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**Muslim Responses to Imperialism in India:
A Study of the Educational Reforms of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan***
*Hindistan'da Sömürgeciliğe Karşı Müslüman Tepkisi: Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan'ın
Eğitim Reformları ile Üzerine bir Çalışma*

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Öz

Hindistanlı yazar, eğitim ve reformcu fikir adamı Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) müslümanları geri kalmış ve eğitime muhtaç görerek, gerek İngiliz sömürgeciliğine karşı çıkmak gerekse Hindistan müslümanlarının fikri, siyasi ve iktisadi kaderini değiştirmek amacıyla eğitim alanında birçok büyük projeyi hayata geçirmiştir. Sir Sayyid tarafından Hindistan müslümanlarının fikri, içtimai, ahlaki olarak canlandırılarak yenilenmesi amacı ile kurulan reformcu Aligarch Hareketi, 16. Yüzyılda başlayıp 19. ve 20. yüzyıllarda meyvelerini veren ve İslam aleminin yarısından fazlasını kontrolü altına alan Avrupa sömürgeciliğine karşı ortaya çıkan birçok cevaptan biridir. Sir Sayyid eğitim programını uygulamaya koymak amacıyla Aligarh Scientific Society, Aligarh Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College ve Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference kurumları yanında Tahzib al-Akhlaq ve Aligarh Institute Gazette yayınlarını çıkarmıştır. Bu makale Sir Sayyid'in eğitim reformlarının İngiliz sömürgeciliğine karşı bir cevap olarak ortaya çıkışını Hindistan şartlarını gözönünde bulundurarak incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Hindistan, Sömürgecilik, İslami Modernleşme, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Aligarch Hareketi*

Abstract

Perceiving Muslims as backward and in need of education, Indian Islamic modernist writer, educational activist and reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), undertook various major projects in the field of education, both as a response to British Imperialism and to change the intellectual, political and economic destiny

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of Muslims in India. The progressive spirit of the Aligarh movement founded by Sir Sayyid for the intellectual revival and socio-moral renewal and rejuvenation of Indian Muslims was one of the responses, among others, of Muslims to European Imperialism, which began in the 16th century but came to fruition in the 19th and 20th centuries, and brought more than half of the Muslim world under its control. In order to put his education program into practice Sir Sayyid established the Aligarh Scientific Society, the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference as well as the *Tahzib al- Akhlaq* journal and Aligarh Institute Gazette. This article presents these educational reforms of Sir Sayyid as a response to the British Imperialism in the context of Indian Subcontinent.

Key Words: India, Imperialism, Islamic Modernism, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Aligarh Movement

European Imperialism and the Emergence of Islamic Modernism: An Introduction

Despite the fact that historically Islam spread rapidly and dynamically spawning vast Islamic empires and sultanates and an efflorescent and varied Islamic civilization, colonialism brought it all to a halt and turned this dynamic upside down. The age of European expansion, penetration and dominance—euphemistically called the Age of Discovery by Europeans—began in the 16th century but came to fruition in the 19th and 20th centuries. So, by the 19th century the balance of power had clearly shifted in the direction of Europe; and much of the Muslim world found itself subjugated and dominated by European imperial powers, demonstrating its political, economic and military weakness and challenging the veracity of Islam itself.

Islamic modernism—a movement to reconcile the Islamic faith with modern values such as democracy, human rights, nationalism, rationality, science, equality, and progress—emerged in the middle of the 19th century as a response to this European colonialism which had pitched the Muslim world into crisis. Islamic modernism generated a series of institutions, including schools that combined Islamic education with modern subjects and pedagogies; newspapers that carried modernist Islamic ideas across continents; constitutions that sought to limit state power; and social welfare agencies that brought state power into even more sectors of social life. Thus, Islamic modernism began as a response on the part of Muslim intellectuals to European modernity by arguing that Islam, science and progress, revelation and reason, were indeed compatible. They did not simply wish to restore the beliefs and practices of the past; rather they asserted the need to ‘reinterpret and reapply’ the principles and ideals of Islam to formulate new responses to the political, scientific, and cultural challenges of the West and of modern life.¹

The most prominent intellectuals who pioneered the modernist visions and agendas at the turn of the century were Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) and Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905) in the Middle East and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) and Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) in South Asia. Despite some distinctive differences, each argued that Islam

