰ He claimed that the concept of *watan* (home-country/fatherland) was the best unifying factor.⁵¹ He asserted that *watan* was "your place to which you belong and in which you have rights and towards which your duties are known and in which you have security for yourself and for your property."⁵² In line with this assertion, 'Abduh maintained that non-Muslims belonged to the nation in exactly the same sense as Muslims, and he, therefore, suggested that people of different religions should maintain good relations among themselves and cooperate with each other in matters of general welfare.⁵³ This view expressed by 'Abduh, who felt the imminent invasion of foreign forces into Egypt, had one main purpose, namely, to unite the Egyptians irrespective of the religions they professed. 'Abduh believed that the strongest type of unity was that of people who shared the same country, the place where they lived in, the locus of their public rights and duties, and the object of their affection and pride.⁵⁴

These ideas of 'Abduh, which were published on the eve of 'Urābi Revolt, played an important role in arousing the national consciousness of the Egyptian people. During the revolutionary upsurge he joined the 'Urābi Party and, as Wilfrid Scawen Blunt put it, became the intellectual head of a political revolution.⁵⁵ As a result of his participation in the revolutionary upsurge, 'Abduh was arrested and then exiled.

B. Exile

The national phase of 'Abduh's political thought ended with the occupation of Egypt and his exile. Early in 1884, after staying for about one year in Beirut, he went to Paris to join al-Afghānī where they founded the secret organization *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā* (The Indissoluble Bond) with the

purpose of arousing the Muslims to strive for their unity on the basis of religion. Its primary aim was to resuscitate the Islamic spirit as the bond of unity for all Muslims in their struggles to resist the tyranny of their own rulers and the aggressions of foreign countries who professed different beliefs.⁵⁶ The two men published a journal bearing the same title which served to propagate their views.

In their attempt to unite all Muslims all over the world and to free Islamic countries from foreign penetration and native tyranny, 'Abduh and al-Afghānī urged the Muslims to reject their own local nationalisms which made them forget the greater Islamic union. In one of the articles which appeared in *al-'Urwah*, they claimed that

... Islam is the one bond which unites Muslims of all countries and obliterates all traces of race or nationality. Its Divine Law (*shari'ah*) regulates in detail the rights and duties of all, both ruler and subjects, and remove all racial distinctions and occasion for competition within the body of Islam. Any Muslim ruler can win distinction and gain great influence in the Muslim world by his devotion to the *shari'ah*.⁵⁷

In another article 'Abduh criticized the idea of nationalism, saying that "nationalism or racialism is not a natural feeling based on human nature but only an acquired state of feeling; and the Islamic feeling transcends the feeling of nationality."⁵⁸ He continued that since Islam recognized only religious *'aṣabiyyah*, Muslims had never given up this bond of religious unity throughout their history.⁵⁹ 'Abduh used the term *'aṣabiyyah* and *ta'aṣṣub* in *al-'Urwah* as synonymous. He asserted that although people in the modern age ascribed the ills of ignorance, lack of social conscience, and backwardness to religious *ta'aṣṣub* (in the sense of fanaticism), the truth was that the *ta'aṣṣub* of believers (in the sense of unity in purpose and action) was the greatest of blessings when tempered with the spirit of moderation and tolerance.⁶⁰ He continued that the imperialists condemned religious solidarity because they knew that it was the Muslims' strength. They, therefore, propagated secular nationalism in order to create divisions among the Muslims.⁶¹ In the true Islamic spirit, 'Abduh said, nationalism was a divisive factor which could destroy the idealized concept of unity.⁶² With the substitution of religious for nationalist loyalties, people would no longer endure tyrannical government because the ruler would join the people in submission to the "highest ruler" (God), whose law he would enforce, and would thereby win the people's confidence. They would dispense with national spirit and its traces would be erased from men's souls.⁶³

