

EARLY PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN MUSLIM SOCIETIES – A REVIEW

*Dr. Humaira Ahmad**

*Prof. Dr. Muhammad Hammad Lakhvi***

Modernity swept across Muslim societies as a byproduct of Western colonialism. However, before the formal colonization of the Muslim world, the internal gluttony of Muslim societies and hollowness of state administrative structures forced the then Muslim rulers to introduce modern reforms in their states. The Ottoman Empire pioneered this move with the introduction of modern reform programs of *nizam-e-jedid* (1789-1801) and *Tanzimat* (1839-1874) by Selim III and Mehmud II respectively. These programs were primarily aimed at reordering and updating administrative and military structures. Muhammad Ali of Egypt tried to modernize the economic system of Egypt under the banner of *Tanzimat*. Western Educational institutes established by French produced in Syria and Lebanon a class of intellectuals who took the lead in bringing about a transformation in the Arab World. The reformative ideas of Khayr ad Din Pasha of Tunisia in terms of strengthening government and state brought change in North Africa. In the Sub-Continent, Sayyed Ahmad Khan and his companions took the lead in efforts to integrate Western and Islamic thought. All of these reformative endeavors were inspired by European progress in all walks of life and were aimed at modernizing administration, imparting modern training to military corps and setting up modern communication infrastructure and educational institutes. The impact of these early reforms on the masses was not significant but it laid down the foundation for later modern ideologies which initiated cultural and social transformations.

Key words: Transformation, Patterns, Modernity, Muslim Societies, West

Introduction

The present article is a review of the patterns of early modern reformation programs in different parts of the Muslim world. It also describes the consequences of these modernizing reforms for Muslims. The illustration of transformation of those parts of Muslim world have been selected which either took the lead or influenced the other adjacent areas.

a. Modern Transformation in Muslim World

Modernity, the epoch of change in the world, originated in the West and signifies transformation in outlook and ideas. Modernity in its literal sense is the condition or quality of being modern, and in terminology it “is short hand term for ‘modern society,’ ‘industrial civilization’, ‘a certain set of attitudes towards the world,’ ‘a complex of economic institutions’ and ‘a certain range

* Assistant Professor, University of Management & Technology, Lahore.

** Professor, Department of Islamic Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

of political institutions, including the nation state and mass democracy.”¹ Apart from this general notion, modernity is a conceptual set of specific ideas developed over time in various disciplines. It signifies certain historical developments and transitions that took place in the West from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance and Reformation, and then culminating in the Industrial and French Revolutions, gave birth to scientism which led to the dawn of the scientific method. It brought cultural, religious and intellectual transformations and changed the premises and spirit of human norms in an exceptional way. The conversions were not just at societal or sociological level but also transformed the theories and thought processes of scientists and philosophers during the Enlightenment Age. These momentous changes enabled the Western world to come out of its Dark Ages, and by the eighteenth century, these ‘occidental people’² recognized themselves to be so superior to be able to rule the world and fulfill their hegemonic agenda at all levels. Therefore this iconic change of “Modernity” is called the “Great Western Transmutation (G.W.T)”³ which later swept across traditional Muslim societies modernizing their ways of life and leaving a permanent conflict of ideologies and dilemmas for the masses.

No other term has been as widely debated and discussed in the vocabulary of liberation and development relating to the third world and more particularly Muslim societies as modernity and modernization. Although the beginning of postmodern age is heralded but still modernity puzzles policy makers, masses and scholars in the Muslim world. It has been defined in different contexts and in different domains of knowledge. Some identify modernization with Westernization. Others consider it a moment for a sociological change in society and weeding out institutions which have lost social value.⁴ It is also interpreted as some kind of internal revolution that challenges traditional customs and values that compels people to emancipate themselves from traditional bonds and beliefs. However from whatever angle modernity is evaluated and judged, one thing is certain, that it entails considerable fermentation and change in social relations, economic philosophy, political structures and religious beliefs.⁵

