

PAN-ISLAMISM IN ALGERIA: A STUDY OF THE  
CONCEPT OF MUSLIM UNITY IN THE THOUGHTS OF  
HAMDĀN KHŪJA AND AMIR ‘ABDUL QĀDIR

BY

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## ABSTRACT

The current study examines the ideas of Pan-Islamism in Algeria through the thoughts and activities of Hamdān Khūja and Amir Abdul Qādir, its objectives, and impediments during the colonial era. This research also attempts to evaluate Algerian nationalism and the accuracy of Hans Kohn's "universal Theory of Social Change" on the issue of Islamic identity in Algeria in the light of the thoughts Hamdān Khūja and Amir Abdul Qādir during the first half of the nineteenth century. The researcher implemented the method of induction and textual analysis to examine the ideas of Pan-Islamism in Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir's writings. This assessment of primary as well as secondary sources offers a reliable account to revisiting the concepts of Muslim unity, identity, and nationalism in Algeria. Throughout the colonial era that started in the 1830s, the French authorities described the Pan-Islamic endeavours in Algeria that aimed at Muslim reforms intellectually, religiously, socially, educationally, and politically as an anti-governmental and anti-French movement. However, this study reveals that Muslim unity in the thoughts of Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir was devised to emphasise on constructive reforms, solidarity and camaraderie among the entire Muslim territories. Additionally, the study proposes that the call for Muslim unity in the first half of the nineteenth century in Algeria must be studied in accordance with the tenets of Islamic thought and the perpetual ideals of Islam such as brotherhood, integrity, justice, and human rights. Islamic unity relative to the ideas of Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir was an endeavour of Algerian Muslims to unite spiritually and politically to consolidate their positions economically, socially, culturally, educationally, and legally against the menace from French Imperialism. Furthermore, this study shows that Algerian Pan-Islamism was never identical or equal to nationalism neither was it a primitive phase for its emergence. Throughout their anti-colonial resistance, Hamdān Khūja, as well as Amir 'Abdul Qādir, identified themselves as Muslims first, with no mention of any racial or tribal loyalties. Therefore, they asserted their Islamic identity and their grip to the religion. In the years that followed, the Algerian people displayed a stronghold in Islam despite the rise of national consciousness at the beginning of the twentieth century. Moreover, this study suggests that Islamic unity is entrenched within the Islamic tradition of the ummah, and it was not a new occurrence. Thus, Islam never lost its significance in colonial Algeria which refutes H. Kohn's Theory of Social Progress. According to the thoughts of Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir, the study shows that Islamic unity in Algeria did not have an anti-Christian spirit but rather an anti-colonial character aiming to liberate Muslims from colonial presence. Lastly, the thoughts of Hamdān Khūja, as well as Amir 'Abdul Qādir, offer positive perceptions on the prospects of Islamic unity and the way to achieve it. Therefore, this study accentuates the necessity for alternative approaches to studying Islamic unity and other occurrences in Muslim countries.