It is in line with this Pan-Islamic idea that 'Abduh, despite his awareness of the defects of the Ottoman Caliphate, claimed in a letter sent to the Shaykh al-Islam in Istanbul in 1886 from Beirut that "the preservation of the Ottoman Empire (is) the third article of belief, after the belief in God and His Prophet, because it alone protects the religion of Islam and guarantees the

existence of its domain."⁶⁴

In line with the main aim of *al-'Urwah*, 'Abduh, in one of his articles, expressed his anti-imperialist feelings. He asserted that to try to stop foreign aggression was a religious and national obligation and that to defend one's homeland was in accordance with natural law and was comparable to the need for food and drink.⁶⁵ Although 'Abduh invariably talked about the unity of the Muslims in *al-Urwah*, he never abandoned his concept of *watan*, which he put forward before he was exiled. In an article appeared in *al-'Urwah*, he asserted that, by mentioning the Muslims in particular and by defending their rights, he did not intend to create dissensions between them and their non-Muslim compatriots, who had cooperated with them in good things for the welfare of the country in which they lived since generations past.⁶⁶ He continued that "we address the Muslims in particular because they form a dominant majority on lands occupied by the imperialists who humiliate them and exploit their wealth and resources."⁶⁷ He warned the people of the East that it was their first duty to cooperate and to fight imperialism which was their common enemy.⁶⁸

While still in Paris, 'Abduh visited London to discuss his country's freedom with British diplomats. He told a British member of Parliament that peace in Egypt had to be re-established, and the first step to achieve this was the withdrawal of the British forces from Egypt.⁶⁹ In a reply to Lord Hartington, the Secretary of War of the British, who claimed that the Egyptians were ignorant, and that they could not distinguish between a foreign ruler and a native one, and that only cultured nations took an aversion to foreign domination, 'Abduh contended that the hatred of foreign ruler did not depend on education and learning, but it was deeply rooted in man's nature. It was a human sentiment which manifested itself strongly in the most savage peoples. He maintained that it was wrong to think that Egypt was not prepared for freedom.⁷⁰

When 'Abduh was in London, he was interviewed by a representative of the "Pall Mall Gazette", and this interview was published on 17 August 1884. On this occasion, he put forward his views on the kind of ruler and the form of government which Egypt needed when the British left that country. He asserted that the ruler, whoever might be chosen by the Powers of Europe and the Sultan, should be someone whom people liked and whom the Sultan approved of. His term should be limited to seven to ten years, and at the end of the term the people should be allowed to elect their rulers finally for themselves. He continued that the ruler should be a Muslim and, if possible, an Egyptian by birth.⁷¹ The ruler whom 'Abduh had in mind was not a new king, but a chief of the Egyptian nation, acting under the religious sovereignty of the Caliphate.⁷²

C. Post-exile

When 'Abduh returned to Egypt from exile in the latter part of 1888, he denounced his Pan-Islamic idea on the ground of impracticality. He also abandoned his anti-imperialist attitude and decided to adopt a conciliatory one towards the British who were occupying Egypt. This is so because, being opposed to political agitation and preferring a policy of gradual reform, he believed that the occupation had a positive aspect, namely that it introduced some reforms, and therefore cooperation with the British was a practical way of bringing about reforms.⁷³ Accordingly, 'Abduh's program on the political front after his return from exile was primarily to promote good relations between the Egyptians and the British because he believed that the task of social and moral transformation of the country could be carried out under British rule. Quite contrary to his stance during his exile, he ceased to champion the cause of national freedom and plunged into political passivity. 'Abduh tried to rid himself of politics, asserting that politics was not his concern.⁷⁴ 'Abduh, due to his conciliatory attitude towards the British, belonged to the camp of anti-patriotic forces patronized by Lord Cromer, and he ('Abduh) clashed with the Nationalist Party of Mustafā Kāmil. Unlike the latter, 'Abduh believed that national independence could be reached when the masses, and not merely a few privileged classes, through a long process of education and training, had attained maturity.⁷⁵

It should be pointed out, however, that in spite of 'Abduh's differences with the nationalists, his patriotism cannot be doubted. His whole activities were meant for the welfare of his country, and he hated foreign rule.⁷⁶

In May 1904 'Abduh, in two letters sent to his friend, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, the English writer and partisan of the Egyptian cause, put forward his views on the form of government suitable for Egypt under British occupation. In these letters

he proposed a parliamentary system of government more or less on the pattern of Europe or more accurately on the British pattern, ... more Egyptians should be appointed as ministers in place of Circassian Turks, and the Khedive should be removed from the position of effective control; legislative authority should rest with the chamber of representatives to which the executive (ministers) would be responsible; and the Prime Minister should always be a Muslim, the British officials having no say in religious matters.⁷⁷

In another writing he claimed that political organization evolved from time to time according to circumstances and was not determined by religious (Islamic) doctrine.⁷⁸