There are mainly two assumptions for the introduction of modernity in Muslim societies. According to one observation modernization is an indigenous and independent process;⁶ a kind of

reformation that was fed on internal realization among the leaders of reform movement, that the “old structures and numerous traditional institutions were being over-burdened by stresses resulting from a new set of inter-personal relations, more dynamic social groups, and by new political aspirations among the educated classes. This view rules out the intervention of government to initiate the process of change. The advocates of this view believe that the agents of change and forces are never state-sponsored. Government intercedes only when it realizes that changes that have taken place need institutional adjustment to make policy making machinery more efficient and productive.”⁷ The government can legitimize its intervention in the name of religion or on any other popular appeal at a particular time.⁸

The second approach about modernization is widely discussed and accepted by scholars and historians. They view that modernization in Islam is a direct outcome of the infiltration of Western ideas in Muslim societies during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. During the nineteenth century, the process of change taking place in Muslim world was generally known as “Europeanization”, but with the advent of American education and missionary activities the term transformed into ‘Westernization.’ After World War II when these lands became independent due to the impact of growing nationalistic fervor, the term modernization was found more relevant and appropriate.⁹ There is, however, one clear difference between modernization and Europeanization. Europeanization was confined only to the leisured class, the upper crust of the society, who could afford to send their children abroad or had the means to import advanced technological gadgets. Modernization on the other hand is a much more universal phenomenon. Its ramifications are spread over vast segments of society.¹⁰ One thing to note in particular is that the modern transformation of Muslim societies initiated either by Muslim rulers or colonial masters in Muslim world was motivated by the West. Collapsing administration, military defeat and growing Western might forced Muslim rulers to introduce administrative, economic and military reforms in their respective lands. Therefore the change and metamorphosis was almost simultaneous in Muslim lands and almost at the same time, though the patterns of this transformation varied from place to place.

b. Ottomans: Pioneering the Modern Reforms

Ottoman rulers inaugurated modern reforms during the time period when they faced humiliating defeats at the hands of Austria and were forced to sign two extremely chagrining treaties of Carlowitz (1699)¹¹ and Passarowitz (1718).¹² These setbacks forced Ottoman Sultans to review their policies and strategies and an ambassador Mehmed Said Pasha Effendi (1830-1914) was sent to France with special instructions to find out the causes of the progress of Western civilization and develop a scheme by which some of its aspects could be implanted in Turkey. These reforms or scheme were not cultural but were confined only to printing and in the organization of the navy. However, the seeds of modernization sown by Selim III (1789-1807) pioneered in modernization and had far reaching implications. He introduced a reform program called *nizam-e-jadid* (New Order, *nizam-i-cedid*) which opened the floodgates of foreign influences. This step, however, was the modest one but is considered a landmark in the history of Modernization in Islamic societies.¹³ *Nizam-i-jadid* was primarily an effort to modernize the army by equipping it with modern weapons, skills and strategies.¹⁴

There was no broad manifesto of social reforms; however this step created awareness, an awakening that the erosion that had taken place in the Muslim society could not be stopped without change.¹⁵ Then the *Tanzimat-i-Hayriye* (Auspicious Reordering) commonly known as *Tanzimat* was the program (1839-1874) of reformation in administration of Ottoman Empire to modernize it. The reforms were initiated by Mahmut II but were carried under the leadership of Mustafa Reşit Pasa.¹⁶ *Tanzimat* was the culmination of the momentum given by the *Nizam-e-jadid*. This program was not just confined to the reformation of military and administrative structure but extended to economic, social and religious affairs. Industries were set up to manufacture cloth, armory and iron. Land reforms were introduced to stimulate agriculture growth. Abolition of slavery, setting up printing press, establishment of modern University and Academy of Science, First Ottoman Parliament, Ottoman Central Bank, Stock Exchange, postal system, telegraph, steamships, and the beginning of railway construction in 1866 were part of this *Tanzimat* program.¹⁷ Land resettlement and reclamation reforms of *Tanzimat* provided opportunity to Russian Jews to buy land from Palestinians and enabling them to have their settlements that resulted after the first *aliya*.¹⁸ These reforms

increased the secularization of society by undermining the role of the *ulama*¹⁹ and increased the role of new “generation” of Westernized physicians, engineers, army and navy officers for subsequent transformations.