## خلاصة البحث

تبحث الدراسة الحالية في أفكار الجامعة الإسلامية في الجزائر من خلال أفكار ونشاطات حمدان خوجة والأمير عبد القادر ، وظهورها وخصائصها ودورها خلال الحقبة الاستعمارية. يحاول هذا البحث أيضاً تقييم القومية الجزائرية وصحة "النظرية العالمية للتغيير الاجتماعي" لهانس كوهن بشأن قضية الهوية الإسلامية في الجزائر وفي ضوء أفكار حمدان خوجة والأمير عبد القادر خلال النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر. إنتهج الباحث أسلوب الاستقراء والتحليل النصي لدراسة أفكار الجامعة الإسلامية في كتابات حمدان خوجة وأمير عبد القادر من خلال تحليل تراثهم الفكري و نشاطهم العملي. يقدم هذا التقييم للمصادر الأولية والثانوية حساباً موثقاً لغرض إعادة النظر في مفاهيم الوحدة والهوية والقومية الإسلامية في الجزائر. خلال الحقبة الاستعمارية التي بدأت في ثلاثينيات القرن التاسع عشر ، وصفت السلطات الفرنسية المساعي القومية الإسلامية في الجزائر التي تهدف إلى إصلاحات المسلمين فكرياً ودينياً واجتماعياً وتعليمياً وسياسياً بأنها حركة مناهضة للحكومة ومعادية للفرنسيين. ومع ذلك ، تكشف هذه الدراسة أن الجامعة الإسلامية في فكر حمدان خوجة والأمير عبد القادر قد هدفت للتأكيد على الإصلاحات البناءة والتضامن والصدقة بين جميع المسلمين و الدول الإسلامية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك ، إقترحت الدراسة أن الدعوة إلى وحدة المسلمين في النصف الأول من القرن التاسع عشر في الجزائر يجب أن تدرس وفقاً لمبادئ الفكر الإسلامي والمقاصد الإسلامية مثل الأخوة والنزاهة والعدالة وحقوق الإنسان وغيرها على عكس ما يروج في الدراسات الغربية. الجامعة الإسلامية في أفكار حمدان خوجة والأمير عبد القادر كان مسعىً للمسلمين الجزائريين من أجل الوحدة روحياً وسياسياً لترسيخ مواقفهم اقتصادياً واجتماعياً وثقافياً وتربوياً وقانونياً ضد التهديد الناجم من الإمبريالية الفرنسية. علاوة على ذلك ، تُظهر هذه الدراسة أن الوحدة الإسلامية في الجزائر لم تكن أبداً متطابقة أو مساوية للقومية الضيقة و العنصرية. من خلال كتاباتهم و رسائلهم و مقاومتهم للاستعمار، أكد كل من حمدان خوجة والأمير عبد القادر هويتهم الإسلامية وتشبثهم به. أظهر الشعب الجزائري كذلك تمسكه الدائم بالدين الحنيف والمبادئ الإسلامية رغم ظهور الوعي الوطني و القومي في بداية القرن العشرين. تشير هذه الدراسة إلى أن الوحدة الإسلامية مترسخة في تقاليد الأمة الإسلامية ولم تكن حدثاً جديداً كما يزعم المؤرخون الغربيون. وهكذا ، لم يفقد الإسلام أبداً أهميته في الجزائر خلال الحقبة الإستعمارية التي تدحض نظرية هانز كون للتقدم الاجتماعي. تُظهر الدراسة كذلك أن الجامعة الإسلامية في الجزائر لم يكن لها روح معادية للمسيحية بل كان لها طابع مناهض للاستعمار يهدف إلى تحرير المسلمين من الوجود الاستعماري. وأخيراً ، فإن فكر حمدان خوجة والأمير عبد القادر يقدمان تصورات إيجابية عن آفاق الوحدة الإسلامية وكيفية تحقيقها. لذلك تؤكد هذه الدراسة على ضرورة اتباع مناهج بديلة لدراسة الوحدة الإسلامية وغيرها من الأحداث في الدول الإسلامية.