With regard to his views on the Caliph, 'Abduh asserted that the Caliph, who was bound by law, deprived of absolute powers, and obliged to consult with Muslims, was a civil, not a religious leader.⁷⁹ He held that political

powers in the Islamic constitutional organization were also purely civil. There was no such thing as religious power in Islam.⁸⁰ He continued that the Caliph was only the political head of the community, not its Pope, though it was the religious law that confirmed his powers and duties. A Caliph and his subordinate, therefore, exercised their authority within the confines of a law over which they had no power of interpretation, let alone formulation.⁸¹ In keeping with this view, 'Abduh contended that legitimate authority was conditioned by the just application of the law.⁸² He, therefore, claimed that it was legitimate to rebel against a ruler who persistently acted contrary to the foundation of the Law as long as public interest demanded it.⁸³ He maintained that "it is the nation or its deputies that installs him in office, and the nation that possesses the right to supervise him. It deposes him when it considers this in its interest."⁸⁴

Although 'Abduh seems to separate religious power from temporal power, "he denies that there can really be any separation of religious and temporal powers ... (because) the effectiveness of civil and temporal rule is always dependent on what religion will allow."⁸⁵

IV. Ahmad Khan's Educational Ideas and Activities

Before and after the mutiny which took place in 1857, Ahmad Khan was of the opinion that the education imparted to his co-religionists in India was utterly inadequate. He also believed that all the socio-political diseases of India could be cured by educational treatment.⁸⁶ Therefore, after the mutiny when the Muslims suffered the most socially, economically, and politically, Ahmad Khan, like 'Abduh, in his efforts to rehabilitate the broken structure of the political, social, and cultural life of the Muslims in India, chose a peaceful method, namely, concentrating his attention on educational reform.

His educational ideas and activities can be divided into two phases, namely, before he went to England and after he returned from England.

A. Before going to England

During this period Ahmad Khan's educational endeavours reflected his belief in egalitarianism. His efforts to reform education at this stage were not confined to any particular system of society. This can be seen from the *madrasah* (school) which he founded in Muradabad in 1859 and which was attended by Muslim and Hindu students,⁸⁷ and by the English high school which he helped to establish at Ghazipur in 1864.⁸⁸ The *madrasah* in Muradabad taught only Persian, while the English high school at Ghazipur had a more varied curriculum.⁸⁹

In the speech he delivered on 6 October 1863 before the Mohammedan Literary Society in Calcutta, he publicly emphasized the importance of English, saying that Muslims were almost entirely ignorant of modern

philosophy, sciences, and arts due to their ignorance of the English language in which books on these subjects were mostly written. There was no religious objection, he said, to study any language spoken by many nations of the world.⁹⁰ He asserted that a lot of grand works had been written in German, French, and other languages. These works, however, had been translated into English. Moreover, England had also produced a lot of grand works. He, therefore, claimed that since the Muslims were unlikely to become proficient in languages other than English, and since India was now governed by the English, it was clear that English was the language to which Muslims had to devote their attention.⁹¹ In spite of this, he did not espouse English as the medium of instruction due to his conviction that it was only through the vernacular that modern knowledge could be acquired.⁹² For this purpose, he established the Scientific Society on 9 January 1864. The mission of this society was to translate useful English books into Urdu so that even those who were not in favor of English education might be able to acquaint themselves with the trends of new thought in the West.⁹³ The Society translated forty books dealing with history, political science, geography, meteorology, electricity, algebra, geometry, calculus, and agriculture. In addition, the Society conducted agricultural experiments. In March, 1866, a bi-weekly newspaper, *the Akhbar Institute Gazette*, was established; it propagated the mission and the findings of the researches conducted by the Society.⁹⁴

On 1 August 1867, Ahmad Khan, through the British Indian Association, sent a memorandum to the British Government suggesting that a vernacular department should be established at Calcutta University or that a separate vernacular university should be created in the Northwest Provinces so that the arts, sciences, and other branches of European learning might be taught through the vernacular language of Northern India, Urdu, that all examinations should be held in Urdu, and that degrees should be given to those students who passed the exams.⁹⁵