The reform program under in Egypt under the banner of *Tanzimat* was commenced by Muhammad Ali (1805-1848). He was an Albanian Commander in the Ottoman Army who defeated French military forces, made them flee from Egypt and later founded his dynasty. For the first time, he recruited Egyptian peasant soldiers in the army and reformed its structure with the help of Italian and French military advisers. The new system of taxation was devised to replace the older one and the power of *ulama* was broken as Muhammad Ali confiscated their tax farms and *waqfs*.²⁰ These reforms improved irrigation, stimulated cotton production, created trading monopolies, and brought investment in factories to produce military supplies. This widespread economic revolution produced a “new landowning and bureaucratic class whose scions become officials, lawyers, journalists, and politicians in the late nineteenth century”²¹ taking the lead in social and cultural reformation in the coming decades.

It is also important to note that the spirit of modernization behind these two major reform movements was not an indigenous one but under the influence of Western ideologies and progress.²² A number of intellectuals and enlightened bureaucrats who provided the thrust and strength to these movements were convinced that the European society was superior in every respect, and as such without importing Western institutions, salvation from social, moral, and political bankruptcy of the empire was not possible. They also believed that the traditional institutions had become hollow and needed reformation.²³ Muhammad Ali in Egypt, and proponents of the *Tanzimat* wanted to change the pattern of religious hierarchal control on all institutions whether religious or administrative. In administration they desired more bureaucratic centralization and wanted the state to assume much wider responsibilities towards the general welfare of the public. All this led to emergence of many complex institutions that had not existed before.²⁴ More than anything else, this reform movement produced a new ruling class; the essential professional qualification of this class was expected to be in possession of an insight into the modern sciences, and understanding of at least one European

language.²⁵ These '*Men of Tanzimat*' became a source of inspiration for the later generations of intellectuals in the empire who widened the scope of modernization to social, cultural and political spheres.

c. Lebanon and Syria: Arab Intelligentsia and Arab Renaissance

In the Arab Fertile Crescent or the modern Middle East, most of which was part of the Ottoman Empire, European political influence and commercial penetration did not lead to structural and political changes until after World War I. However the installation of modern educational institutes by the Europeans in Syria and Lebanon made grounds for the cultural, literary and social change in the society. The French sponsored a vigorous educational program in Lebanon. Lebanon's Maronite was already educated in Rome since eighteenth century. French Jesuits established a school at Aintura in 1728 and Maronite colleges were established at Zigharta (1735) and Ayn Warqa (1789). The Syrian Protestant College, which eventually became the American University of Beirut, was founded in 1866. Zahleh, Damascus, and Aleppo acquired new schools between 1839 and 1783. The French-sponsored University of St. Joseph was established in 1875.²⁶ These institutes produced a class of intelligentsia who endorsed the ideologies of the West. "What *Tanzimat* had done in Turkey and what economic change done in Egypt, Western education did in Lebanon. A small vanguard took the lead in formulating a cultural renaissance. Educated Arabs became aware, "not only of the West, but of their own literary heritage."²⁷ These intellectuals, well versed in modern Western education and aware of Islamic heritage, promoted Arab heritage and the ideologies of Arab Nationalism and Arab socialism in later years in opposition to Ottomanism.

d. Tunisia: Modernizing and Restructuring Government Machinery

Tunisia is one of the major representative countries of North Africa which experienced early modernization as it shared the problems of the Ottoman Empire and Egypt. Internal economic decline and rising European power forced the Beys of Tunisia to modernize their regime. First step which was taken was the establishment of polytechnic school in 1838 by Ahmed Bey (1837-55) to train infantry corps. Another attempt towards modernization was made with the introduction of constitution in 1857 to ensure security for