## **APPROVAL PAGE**

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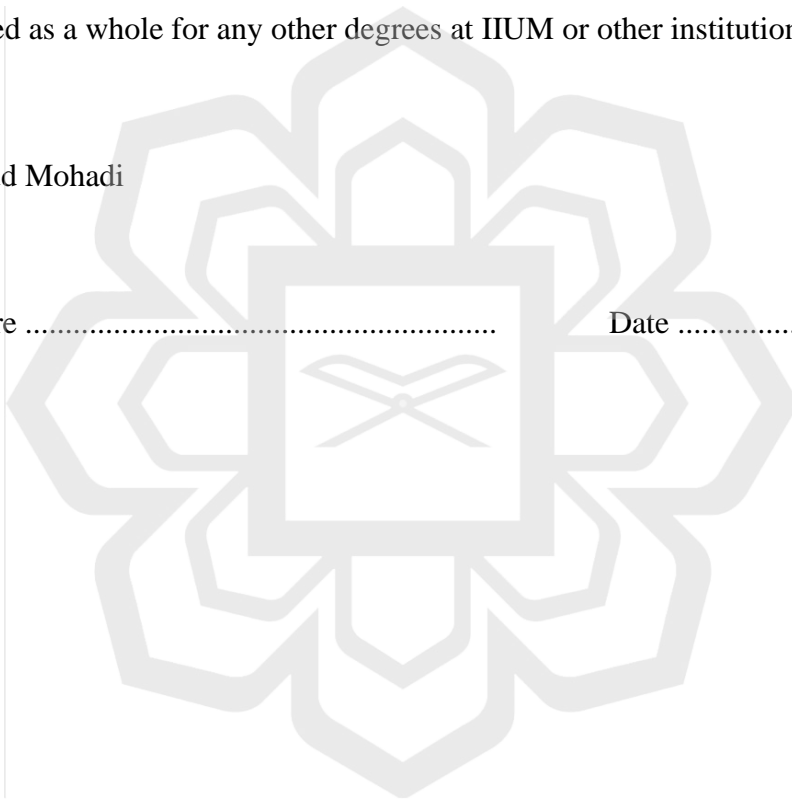
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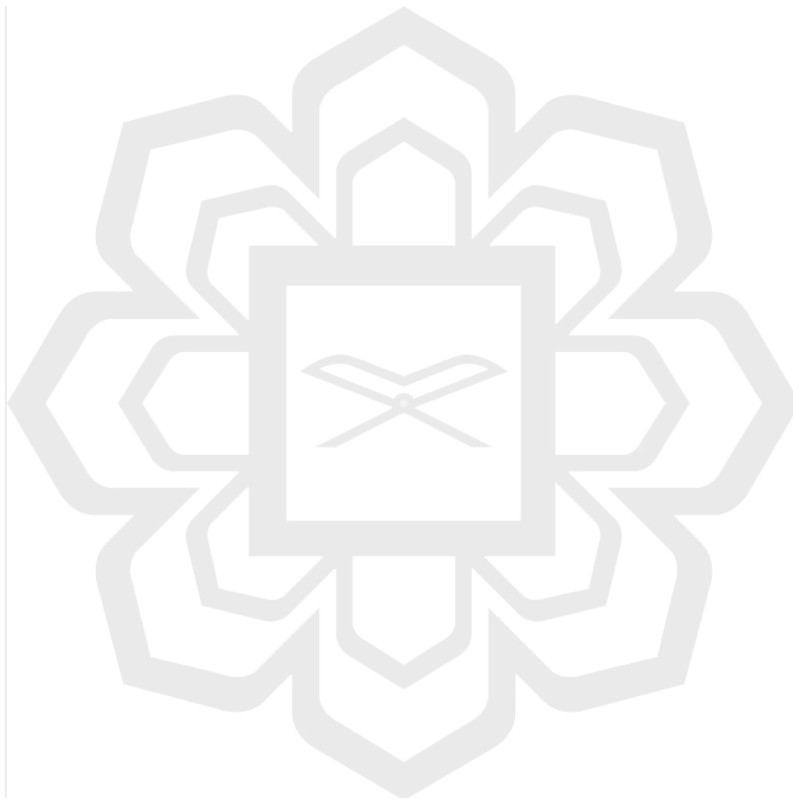
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## GLOSSARY