Ahmad Khan's proposal, however, could not be carried out due to the opposition of the British Government of the Northwest Provinces and the Hindus' demand that Hindi rather than Urdu be employed as the medium of instruction. The Government was opposed to Ahmad Khan's proposal because it thought that it was premature to introduce university education in Urdu since there were not enough standard works which had been translated into Urdu on various subjects. As a result, Ahmad Khan became a supporter of education through English.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, like 'Abduh, he remained convinced that only through the medium of the vernacular could people benefit from modern education.⁹⁷

Another important result of the Hindus' opposition was the change in Ahmad Khan's policy of cultural reforms. From the beginning, his work had been directed towards the advancement of both the Muslim and Hindu

communities. However, after this opposition, he believed that it would be futile to do so any longer because it was impossible for Muslims and Hindus to cooperate with each other wholeheartedly.⁹⁸

B. After his return from England

During his stay in London which lasted about one year and five months (May 4, 1869 to September 4, 1870), Ahmad Khan was deeply impressed by the progress of the European nations, particularly England, and especially when he compared it with the undeveloped condition of his own country. In one of his letters sent from England, he ascribed this to education, asserting that " ... politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workmanship, accomplishment, and thoroughness ... are the results of education and civilizations."⁹⁹ In order to know the system of education in England, he visited Cambridge and thoroughly studied the university and its system of education. He then came to the conclusion that his degraded community could benefit from a similar system.¹⁰⁰

Ahmad Khan, who left for England on 10 April 1869, returned to his country on 4 September 1870 and arrived in Bombay on 2 October 1870. Soon after his return, he set up the "Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muslims", and he was appointed secretary of his Committee. This Committee was required to 1. determine why the Muslims ignored the study of Western sciences, 2. ascertain objectively the reasons why the Muslims did not take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the British Government, and 3. recommend remedial action for eliminating the Muslims objections and the Government's obstacles in the educational system. The Committee offered three cash prizes for the best essays on the subject, and no less than thirty-two essays were submitted.¹⁰¹ Ahmad Khan made a report containing a summary of the views expressed by the essayists.

According to Ahmad Khan's report, there were seven objections to the study of Western (modern) sciences. 1. Muslims generally considered the principles of the modern sciences opposed to Islamic convictions. 2. The obligation of devotional worship, prayer, and the Muslims' propensity for taqlid al-madhahib deterred them from the knowledge of the sciences. 3. Generally conservative, the Muslim eschewed anything new. 4 The Muslims believed that the modern sciences would be of no value in business, trade, or in the professions of any class of people, 5. Since the modern sciences were taught exclusively in English, it was almost impossible for Muslims to study and have a good command of them without spending several years in learning English. Moreover, the scientific literature was not available in any of these languages which were commonly read by the Muslims. 6. The Muslims were utterly ignorant of the value and worth of the modern sciences. 7. The Muslims ignored all modern sciences because they believed that the

rational sciences were brought perfection by them in the past.¹⁰²

The Committee considered the last three objections against the study of modern sciences valid. As to the first objection, the majority of the members of the Committee denied its validity. The Committee also added another cause of the Muslims' objections to the study of modern sciences, namely that Muslim society no longer regarded the scholars of rational sciences as men of learning.¹⁰³

AS to why the Muslims objected to the education imparted by the Government, Ahmad Khan's report mentioned several reasons: 1. it did not include religious education, 2. it produced disbelief in faith, 3. it tended to produce corruption of morals, politeness and courtesy, 4. it ran counter to certain prejudices of the Muslims, namely, that they were religiously forbidden to learn English, and that in Government colleges and schools, they were not allowed time to attend to their religious duties and to go to their Friday prayers, 5. it had certain grave defects, such as superfluous subjects, which distracted the attention of the students from important ones, an insufficient number of teachers, and textbooks containing matters hostile to Islam, 6. it did not suit the habits and manners of the Muslims, who educated their children at home and who considered education unnecessary for them because they already had ample means of livelihood.¹⁰⁴