¹ See, for example, John L. Esposito, “Contemporary Islam: Reformation or Revolution?”, in *The Oxford History of Islam*, (Ed.) John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 644-45 [hereafter cited as Esposito, “Contemporary Islam”]; M. Ibrahim Abu Rabi`, “Editor’s Introduction – Contemporary Islamic Thought: One or Many?”, in *The Blackwell Companion to Contemporary Islamic Thought*, (Ed.) M. Ibrahim Abu Rabi` (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006), 7; Charles Kurzman, “Modern Thought”, in *Encyclopedia of Islam and Modern World*, (Ed.) Richard C. Martin, (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 2: 456 [hereafter abbreviated as *EIMW*].

was a dynamic, progressive religion that was made stagnant by the forces of history and the mind-set of many *Ulama*, religious scholars. They identified the sources of Muslim weakness and asserted the compatibility of religion, reason, and science; they reclaimed the glories of Islamic history, reminding Muslims that they had once been very strong, spawning vast empires and an Islamic civilization whose wonders included major achievements in science, medicine, and philosophy. They set out to initiate a reformation, to boldly redefine or reconstruct Islamic beliefs and thought, and to reform Islamic theology and law. At the same time, they emphasized Muslim pride, unity, and solidarity in the face of the political and cultural threat of European colonialism. In the words of Javed Majeed, although there were some differences between these modernist thinkers, their work was governed by the “same project”, which was to show that Islam was consistent with the rationality of the European Enlightenment and the development of modern science. As such, they argued that there was “no fundamental incompatibility” between modernity and its narrative of progress, and Islam as a religion.²

This paper analyzes the educational reforms of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) – Islamic reformer, educational and political activist. He perceived Muslims as backward and in need of education and undertook various major projects in the field of education which were meant to change the intellectual, political, and economic destiny of Muslim India. One of these reforms was the establishment of the Aligarh Scientific Society (1865); modeled after the British Royal Society and the Royal Asiatic Society, it sought to promote liberal, modern education and Western scientific knowledge among the Muslim community in India. He also founded the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* (1866) to disseminate reforms to the masses as well as establishing the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference in 1886 for the promotion of Western education in Muslim India, for the enrichment of Urdu through translations of indispensable scientific works, and to formulate a policy for the higher education of Muslim students in Europe. He also sponsored the publication of the journal *Tahzib al- Akhlaq* “Moral Reform” in 1870 to educate Indian Muslims and established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh (1874), modeled on Cambridge University— which soon assumed a form and a personality of its own and in 1920 became the Aligarh Muslim University. Sir Sayyid devoted most of his energies to promoting education among Muslims and he combined theory with practice, seeking to implement his ideas and train a new generation of Muslim leaders. His efforts are regarded as a dynamic and constructive achievement as he bridged the gap between medieval and modern India and gave Indian Muslims a new cohesion, policy, educational ideals, prose, and approach to their individual and national problems, and built up an organization which could carry on his work.

The modernist thinkers like Sir Sayyid primarily had to struggle with the issues of power and powerlessness, identity and assimilation, and modernity and traditionalism. Secondly they sought stimulate new thinking on contemporary issues and to demonstrate that Islam is a dynamic religion that calls for continuing intellectual review of both “normative” and “historical” Islam, in order to construct “modernist, enlightened, just, forward-looking, and life-affirming Muslim societies.”³ It is on these bases and in this direction

² Javed Majeed, “Modernity”, in *EIMW*, 2: 456.

³ Riffat Hassan, “Islamic Modernist and Reformist Discourse in South Asia”, in *Reformist Voices of Islam – Meditating Islam and Modernity*, (Ed.) Shirin T. Hunter, (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2009), 161.

that this paper argues that the progressive spirit of the historic Aligarh movement founded by Sir Sayyid for the intellectual, moral, and social regeneration of Indian Muslims remains a source of inspiration and empowerment for those who want to create communities and societies that embody the highest ideals and best practices of Islam. Before discussing the legacy of Sir Sayyid and his educational reforms, it is necessary to shed some light on (i) British Colonialism in India; and (ii) Islamic modernism, both as a response to the Western (European) colonialism and imperialism and as a legacy of renewal and reform.