‘Aalim	Intellectual or scholar
Agha	Honorary title
Attaqaddum	Progress
‘Aṣabīyyah	A cohesion or group feeling of the Bedouin tribe
Ashirah	clan or tribe grouping
Barnous	Native garment
Bey	Title carried by the sovereign vassals of the Sultan
Bida’a.	Religious innovation
Dashrah	Small village
Dey	A title given to the rulers of the regency of Algiers
Duar	rural areas
Fatwah	Legal opinion on Islamic law given by a religious scholar
Fiqh	Islamic religious law.
Iṣlāh	Reform, purification, and revitalization of the Islamic belief system based on the original sources of Islam, the Qur’ān and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH).
Caid	Algerian-French appointee meaning leader
Caliph	Governor, successor/ vicegerent
Hadith	Prophet Muḥammad tradition
Huquqs	Rights
Ijtihad	Independent reasoning
Jāhiliyyah	Pre-Islamic era
Jaza’ir	Algeria
Jihad	Striving or fighting for a cause
Jma’a	village council
Khammas	The Algerian agricultural worker who gets 1/5 of the harvest as compensation for his work on a colon1s farm.
Madrasa	School or Franco-Algerian high school
Maddah	Public performer and singer
Mahdi	The awaited man who brings justice to the world
Masalih	Essentials
Masjid	Mosque
Mufti	Authority on religious, legal and social matters
Murabit	Leader of fraternity with a sense of holiness
Qadi	Judge
Rumi	Foreigner
Salaf	Ancestors
Salafiyyah	The doctrine advocating the return to the sources of revelation
Sunnah	Prophets Muḥammad sayings and acts
Tajdīd	Renewal, to revive the true belief and practice of Islam on the basis of the Qur’an and Sunnah of the Prophet (PBUH).
Taqlīd	Non-critical approach to the precepts by the established Muslim schools of law

Ummah	The community of Muslims or supra-national union of Muslims.
‘Umrān	Civilisation, culture or building
Watan	Fatherland
Wataniyyah	The first stage in order to indicate the struggle for the liberation of the homeland from foreign domination.
Waqf	Islamic endowment intended to support educational philanthropies and pious establishment
Ulamas	Religious scholars
Zakat	Almsgiving
Zawiya	A shrine or a religious, social, political centre of fraternity
Berberism	ethnic and racial ideology instigated by French colonialism



# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND ITS METHODOLOGY

### 1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Throughout the recent centuries, mainstream European scholarly literature written about the Muslim world, Third World countries and Islam has been in favour of the colonial superpowers to legitimise their strategies created to subjugate the people of the colonised countries. The scholarship often described the European infringements of Muslim territories as a civilising and progressive phase in universal socio-political change. Colonialism was repeatedly celebrated for propagating the ideas of nationalism which was considered an inevitable step for development in the Muslim world, whereas the concept of Pan-Islamism or Muslim unity was recognised as a preliminary occurrence in the process of development.

The scholar who introduced the perception of regarding imperialism as a prerequisite for the development from feudal to progressive systems of order was an American historian, Hans Kohn (1891-1971). In his enlightening work entitled *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, Kohn observed that the Asian countries were almost non-existent and forgotten in history until recently when they were rediscovered due to the penetration of European concepts which resulted in new forms in their political, cultural, and social organisation.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, Hans Kohn established a conception of recognising European imperial and colonial movements as “the universal necessity for the spread of civilisation to the backward and less civilised

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<sup>1</sup> Hans Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, (New York: Howard Fertig, 1969), 1.

communities". He additionally claimed that imperialism had fulfilled its historical and civilisational missions in the Eastern hemisphere.<sup>2</sup>

From Kohn's perspective, the concept of nationality marked the breaking point between the Middle Ages era and modern epochs. Therefore, he was an exponent of imperialist ideas of the West because according to him, it spread notions like nationalism in Muslim countries and helped them achieve social progress.<sup>3</sup> He articulated that in the nineteenth century, anonymous European countries emerged and were self-conscious in playing a positive part in human history. Subsequently, now the Oriental people are rising from their medieval and religious insignificant identity to modern age and progress, thanks to the nationalist and capitalist slogans.<sup>4</sup>

Intellectuals in the field, including Muslim scholars, have been swayed by these notions of Hans Kohn. For instance, the Turkish historian, Kemal Karpat did not only approve of the Western impact on nationalism in the Muslim countries but also identified ideas related to the anti-colonial movement of Pan-Islamism as equivalent to those Europe undertakings for change and emancipation of Muslim societies, under the leadership of the caliph.<sup>5</sup> However, from a historical point of view, people have always shared similar sentiments regarding their identity, camaraderie and belonging to a particular community. Similarly, Muslims were conscious about their loyalties to Islamic principles of unity, justice, cooperation, and brotherhood.