The Committee agreed with the essayists that the secular nature of modern schools was the primary cause of the Muslims' antipathy toward them. Led by Ahmad Khan, the majority of the members of the Committee, however, were against the idea that the Government had to introduce religious instruction in its public institutions because they feared that religious instruction, if introduced, would only be distorted and produce false notions about Islam.¹⁰⁵ The Committee also agreed that English education undermined Muslim students' faith in Islam. Ahmad Khan, commenting on this matter, stated that "he had never yet met a man who knew English and who had still full respect for all the religious beliefs and venerations."¹⁰⁶ To prevent this (lack of faith) from happening, the Committee was of the opinion that the students had to study religion (Islam). The members of this Committee, however, differed among themselves regarding the mode of instruction. All members agreed that it was necessary to make private arrangement for the study of Islam, but Ahmad Khan doubted that the private schools using the existing religious texts could provide the antidote to religious skepticism. He held that a new *'ilm al-kalām* catering to rationality was needed. In keeping with this conviction, Ahmad Khan wrote several books on various aspects of Islam.¹⁰⁷ He also maintained that if the Muslims wished to preserve their ancient learning, to profit from the modern arts and sciences, and to impart to their children an education adequate to meet their spiritual and material needs, there was no course open to them but to devise an educational system of their own.¹⁰⁸

In his effort to give proper education to the Muslims, Ahmad Khan, like 'Abduh, although different in details, divided the Muslim social system into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the working classes. He then divided the bourgeoisie into five collectives: first, those who aspired to high positions in the service of the government; second, those who preferred to live by commerce or by some profession; third, those who preferred to manage personal property; fourth, those interested in the liberal arts and sciences; and fifth, those interested in acquiring religious scholarship. The working class, according to Ahmad Khan, needed only a degree of education. In addition to this, the children of all classes needed religious education.¹⁰⁹

Ahmad Khan and his colleagues in the Committee created a stratified educational system which was meant to create personnel equipped to play differentiated roles. This stratified educational system consisted of three systems, namely, the modern system which created administrators, managers, professionals and teachers; the traditional and modern system which created medium grade judicial officers, litterateurs and *'ulamā* (religious scholars); and the mass system (private Muslim school) which maintained secondary schools, primary schools, and hafziy makātib (training schools for the memorizers of the Qur'ān).¹¹⁰

In the course of time Ahmad Khan, however, came to believe that only modern education could produce people equipped to ameliorate the Muslim position in terms of political and economic power.¹¹¹ He was also of the opinion that only the graduates of colleges and universities could help the Muslims achieve high standards of national progress.¹¹² Ahmad Khan, therefore, focussed his efforts on establishing a Muslim college. On 12 May 1872, the "Fund Committee for the Foundation of a Muslim College" was established for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of the establishment of the college, and Ahmad Khan was elected secretary of the Committee. After receiving suggestions from several people, Ahmad Khan recommended that Aligarh be the place where the college would be established.

In *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, published in 1872, Ahmad Khan enumerated the branches of learning which would be taught at the College. They are as follows:¹¹³

1. *Literature*, including both language and literature. English, Arabic, Persian, and Urdu were the languages which would be taught at the college.
2. *Mathematics*
Ahmad Khan put under this heading subjects, such as arithmetic, algebra, geometry, engineering, mechanics, architectural designing, and other subjects related to this branch of learning.
3. *Moral Sciences*
This branch of learning comprised subjects, such as: logic, political

science, ancient law, international law, modern law, and history of legislation.

4. *Natural sciences*

Ahmad Khan included in this branch of learning subjects, such as chemistry, mineralogy, geology, biology, anatomy, electrical science, etc.

5. *Islamic Theology*

In this branch of learning, Ahmad Khan included subjects, such as: dogmatics, exegesis, jurisprudence, hadith, principles of Islamic Law, principles of tradition, biography, and apologetics. There were also two sections of theology, one for Sunnis and the other for Shi'ites.

In the same article, Ahmad Khan asserted that the College would have three departments: the English and Urdu Departments in which all subjects would be taught in English and Urdu, respectively, and the Arabic Persian Department which was meant for those students who wanted to study Arabic, Persian literature, or Islamic Theology. In addition, all students in the three departments should be given religious instruction and should be made to know the basic teachings of Islam.¹¹⁴ This shows that Ahmad Khan, like 'Abduh, was in favor of the unification of secular and religious education.