the Tunisian population, equality in taxation, freedom of religion, and mixed European-Tunisian courts. The name of Khayr al-Din Pasha who became Prime Minister is important in efforts to strengthen the state during the years 1873 to 1877. A new college named Sadiqi was founded to train future government officials, and new supervisors were appointed for the Zaytuna mosque during this time period. Under his leadership, the government created new offices for the administration of *waqfs* and reorganized Muslim justice system, especially to meet European demands of equity. Finally, the reform program included the creation of Government printing press to produce textbooks for the Sadiqi students and to produce classical Islamic legal treatises. This reform program was based on the idea that good government is the foundation of social and economic justice and for these reform efforts ‘ulama’ were persuaded to accept European methods of government..²⁸ The graduates of Sadiqi and Zytuna College later published weekly newspaper *al-Hadira* to comment on European and world events, and to discuss political, economic and literary issues. Influenced by the teachings of Muhammad Abduh and Jamal ud din Afghani, some of the graduates emerged as self style “Young Tunisians”. These “Young Tunisians” also sponsored a reformed Quran school in which students were taught the Quran, Arabic and basic arithmetic, geography, history and French. They were also concerned with the reformation of Muslim legal administration and Arabic literary education.²⁹

e. Southeast Asia: Reforming the Religious Practices of Muslims

The scenario in Southeast Asia was dominated by Portuguese and Dutch colonialists very early as compared to the other parts of the Muslim world. The pattern of change and reform was quite different in this part of the Muslim world. Dutch colonialists were the harshest in enforcing their language and colonial agenda as compared to the other colonial powers. They installed modern educational institutes and made Dutch language the official and compulsory language of the institutes. Consequently, most of the population was deprived of higher education and remained uneducated. Also, the long presence of different colonial powers first Portuguese, Dutch and then the British gave birth to nationalist tendencies and movements. There were specifically no modernizing reform programs introduced by the rulers. However,

several Islamic movements were founded between 1905 and 1912 in Java. The most important of these educational and religious associations was Muhammadiyah, which was founded in 1912 by Hajji Ahmad Dahlan for the reform of the practice of Islam and the betterment of Muslim community. Muhammadiyah espoused a pious religious life based on the duties described in the Qur'an and the sayings of the prophet, but rejected the medieval Muslim legal and philosophic systems and authority of the Muslim saints in favor of Ijtihad or individual reasoning in religious matters. Muhammadiyah has sometimes been considered a modernist form of Islam, but its primary concerns place it in the tradition of Muslim religious reform. The primary effort of Muhammadiyah was the creation of modern-type religious schools. While the patterns were devoted to recitation of sacred scriptures and mystical formulae, the Muhammadiyah schools taught basic Muslim religious principles, the Arabic language, Dutch, and secular subjects. They introduced a gradual program of study, rationalized methods of instruction, and emphasized comprehension and reasoning rather than memorization.³⁰ The movement presented a blend of reformation and modernist ideas.

f. Central Asia: Introduction of “New Method”

The colonization of Central Asia by Russian conquests gave rise to new intelligentsia which demanded reform of Muslim practices, self improvement, cultural enlightenment, and eventually, political autonomy.³¹ The most significant cultural movement of modernizing reforms was *usul-i-jaded*, or “New Method,” a program of educational reform that originated among westernized Kazan and Crimean Tatars who were assimilated to Russian culture and were concerned about their backwardness. Leaders of this revival proclaimed the freedom of reasoning and independent judgment in religious matters, the abandonment of the fixed dogmas of the past, a new education based on the teachings of Qur'an, hadith, and the history of Islam, and instruction in Russian language and modern science.³² Abu Nasar al-Kusravi (1783-1814), a young Tatar theologian and teacher in a madrasa in Bukhara, Shihab al-Din Marjani (1818-89) were part of this modernist and reformist movement. The most famous *jadidi* leader was Gaprinskii (1851-1914), a Crimean Tatar who had a European education and worked as a journalist in Istanbul and Paris. In 1883, he began to publish *Tarjuman*, which became the principal

expression of the *jaded* campaign for the modernization and unification of Muslim peoples. Gaprinskii became a proponent of the modernist rather than reformist orientation. He argued that Muslims must borrow from the West to revitalize their intellectual and social life. While Islam could remain a philosophic and theological system, Muslim peoples had to become part of modern technical civilization.³³