On the other hand, nationalism is a novel occurrence invented in European scholarship throughout the period of unrest in France after the destruction of ancient political structures and order in 1789, which aimed at providing solutions to the turmoil

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<sup>2</sup> Hans Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, 62.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 and 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Kemal Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 18.

such as political instability, persecution, and deprivation.<sup>6</sup> Nationalism swiftly acquired popularity with a European spectrum, especially in the nineteenth century. In this time, the European thought introduced nationalism to the rest of the world through imperial and colonial reach.<sup>7</sup> For instance, French colonisation of Algeria and the Muslim contacts with the Europeanisation reforms in Algeria and other Ottoman territories subsequently led to the spread of European ideologies such as nationalism and secularism in the Muslim world. However, the success of these ideologies in the Muslim countries was not similar to that of Europe and apparently, they were challenged by an established religious tradition of unity and identity under the banner of the ummah.

Hans Kohn also established a theory that the Muslim world was experiencing parallel waves of secularisation like those in Europe.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Kohn unreservedly declared that Muslims were experiencing a transition in their identity through which they abandoned religious identification and became ethnically conscious and their loyalty was primarily shifted to the nation or state.<sup>9</sup> Appropriately, Kohn deduced that the Muslim religious identity was precipitously substituted by the nationalist sentiments within the Muslim world. Kohn's remarks were the foundation for devising his 'universal sociological theory' related to the studies of civilisational and historical social change in which he argued that religious groups weaken in the face of national consciousness.<sup>10</sup> These ideas were later brought up into focus again by the likes of

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<sup>6</sup> For instance, Elie Kedourie identified nationalism as "a product of European thought in the last 150 years," see Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism*, (UK: Blackwell, 4<sup>th</sup> edn., 1993), 68.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Abdullah Al-Ahsan, *Ummah or nation? Identity crisis in contemporary Muslim society*, (UK: The Islamic Foundation, 1992), 31.

<sup>9</sup> Hans Kohn, *Nationalism and Imperialism in the Hither East*, 24.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 229.

Rupert Emerson, who also asserted through his theory that the development of national fronts and identities marked the decline of religious loyalties.<sup>11</sup>

To what extent was the development of the national front in Muslim countries impactful, leading to the deterioration of religious loyalties as proposed by both Kohn and Emerson? If European colonial waves generated conclusive development for Muslim countries, why did they resist it and not accommodate the colonial presence? What were the reasons behind Muslim unity attempts and anti-colonial resistance against the European incursion?

The central aim of this study is to address these questions by examining the position of the Islamic identity, vis-a-vis the national fronts among the Algerian Muslims. This present research suggests that Pan-Islamism could be recognised as a movement associated with intellectual and moral progress and change, a plea for a return to the fundamental tenets of Islam as indicated in the Qur'ān and Sunnah of the Prophet to syncretise Islam with the modern challenges and advancements and to bring about a perceptible change in the existing religious, political, educational, and social conditions or a response to the prevailing historical crisis and conditions based on the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. Furthermore, this study proposes that the ideas of Pan-Islamism can be identified as a part of the natural regenerative tradition of *tajdīd* (renewal) and *iṣlāḥ* (reform), which was always persistent and recurrent throughout the history of Islam to encounter several challenges.

Accordingly, this study examines the ideas of Pan-Islamism in Algeria after the French incursion, its characteristics, impediments, and the ways to retain this tradition

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<sup>11</sup> Rupert Emerson, *From Empire to Nation: The rise to Self-assertion of Asian and African Peoples*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 158.

of unity in the thoughts and activities of two influential Algerian Muslim scholars and activists, namely, Hamdān Khūja (1773-1845) and Amir ‘Abdul Qādir (1808-1883).

Historians of Pan-Islamism have often attributed the foundation of the concepts of Islamic unity to the Far East. However, one might well find that the “germ” of this movement first emerged in Algeria. Before intellectual contacts between the Europeans and the Muslim world were felt, some Algerians had already established thoughts on reform, nationality, democracy, and Islamic unity versus western civilisation. Hamdān Khūja was, perhaps, the first Algerian Arab-Muslim who professed a modern concept of Islamic unity and nationality. Khūja also was the first Arab-Muslim to be exiled from his country by a European colonial power for a religious and national cause.