An Overview of the British Colonialism in India and the Muslim Reaction

The second half of 18th century and the first decades of 19th century saw the rapid expansion of British domination in India. In 1765 the East India Company had acquired by contract the right to collect the tax revenues of Bengal from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. Thenceforth the British extended their rule by means of treaties of protection, annexation and conquest. By 1820 British supremacy had been firmly established. Although the Mughal court lingered on until 1857, the emperors had gradually lost their power and had been reduced to mere puppets in the hands of the British.⁴

British rule/occupation—or more directly—British Imperialism in India had left the social order more or less intact but it had a deeply-felt impact upon the Indian society. Growing discontent and frustration amongst Muslims expressed itself in *fatwas*, religious decrees, stating that India had become *dar al-harb*, the abode of war (e.g., the *fatwa* of Shah Abd al-Aziz issued in 1803).⁵

Opposition against the British rule was also started by some religious movements like *Tariqa-i Muhammadi*, led by Sayyid Ahmad Bareilwi (d.1831) and actively supported by two learned scions of the Shah Waliullah family, Shah Ismail (d. 1831) and Shah Abd al-Hayy (d. 1878), which started in Delhi in 1821. Another revivalist movement that became active in this period was *Faraidi* Movement, founded in 1806 by Haji Shariat Allah (d .1840).⁶

In 1857, India revolted against British rule. The revolt had started as a mutiny of Indian soldiers in the British army and soon it spread among the civilian population all over

⁴ Rudolph Peters, *Islam and Colonialism: The Doctrine of Jihad in Modern History*, (The Hague, the Netherlands: Mouton Publishers, 1979), , 44 [hereafter cited as Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*].

⁵ Shah Abd al-Aziz, *Fatawa-yi-Azizi* (Deoband: n.d.), vol. 2, , 30-1; for English translations, see M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967), 390-91; Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*, 45-6.

⁶ On *Tariqa-i Muhammadi* movement, see, Qeyamuddin Ahmad, *The Wahabi Movement in India* (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1966); Freeland Aboot, “The jihad of Saiyid Ahmad Shaheed”, in *The Muslim World*, vol. 52 (1962), , 216-222; W. W. Hunter, *Indian Musalmans: Are They Bound in Conscience to Rebel Against the Queen?* 2nd ed., (Lahore: Premier Book House, 1974); Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of Indo-Pak subcontinent, 610-1947: A Brief Historical Analysis* (The Hague, Mouton, 1962); and for *Faraidi* Movement, see, Qureshi, *Ibid.*, 209-220; Muhammad Nurul Karim, “Part played by Haji Shariatullah and his son in the socio-political history of East Bengal”, 175-182; Abdul Bari, “The Fara’idi Movement”, 197-207, both in *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference, 1955*, (5th session). Cf. S. A. A. Rizvi, “The Breakdown of Traditional Society”, in *The Cambridge History of Islam* (Eds.) P. M. Holt, A. K. S. Lambton, Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), vol. 2A, 67-97, esp., 82-88.

north and central India. It seemed that at the local level, adherents of *Tariqa-i Muhammadi* played a certain role and in many places *fatwas* were proclaimed against the British.⁷ There were three main interpretations offered by *Ulema* and Muslims about British rule in India: (i) declaring India as the *dar al-harb*, the abode of war; (ii) declaring jihad as an obligatory duty for Muslims; and (iii) that jihad is only allowed in case of oppression or obstruction of the Muslims in the exercise of their faith, impairing the foundation of some of the pillars of foundation of Islam.⁸

Also there were counter *fatwas* such as the *fatwa* of the North Indian *Ulema*, a decision of Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta⁹ and published articles by known scholars like Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. They simply stated that Indian Muslims were not obliged by their religion to rebel against the British. The following long passage from Rudolph Peters' *Islam and Colonialism* makes this much clearer, as it summarizes the whole situation very straightforwardly and comprehensively:

The need to come to a new interpretation of the doctrine of jihad was felt after the defeat of the jihad-movements and the subsequent conquest awareness of Moslem thinkers of the fact that the colonial powers were firmly established in large parts of the Islamic world. They realized the futility of the large-scale armed resistance in the face of the military superiority of the colonial rulers. Some of them justified their position ... [and thus] they left the jihad obligation basically intact, but regarded it as being temporary suspended. The Moslem modernists, however, followed a different path by elaborating a new interpretation that restricted the obligation to wage jihad....

This new interpretation was first formulated [by such modernist thinkers like Sir Sayyid] in India. ... Realizing that British rule was firmly rooted in India, that close cooperation with the British was the only means of putting an end to this discrimination, and that continuation of British rule would protect them from Hindu domination, they [Muslim modernists] wanted to win the favor of the British by showing that Moslems could be loyal subjects of the British Crown. ... Sayyid Ahmad Khan, their most outstanding intellectual representative, supplied this new interpretation by restricting the scope of jihad-obligation to wars for religious reasons, i.e. armed struggle in order to defend Moslems against religious oppression, and excluding from it wars for temporal reasons like e.g. wars for territorial conquest or armed resistance against civil oppression.¹⁰

⁷ Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan* (London: Asia Publishing House, 1963), , 16-20; R. C. Majumdar, *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857* (Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1963), , 59, 113, 318-19, 400-1; see also, Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*, 180.