g. Iran: Free Thinking and Reforming the Military

Being part of the Asian Muslim lands, Iran managed to remain independent for centuries. But due to the threat of growing Russian intrusion in the area, the seeds of modernization in Iran were also sown in military organization. Abbas Mirza Crown Prince under Fath Ali Shah Qajar suffered two humiliating defeats at the hands of Russians in 1813 and 1828; as a result of which he pleaded with his father that the only way Iran could stop Russian encroachment was to create a modern army based on European model. He was also the first leading member of the royal family to perceive that Iran would gain tremendous advantage if young men were sent to Europe for higher studies. In 1811, he requested Sir Harford Jones to take two young Iranians with him to England to study advanced European studies.³⁴ The infiltration of Western ideas also took place when in 1851 *Dar ul Fanun*, the Poly Technical College was established in which all of the instructors were hired from France, Italy and Austria.³⁵ Another source through which the Western influences penetrated in Iran was free masonry.³⁶ Many of the Iranian reformers who studied in Europe during the nineteenth century were members of the worldwide European organization that preached free thinking, and encouraged people to revolt against tradition.³⁷ In addition to this the revolutionary ideas of Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani³⁸ and Mir Ahmad Kasravi³⁹ had deep impact on the growing tendency of Westernization among the educated Iranians.⁴⁰

h. Sub-Continent: Apologetic integration of Islamic and Western Thought

Unlike Iran, Egypt and Iran and Tunisia, there were no enlightened rulers or bureaucrats to lead modernization plans in the Sub-Continent. Modern ideas and education held ground somewhat late as compared to other parts of the Muslim world. It was also influenced from Europe when the land was officially colonized by the British in 1857. Here, the movement for modernization of

Islam was initiated by Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan and his successors whose religious and political ideas left a lasting impact on the later religious, educational and reform movements over the Sub-Continent.⁴¹ Sir Sayyed founded the famous Aligarh school which later became University to help Muslims to get modern Western education. This institute became a nursery for westernized elite and intelligentsia whose ideas later brought social, cultural and political change in the area.

i. Colonization of Muslim lands

The review of early modernizing reform in different parts of the Muslim world indicates that Muslim rulers realized the stagnation of their societies, hollow administrative structures and outdated army and to overcome it they introduced various reformation programs. But the impact of these reform programs on the Muslim society was not profound because the reformers did not spend their maximum efforts in forcing the people to accept things for which they were not yet mentally prepared. Consequently, the impact of this Reformation was rather superficial and seemed to be nothing more than a Western sketch of their traditional ways.⁴² But such situation could not last for long. If gunnery and technological advancement of the West like printing could be accepted, recognition of sociological and political ideas could not be far behind which fantasized new class of Muslim intellectuals, bureaucrats, army officials who were the product of these early reform measures. However, the most provocative and decisive of the modernizing reforms were enforced by the colonial powers during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. European nations driven by the lust of economic expansion and political hegemony established worldwide territories in search of capital markets for their industries. Muslim heartlands were no exception. These European colonial “powers colonized one Islamic country after another in the earlier nineteenth century. France occupied Algeria in 1830 and Britain Aden nine years later. Tunisia was occupied in 1881, Egypt in 1882, the Sudan in 1889 and Libya and Morocco in 1912. In 1915 the Sykes-Picot Agreement⁴³ divided the territories of the moribund Ottoman Empire (which had sided with Germany during the First World War) between Britain and France in anticipation of victory. After the war, Britain and France set up mandates in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan. This was experienced as an outrage, since the

European powers had promised the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire independence. Muslims in the Balkans, Russia and Central Asia became subject to the new Soviet Union. Even after some of these countries had been allowed to become independent, the West often continued to control the economy, the oil or such resources as the Suez Canal.⁴⁴ The map of the entire Muslim world was covered by British, Dutch, and French colonialists.”⁴⁵