Hamdān Khūja was an early indefatigable originator of the movement of Islamic unity and advancement of the Muslims in Algeria during colonial rule. Hamdān Khūja was born in Algeria, a kouloughlis<sup>12</sup> from an Algerian mother and a Turkish father and grew up in a wealthy and educated family.<sup>13</sup> He became a secretary of state and a teacher of Islamic jurisprudence and was one of the most respected scholars of his time. He was among the most prominent figures who played an important role in defending the Algerian case and reclaiming Muslim identity and unity, he also travelled widely around the Ottoman territories calling for the liberation of Muslims from European Imperialism. Hamdān Khūja acquired renowned political and diplomatic status during the Ottoman rule and the French invasion of Algeria in 1830. He wrote three major literary works, *Ithāf al-Munsifin wa al-Udabāa fi al-Ihtirāz Min al-Wabāa* (Resonance and Research with Unbiased People and Writers to Defend Against the Plague),

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<sup>12</sup> From Turkish Kuloğlu which means the Children of The Empire Subjects. It was a term used during the Ottoman period to designate the mixed offspring of Turkish men and local North African women, located in the western and central coastal regions of Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya.

<sup>13</sup> Abd al-Majid ben Naima, *Mawsū'at A'lām al-Jazāir* [Encyclopaedia of Algerian Intellectuals], (Algiers: National Centre for Studies and Research, 2007), 122.

*Hikmat al-'Arif bi Wajhin Yanfa'a* (Beneficial Wisdom of the Well-informed), *Le Miroir: Aperçu Historique et Statistique sur la Régence d'Alger* (The Mirror: Historical and Statistical Overview of the Regency of Algiers). He also wrote several letters and petitions throughout his life and activities that need to be studied.

Another significant individual in Algerian Pan-Islamism was Amir 'Abdul Qādir (1808-1883), a contemporary and comrade of Hamdān Khūja. Amir 'Abdul Qādir was born and raised in Algeria and was celebrated for his leadership of Algerian Muslim anti-colonial resistance movement that took place in 1830 against the French incursion, which was conducted for fifteen years. No doubt, the name of Amir 'Abdul Qādir is acclaimed in the Algerian as well as French literature on his heritage. Therefore, inferences on his thoughts might be an outstanding indicator in the process of discovering and identifying the ideas of Amir 'Abdul Qādir related to Pan-Islamism, nationalism, and Islamic identity, which are practically neglected by modern researchers. Amir 'Abdul Qādir was viewed as a national hero who played the most important role in the foundation of the Algerian renaissance and independence during the 1830s. The intellectual also contributed extensively to social, political, educational, and religious aspects in the Muslim World. He wrote different books, namely *al-Miqrāḍ al-Hādd: Li-Qaṭ' Lisān Muntaqiṣ dīn Al-Islām bi-al-Bāṭil wa-al-Ilhād*, (Sharp Scissors to Cut the Tongue of the Slanderer of the Religion of Islam) published in 1852, and *Dhikrā al-'Āqil wa-Tanbīh al-Ghāfil* (Reminding the Rational Man and Alerting the Neglectful Man) published in 1855. He also wrote his *Memoirs* in France in 1849. In this research, these literary works are relied upon in the analysis of Amir 'Abdul Qādir's thoughts and contributions.