The College, which was started on 1 January 1878, began with three departments as envisaged by Ahmad Khan, namely, two of modern-secular education with English and Urdu as the media of instruction, respectively, and the third of classical-religious education in Arabic and Persian. The Urdu Department, however, was closed due to the difficulty they had in obtaining books in Urdu, and the increasing realisation that acquiring secular education through the medium of Urdu was useless for practical secular purposes, such as securing high posts in government. The Arabic-Persian Theological Department was also short-lived. The English Department, on the other hand, grew as a natural product of the times.¹¹⁵

The aims of Ahmad Khan's educational endeavor, which are in principle the same of those of 'Abduh, were to spread education among Muslims, to build the character of the students in accordance with the true tenets of Islam and the demands of the present time, and to create in them a national feeling and sympathy.¹¹⁶ However, religious education of the students at M.A.O. (Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental) College was not conducted in line with Ahmad Khan's religious views owing to the large-scale opposition from the traditional *'ulamā*. Instead of him or someone else who held the same views, a traditionalist scholar from Deoband taught Islam.¹¹⁷

With regard to the education of women, Ahmad Khan asserted that due to the poverty of the Muslims, the general state of women's education among them in India was far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, he was of the opinion that Muslim women should be educated after a large number of Muslim men had received a sound education.¹¹⁸ He believed that when they (Muslim men)

were well educated and enlightened, Muslim women would benefit from it because enlightened fathers, brothers, and husbands would naturally be eager to educate their women relations.¹¹⁹ He, however, contended that at present, as in the past, only religious education and practical morality would be beneficial to women because it was this sort of education that could bring goodness and piety, mercy, love, and good character into the minds of girls.¹²⁰

V. Ahmad Khan's Political Ideas and Activities

Like 'Abduh, Ahmad Khan's primary concern was to ameliorate the condition of his people, the Muslims, through education. In order to create a favorable atmosphere for the implementation of this project, Ahmad Khan, like 'Abduh after he returned from exile, decided to cooperate with the British Government. To secure cooperation from the British, Ahmad Khan, through his conciliatory activities and particularly through his writings, succeeded to a certain degree in convincing the British Government that the Muslims in general were not responsible for the mutiny which broke out in 1857. He claimed that, contrary to the British misconception, a large number of Muslims remained loyal to the British Government, and that the restoration of peace would increase their loyalty.¹²¹ However, unlike 'Abduh, in his effort to make Muslims in India loyal to the British Government, not only did Ahmad Khan point out the benefit which the Muslims would get from cooperation with the British, but he also gave it religious sanction. He contended that " ... God has made them (the British) rulers over us. Therefore, we should cultivate friendship with them and should adopt that method by which their rule remains permanent and firm in India ... "¹²²

Ahmad Khan's political ideas and activities, therefore, were not directed towards something which would result in the withdrawal of the British from India, but they were mainly focussed on the betterment of the Indian Muslims' condition in all aspects vis-a-vis the Hindus.

In his early career as the informal leader of his community, Ahmad Khan, in line with his belief that only through education could his people enhance their position, tried to keep himself and his people aloof from political activities. This policy of his remained unchanged until shortly after he established the Muhammadan Educational Congress in 1886, which later on became the Muhammadan Educational Conference. This organization was established by Ahmad Khan in opposition to the Hindus' organization, the National Congress, which was established in 1885.

In December 1887, Ahmad Khan gave his first speech on politics before a large audience of Muslims in Lucknow in which he opposed the Muslims' participation in the National Congress. He was also against the proposals of the National Congress to the British Government that a competitive examination should be held in India and that the people should elect a section

of the Viceroy's Legislative Council on a one-man one-vote principle. Ahmad Khan's opposition was due to his belief that the people in India, particularly the Muslims, were not yet prepared for such undertakings.¹²³ He believed that the Muslims, who were relatively backward in acquiring English education, would suffer great injury if the National Congress's proposals succeeded. He was opposed to the one-man one-vote principle of election of the Viceroy's Legislative Council because the Muslims were fewer in number than Hindus in India. He said that by simple arithmetic, we could prove that there would be four votes for the Hindu to every one for the Muslim.¹²⁴ He, therefore, favoured proportional representation of both the Hindus and the Muslims. He asserted that "in direct proportion to census, Muslim and Hindu members should be appointed. Consequently, we will have one vote and they will have four. There is no other method of representation."¹²⁵

In the speech he gave in Meirut in March 1888, he urged the Muslims not to join the National Congress. On this occasion he expressed his opinion which, like 'Abduh's in the early period of his activities, was opposed to the demand of the National Congress that a representative government be established in India. He contended that a representative government was possible only if rulers and ruled were one nation. Since India was under British occupation, it was utterly vain to think that a representative government could be established.¹²⁶