This hegemonic project of European powers was not only limited to the lands but people of these colonized lands were forced to lead their lives according to European ways. Europe not only invaded Muslim lands with its military and bureaucracy but also brought its Christian missionaries and scholars. The most quoted example in this regard is that of Napoleon’s occupation (1798-1801) of Egypt. He was accompanied by a large group of scientists and scholars whose main assignment was to explore the social and cultural dynamics of a Muslim society.⁴⁶ Many of them learned Arabic, and communicated freely with all the elitist groups including the ulama⁴⁷ and compiled their observations and narrative of these colonized people. On the other hand, Christian Missionaries established missionary schools to attract local oppressed and poor population to Christianity. “The double threat of colonialism was that of crown and the cross. The preachers and missionary institutions (churches, schools, hospitals, and publishing houses) were regarded by many Muslims as an arm of imperialism, which displaced indigenous institutions, supplanted local languages and history with Western curriculum, and seduced souls through schools and social welfare.”⁴⁸ Colonial masters looked down upon the local population and labeled them as backward, illiterate, incapable of learning and unaware, and in order to remove this backwardness they declared European languages as the official languages of their governments in their respective lands and persuaded people to learn Western education and adopt their life styles. In the words of Karen Armstrong, “The colonial powers by force led the inhabitants Muslim societies to modernize in the same way as were their societies but at far rapid speed. The modernization process which took the West three centuries to complete was supposed to achieve in three decades in colonial Muslim lands.”⁴⁹ Colonial rule brought the new elite to the force and power which was trained in modern educational institutes, took lead in bringing the modernizing reforms to their societies.

Western ideologies were localized by adding a suffix or prefix of Islam and were preached.

In response to the cultural hegemony and domination of the European colonial powers, Muslims responded in diverse ways ranging from complete rejection of Western ideas to complete acceptance and these responses differed from one place to another. Different movements emerged in Muslim lands to respond to the threat of the West and in one way or the other most of them were inspired from the Western ideologies molded and improvised into local scenarios.

Conclusion

The above described review of early modern change in different Muslim societies indicates that modern reform programs transformed the structure of Muslim societies in later years in unprecedented ways. Most of these reforms were confined to the restructuring of government institutions on western patterns, introducing land resettlement and reclamations reforms, modern military training, establishment of modern communication arrangements, new financial setups and educational institutes imparting modern education in European languages. The fruits and impact of these reorganizations and emendations did not infiltrate among masses. However these reforms produced a stratum of army officials, bureaucrats, landowners and intellectuals who took the front position along with colonial masters to trigger sociological, political and cultural transformations in the coming decades. These new strata of merchants, commercial framers, and industrial workers became the vanguard of the modernization of their societies.

That being said, it was a somewhat superficial transformation imposed from the top in response to failed indigenous systems. While Europe had reached the modern stage through an evolutionary process encompassing political, intellectual, cultural and scientific aspects, the modernistic elements in Muslim lands were introduced to suit the rulers. Although the impact was enormous, ranging from changes in lifestyles to a local intelligentsia that thrived on modeling Western precepts, the masses remained largely aloof. This had far reaching consequences for Muslim societies in later years and it is a rift that plagues them even today.

Another aspect that needs to be examined closely is the impact of the French Revolution (1789–1799).⁵⁰ The ideas of liberty, equality, and natural rights attracted worldwide attention and became a source of intellectual and philosophical fermentation in many Muslim lands which led them to introduce modern reform programs. Yet the contradiction of these ideals became evident even in France; if all men deserved liberty and equality, then what about the people of the lands colonized by the French, or other colonial powers that refused to accord the same rights to people under their rule. To make up for these deficiencies, elaborate theories were devised that justified colonial rule as a liberating force. While the French Revolution indeed altered world history, yet its fruits were unevenly reaped across the world. It is true that the ideals of the French revolution were universal in nature; the world that we live in today is a world largely shaped by them – nationalism, constitutional government, mass participation. How far this has been achieved in Muslim societies today is another discourse but its shockwaves did impact early Muslim reformers.