This research claims that, on the popular level, the Algerians exhorted the idea of Pan-Islamism as early as the French incursion. Folk literature is filled with Islamic

emotions and appeals for help and solidarity among all members of the Muslim world. They envisioned the Sultan as the saviour, but because the Ottoman Empire was always on the defensive or in a retreating position, Algerians could not expect too much. The Sultan's victory in Crimea, in which Algerian soldiers served in the French army, gave new hopes to the Algerians. In 1854, an Algerian poet, Mohamed Ben Ismael, composed a poem thanking God for the victory of the Sultan. The poet stressed that victory was achieved due to jihad and Muslim solidarity and brotherhood. A French Arabist, J. Desparmet, who wrote extensively on Algerian nationalism and Muslim affairs, described Ben Ismael's ideas as the "germ" of the Pan-Islamic movement<sup>14</sup>

Appropriately, this work is an attempt to scrutinise the ideas of Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir on one of the most controversial and intricate issues of their time. The two scholars had contributed to the ideas of Islamic identity and unity decades before Jamāl Al-Dīn Al Afghānī (1838-97) and Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905). Indeed, Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir were the products of their time, and the settings were the most prevalent concepts of the nineteenth century such as Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism had thrived. Both Algerian thinkers compellingly believed in the perpetual power of Islam and Muslims to liberate themselves from European hegemony and achieve unity. Accordingly, this research is an investigation of the ideas of Pan-Islamism, its development and impediments in Algeria and the Muslim world. It also deals with Hamdān Khūja and Amir 'Abdul Qādir's thoughts and approaches to Islamic unity and identity through a thorough analysis of the ideas and writings of the two scholars and their methods of resistance. Moreover, the ideas of Hamdān Khūja and

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<sup>14</sup> S.G.A. XXII (1917): 15. On the poem of Ben Ismael see 10-14. The author also cited a work by Mohamed Ben Chanab, who translated this poem from Arabic into French in "La Guerre de Crime et les Algerians," R.A. (1907).

Amir ‘Abdul Qādir represent an appropriate appraisal in investigating the relevance and accuracy of Hans Kohn and Emerson’s universal theories of social progress.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Mainstream Western scholarly literature on Islam and the Muslim world has been utilised to satisfy the interests of imperial powers and to legitimise their policies towards controlling the colonised nations. The European illegitimate presence in Muslim and non-Muslim lands has often been viewed as a necessary step to the spread of civilisational and universal ideological progress. It is believed therefore that colonialism was the reason for the emergence of ideologies such as Pan-Islamism and nationalism in the Muslim world.

In the light of the Western perceptions of the ideas of Pan-Islamism, this research also suggests that the concepts of Islamic unity are identified as the appeals to solidarity and fraternity within the Muslim ummah to achieve strength, progress and to confront European Imperialism and colonialism. In addition, the means to Pan-Islamism were rational reforms of Islam by relying on the intellect and the call for a return to the Salafiyyah doctrine known also as “the golden age of Prophetic times and his companions and followers”. It is commonly believed that Pan-Islamism started in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The theorists of this doctrine were Jamāl Al-Dīn Al Afghānī (1838-1897), Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) and Rashid Rida (1865-1935). On the official level, the movement was adopted and exploited by the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876 to 1909). The main goal of Pan-Islamism was unity among Muslims under the banner of Caliphate. For this reason, Abdulhamid believed himself to be the spiritual and political symbol of Pan-Islamism. It is therefore problematic to disregard the era of the early nineteenth century, particularly the era of French incursion

of Algeria that witnessed the emergence of many individuals like Hamdān Khūja and Amir ‘Abdul Qādir, whose Pan-Islamic sentiments were strong and conspicuous. This being said, the two intellectuals and other Algerian individuals are considered as the pioneers of Pan-Islamism in the Muslim world, unlike the generally and unquestionably accepted concepts.

The common concept that Pan-Islamism is believed to have started in the Near East in the late nineteenth century needs revision. It seems that the origins of this belief are founded on European misunderstanding, which was accepted by Arab and Muslim writers as well. Pan-Islamism in the interpretation of Kemal Karpat had no parallel in the history of Islam and was a movement of national defence through which Muslim countries were experiencing a shift in their religious loyalties to national fronts.<sup>15</sup>

This stance regarding Pan-Islamism was also suggested earlier by other prominent scholars such as Hamilton A.R. Gibb who stated that Al Afghānī’s thoughts were Pan-Islamic nationalism in their character.<sup>16</sup> Another specialist, Nikki R. Keddie described the Pan-Islamic movement as a primary and formative phase for the emergence of European-type nationalism.<sup>17</sup> Martin Kramer in his book entitled, *Islam Assembled* categorised Pan-Islamism as an ideology exploited by Muslim leaders to attain global Muslim support and propagated rigid “principles about the nature of political and religious authority in Islam.”<sup>18</sup>

Mainstream literature, whether on Pan-Islamism or Algerian nationalism, seems to have been written by authors who advocated imperialism, colonialism, and European

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<sup>15</sup> Kamal Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 68-69.