Ahmad Khan's opposition to the Congress did not have its origin in any anti-Hindu feeling. In order to neutralize the National Congress's rising power, he established the "Patriotic Association" in August 1888 which was supported by Muslims as well as Hindus. This is, in fact, in accordance with his concept of *qawm* or nation in the early period of his activities. Like 'Abduh, Ahmad Khan was of the opinion that *qawm* or nation applied to the people who lived in the same country irrespective of their religion and characteristics.¹²⁷ In one of his speeches, he claimed that by the word *qawm* he meant both Hindus and Muslims.¹²⁸ He held that Hindu and Muslim were only religious terms.¹²⁹

Ahmad Khan, like 'Abduh, placed great emphasis on the unity of all the inhabitants of a country who professed different religions. In a speech given at Gurdaspur, Ahmad Khan called his fellow countrymen to unity irrespective of their religious beliefs. He asserted that "we (Hindus and Muslims) should try to become one heart and soul and act in unison. If united, we can support each other. If not, the efforts of one against the other will tend to the destruction and downfall of both."¹³⁰ Unlike 'Abduh, Ahmad Khan believed that nationalism was an instinct. National solidarity and the urge for mutual help were the characteristics of human beings which distinguished them from animals.¹³¹

In spite of this, he did not believe that Muslims and Hindus could coexist politically and share the sovereignty of India after the British left

India. In his speech given in Meirut and referred to above, he asserted that, if the British were to leave India, " ... the two nations-the Mohammedans and the Hindus-could not sit on the same throne and remain equal in power ... it is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down."¹³²

It is, therefore, natural that Ahmad Khan tried to do his utmost to protect the interests of his people vis-à-vis the Hindus. For all that he espoused earlier the coexistence of the Muslims and the Hindus in India, Ahmad Khan focussed his attention and activities on the betterment of his co-religionists. He had, in fact, only one love, Muslim India. He, therefore, could not tolerate anything which, in his view, was likely to threaten the future of Indian Muslims.¹³³

Consequently, it is not surprising that Ahmad Khan opposed the idea of Pan-Islamism and the conception of a universal Muslim caliphate propounded by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, and to a certain degree by Muhammad 'Abduh during his exile.

Ahmad Khan was of the opinion that the true caliphate ended after the caliphate of Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and asserted that Caliphs or Sultans had authority and power only over the country which they ruled and only over the Muslims who were their subjects. They were not Caliphs or Sultans of those Muslims who were not their subjects nor of that country which was not governed by them.¹³⁴ As a corollary, Ahmad Khan contended that the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid II, " ... is the Caliph only in that country which he governs and for those Muhammedans only who owe him allegiance."¹³⁵ Consequently, the Sultan of Turkey, according to Ahmad Khan, was not the Caliph of the Muslims of India either according to Islamic Law or Islamic religion.¹³⁶ He claimed that since the Muslims in India were the subjects of the British Government, it was their religious duty to remain faithful to it.¹³⁷

For all his subservience to the British Government, Ahmad Khan rejected the British monarchy. He contended that Islam tolerated neither a personal ruler nor limited monarchy and hereditary monarchy. What Islam preferred was a popularly elected president.¹³⁸ In spite of his rejection of the British monarchy, he, in accordance with his belief in the necessity of an impartial and supreme law, " ... looked upon the British regard for impartiality and supremacy of laws as the acme of civilized administration."¹³⁹

Unlike 'Abduh, Ahmad Khan was of the opinion that there was no connection between spiritual or religious matters and worldly affairs. Islam, as a true religion, only stated cardinal principles and only occasionally dealt with the problems of the world.¹⁴⁰ Accordingly, he advocated the separation of church and state. He argued that the first four Caliphs followed this principle but Muslims gradually abandoned it to their own detriment. This fact, he said, led the *'ulamā* to formulate four schools of *Law*, which had been

regarded by the common men as infallible. This development, according to him, gave rise to four serious problems within the body politic of Islam: 1. Islam was accepted as relating to all secular problems, 2. the 'ulamā's personal *ijtihād* and *qiyās* were elevated to the status of dogma, 3. in modern times criticism of the four schools of *Law* was tantamount to opposition to Islam, 4. the 'ulamā denied the need for new legislation to cope with contemporary conditions.¹⁴¹ He also contended that the lack of national progress among the Muslims was mainly owing to the extreme intrusion of religion into secular affairs. They believed that secular affairs could not be settled unless religion sanctioned them, and even secular problems could not be solved in new ways.¹⁴²

VI. Concluding Remarks

It was said in the "Introduction" of this paper that 'Abduh and Ahmad Khan tried to do their utmost to ameliorate the conditions of their communities by launching several reforms in various aspects. They focussed their attention on educational reform, firstly, due to their belief that unless the system of education in their communities was improved, their other reforms could not successfully be carried out and, secondly, due to the conditions of their countries which were under foreign rule, which forced them to adopt a peaceful method.