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² Marshal Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* 3 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1974), 3: 177. Marshal Hodgson has used this word for the Western People.

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⁴Jürgen Habermas, “Modernity versus Postmodernity,” *New German Critique* 22, *Special issue on Modernism* (Winter 1981): 3–14; Susan Stanford Friedman, “Definitional Excursions: The Meaning of Modern/ Modernity/ Modernism,” *Modernism/Modernity* 8, no. 3 (2001): 493-513, <http://muse.jhu.edu/>.

⁵ Shaukat Ali, *Islam and the Challenges of Modernity: An Agenda for the Twenty First Century*, (Islamabad: National institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence, Quaid e Azam University, 2004), 14.

⁶Ahmed Balafrej, Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party in Morocco has described, ‘built in’ modernity of Islam in this way: “Some people might wonder whether religious leaders or certain groups in Muslim universities even the Muslim religion itself –might not form an obstacle to modernization in the political and institutional field as well as in economic and social affairs. I should like to point out that Islam has no clergy and the Muslim religion, over secular problems but they do so by laying down general principles which are susceptible of evolution. These principles are in no way incompatible with the development of the world or with modern trends. On the contrary, they are conceived in the spirit of progress, of *ijtihad* ----- interpretation of the principles – allows the

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³⁴ Hafez Farman Farmayan, "The Forces of Modernization in the Nineteenth Century Iran: A Historical Survey," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers eds. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 126.

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³⁶The Society of Freemasons is a secret organization with aims which are never officially declared in public. It engulfs itself with a thick curtain of secrecy to the extent that any new recruit gives a most solemn oath not to reveal its secrets. He is made fully aware that he reveals these secrets at peril to his life. Admission to the society is not open to everyone. In fact, the Society of Freemasons recruits its members after careful study of their characters and positions. It also tries hard to enlist in its membership kings, presidents, ministers, leading politicians and highly influential people. Such people are given honorary membership that keeps them at the periphery of the society, which means that they do not share in its decision making and they are not let into its secrets. Only those who are prepared to work with dedication for the aims of the society are made aware of these secrets. This, too, after they have passed certain tests and been promoted from one degree to another in the hierarchy of the society." (*Wikipedia- the Free Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Freemasonry," <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freemasonry>)

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³⁹ Hafez F. Farmayan, "Observations on Sources for the Study of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Iranian History," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no.1 (Jan., 1974): 36-37, <http://www.jstor.org/>.

⁴⁰ Ervand Abrahamian, "Kasravi: The Integrative Nationalist of Iran" in *Towards a Modern Iran*, 110.

⁴¹ Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 23-56; Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1964), 19-50.

⁴² Stanford Jay Shaw, "Some Aspects of the Aims and Achievements of the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Reformers" in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers eds. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 16.

⁴³ "The Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 was a secret agreement between the governments of the UK and France, with the assent of Imperial Russia, defining their respective spheres of influence and control in Western Asia after the expected downfall of the Ottoman Empire during World War I." (*Wikipedia-the Free Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Sykes-Picot Agreement." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sykes%E2%80%93Picot_Agreement)

⁴⁴ Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History* (Westminster, MD, USA: Random House Adult Trade Publishing Group, 2002), 127; John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 51; John Obert Voll, *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* (Colorado: Westview Press, Inc., 1982), 87-89.

⁴⁵ *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, 51.

⁴⁶ Arthur Goldschmidt, Jr., *Modern Egypt: The Formation of Nation State* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1988), 14.

⁴⁷ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Masrot, "The Beginnings of Modernization Among The Rectors of al-Azhar 1798-1799," in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East*, 269.

⁴⁸ *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, 51.

⁴⁹ Karen Armstrong, *Islam: A Short History*, 127.

⁵⁰ "The revolutionary movement that shook France between 1787 and 1799 and reached its first climax there in 1789. Hence the conventional term "Revolution of 1789," denoting the end of the ancien régime in France and serving also to distinguish that event from the later French revolutions of 1830 and 1848." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8th ed., s.v. "French Revolution." <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/219315/French-Revolution>.)

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