<sup>16</sup> H.A.R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, (USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), 119.

<sup>17</sup> Nikki R. Keddie, “Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism,” *The Journal of Modern History*, vol.41, no.1 (March 1969), 20-21.

<sup>18</sup> Martin Kramer *Islam Assembled: The Advent of the Muslim Congresses*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 9.

modelling of resistance and reform movements in the Muslim world. Therefore, further studies are needed to unveil the realities of Pan-Islamism in the light of Muslim thinkers and their approaches to colonial crisis and civilisational progress. Furthermore, Hamdān Khūja as well as Amir ‘Abdul Qādir have not yet been studied in any academic research that deliberated their ideas and contributions to the ideas of Muslim unity, identity and the concept of the ummah. Therefore, this research suggests that the germs of Pan-Islamism in the Muslim world started in Algeria during the 1830s long before the emergence of Al-Afghānī and ‘Abduh as its founders.

### **1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This research describes the development of ideas of Muslim unity in Algeria under French colonialism from the 1830s. It might appear to be very critical of the French colonisation of Algeria. This, however, is neither the objective nor the intention of the researcher. It is observable that the nature of the problem and the uniqueness of the situation would probably invite criticism. Today, for instance, the bulk of French authors themselves (e.g., Nouschi, Ageron, Favrod, Julien, Tillion, Lacoste, etc.) take the same position. The significance of this research is as follows:

- Firstly, and to the best of the researcher’s knowledge, there is not a single study on the concept of Pan-Islamism in Algeria, and this makes the current research very significant as it enriches the scholarly literature on Pan-Islamism, its origins and relationship with other doctrines. To understand the origins and tenets of Algerian Pan-Islamism, the researcher consulted various books, brochures, letters, and articles of two main Algerian scholars, namely, Hamdān Khūja and Amir Abdul Qādir. Besides, it is worth noting that the political and

Pan-Islamist thoughts of Hamdān Khūja and Amir Abdul Qādir have not yet been discussed in the academic literature.

- Secondly, this study presents a challenge to the classical approach of studying the concept of Pan-Islamism. It is noticeable, for instance, that Hans Kohn in his studies on nationalism indicated that Muslim countries were experiencing a secularisation process like that in Europe. Furthermore, it is also said that the ascent of nationalism in the Muslim world coincided with the decline in the hold of religion.<sup>19</sup> However, this study argues for the notion that when Pan-Islamism and claims of identity were flourishing, people of Algeria had a stronghold in religiosity as it represented the pillar for unity and prosperity.
- Thirdly, the current research also challenges the idea that Pan-Islamism was merely an initiative for the emergence of nationalism in Muslim countries. After a deep analysis of the works of Hamdān Khūja and Amir Abdul Qādir, and their activities, the study suggests that Algerian Pan-Islamism was not a mere reaction to colonialism, but it was a part of the movement of Islamic revivalism or tajdīd in Islam based on the Qur'ānic teachings and ummatic features which frequently happened in Muslim history during the time of crisis and due to some sort of threats.
- Fourthly, the study contributes to the scholarly literature by shedding some light on the Pan-Islamist movement and its relationship with the nationalist sentiments in Algeria. The two movements are analysed in accordance with the thoughts of Hamdān Khūja and Amir Abdul Qādir and their anti-colonial resistance, cultural and social expressions, and political activities. It has become

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<sup>19</sup> Dean Vera Micheles, "From Empire to Nation: The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and African Peoples." By Rupert Emerson. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 66, no. 2, (January 1961): 414–415.