In carrying out their educational reforms, both 'Abduh and Ahmad Khan were in favor of the unification of secular and religious education. 'Abduh, however, seemed to put more emphasis on religious education than his counterpart in India.

During 'Abduh's active career, he was unceasingly critical of the effect of education on soul. The soul, for 'Abduh, had to be imbued with good qualities and manners so that a person could live according to the rules of human society and be accustomed to them. He maintained that disciplines which could revive the soul existed only in religion, and, therefore, what Muslims needed was a true understanding of religion. For 'Abduh, purely secular education was certainly doomed if it was not accompanied by religious education.

Ahmad Khan, on the other hand, seemed to place more emphasis on secular education. His educational reform was primarily aimed at creating personnel who were able to master the Western sciences and, in turn, enhance the Muslims' power in India vis-a-vis the Hindus both politically and economically. It is, therefore, not surprising that Ahmad Khan was more successful than 'Abduh in introducing the modern sciences. These sciences were taught at the college (later a university) which Ahmad Khan helped to establish. In the matter of religious education, however, Ahmad Khan had to yield to the traditionalists. 'Abduh, on the other hand, succeeded only in administrative reform at al-Azhar owing to the strong opposition he faced

from the diehard Shaykhs of al-Azhar. Nevertheless, it would be misleading to say that 'Abduh totally failed in his attempt to introduce reform at al-Azhar. At least, he was successful in planting the seed of reform in the minds of the students of that institution.

In keeping with their emphasis on educational reform, both 'Abduh and Ahmad Khan adopted peaceful methods and an evolutionary approach in their political activities, although 'Abduh once advocated a revolutionary one. But his revolutionary approach was adopted by him only on the eve of and during the 'Urabi Revolt and during his exile. As a corollary, they were willing to cooperate with the British who occupied Egypt and India. However, 'Abduh's cooperation with the British and the acceptance of their position in Egypt was an act of practical politics. Unlike Ahmad Khan, 'Abduh never gave it religious sanction. This is, in fact, one of the most important differences between 'Abduh and Ahmad Khan.

Another important difference between 'Abduh and Ahmad Khan is that latter, unlike 'Abduh, distinguished between religious matters and worldly affairs and, therefore, advocated the separation of church and state. This idea is, of course, contrary to the orthodox view of Islam which recognizes no distinction between secular and religious matters. For Islam, everything is a religious matter in one sense or another and, therefore, it never allows any separation of church and state.

In spite of his, Ahmad Khan was more consistent than 'Abduh with regard to political ideas and activities. From the beginning, Ahmad Khan was a staunch nationalist while 'Abduh was once a proponent of Pan-Islamism.

Apart from these differences, both 'Abduh and Ahmad Khan were diplomats in the real sense of the word. While in Paris, 'Abduh visited London to discuss the freedom of this country with British diplomats. After his return from exile, he maintained good relations with the British Government in Egypt in his effort to implement his educational reform. Ahmad Khan, in his role as a diplomat, attempted to mediate between the Indian Muslims and their English rulers, especially after the mutiny in 1857, to remove misunderstanding which causes suspicion and friction, and to create good relations between them.

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- 101 Malik, *Sir Sayyid*, p. 126; Graham, *Life and Work*, p. 246; Hussain, *Ahmad Khan*, p. 114; Moin, *Aligarh*, p. 102.
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- 103 *Ibid.* pp. 135-36.
- 104 Graham, *Life and Work*, pp. 246-48; Hussain, *Ahmad Khan*, pp. 114-15; Malik, *Sir Sayyid*, pp. 127-29.
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- 106 *Ibid.* 107 *Ibid.*, p. 196.
- 108 Hussain, *Ahmad Khan*, p. 115.
- 109 Malik, *Sir Sayyid*, pp. 194-95.
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- 113 Hussein, *Ahmad Khan*, pp. 145-46.
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