⁸ Bahadur Ahmad Khan, *Review on Dr Hunter's Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen* (Benaras: Medical Hall Press, 1872), , xviii, as quoted in Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*, 51.

⁹ See, Lini S. May, *The Evolution of Indo-Muslim Thought after 1857* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970), 24-28; P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 108-115.

¹⁰ Peters, *Islam and Colonialism*, 160.

It is in light of this background that this paper highlights the contribution of reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in the field of education as a response to the British Imperialism in India.

Islamic Modernism: A Response to European Imperialism Legacy of Reform (18th-20th Century)

Islam—not only as a faith but also as a source of identity and an important factor in social relations and politics—acts as a “common thread” in the Muslim states, which otherwise are diverse. These range from the “Islamic Republic of Iran to the secular republics in the Arab world or Indonesia, from monarchies in the Arab world, Nigeria (where monarchies rule over provinces), and Brunei, to democracies in Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Malaysia.”¹¹ It also has played an important role in the struggles for liberation from colonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia and in the Middle East. In various stages of the colonial era, Islamic organizations, thinkers, and political leaders have played an important part in shaping Muslim politics. The legacy of colonialism and imperialism is the key in explaining the unity of different experiments in the Muslim world. Just as Islam, ethnic identity, social characteristics, and other indigenous religious and cultural factors can explain the commonalities between Muslim states—and on the contrary, economics, ideology, and leadership can explain divergences and discrepancies—colonialism too can explain the points of convergence and divergence in experiences with state formation across the Muslim world. Muslims were ruled by different colonial powers. In much of Africa, Asia, and the Arab world, the British and the French ruled over vast Muslim territories (including India, which now constitutes India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.¹² The Dutch ruled over territories that later became Indonesia, and the Germans, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russians held Muslim territories in East Africa, the Philippines, Malaya (the present Malaysia), the Caucasus, and Central Asia. Although the defining characteristics of colonialism were at work in all of these areas, there were differences in how colonial powers ruled their colonies. There were even differences in how the same colonial powers exerted and exercised power and influence in different territories. There are thus fundamental similarities between various Muslim polities as there are particularities, which have their roots in history, and more important, with the experience of each colonial territory.¹³ Although the “colonial era lasted less than a century”, writes S. V. R. Nasr, it forever “changed all aspects of geography, economy, social relations, and politics in the areas that it ruled.”¹⁴

The colonization of Muslim territories began with the rise of European empires, the conquest of India, and the scramble for Africa in the 19th century. The colonial era ended after World War II, when Britain and France withdrew from the majority of their colonial territories. By the mid-1970s most of the Muslim dominated territories, from Sub-Saharan Africa to Southeast Asia, had gained independence from imperialism and constituted either

¹¹ S. V. R. Nasr, “European Colonialism and the Emergence of Modern Nation States”, in Esposito (Ed.), *The Oxford History of Islam*, *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/book/islam-9780195107999/islam-9780195107999-chapter-13> (accessed Oct 23, 2012).

¹² Pakistan came into existence in 1947 after the division of India into two nation-states and Bangladesh, as a fraction of Pakistan, in 1971.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 551-2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 552.

independent Muslim states or became parts of independent non-Muslim states. Still the legacy of colonialism/imperialism continued to shape and reshape their “polities, economies, and societies.”¹⁵

Since the mid-19th century, Muslim scholars and thinkers (including those in South Asia) have contributed greatly to the development and dissemination of Islamic reformist and modernist discourse. Their contribution—and in the context of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, especially those by Sir Sayyid, Muhammad Iqbal, Fazlur Rahman and such other eminent personalities, thinkers and reformers—are acknowledged by Muslims as well as Western (Orientalists/Islamicists) scholars alike, agreeing that the “emergence of Muslim modernist reformers in the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent was a momentous event with far-reaching consequences.” At the same time, it is true that these scholars hold different opinions, diverse positions, and dissimilar views about the “nature and relative importance of the factors that caused this important development.”¹⁶

Some Western scholars have seen this phenomenon—of the response of Muslim modernist thinkers to imperialism/colonialism—as representing a reaction to the British presence and rule in India and influences emanating from this presence, but different scholars have accorded varying degrees of importance to different aspects of British influence. For example, Bruce B. Lawrence has attributed it mainly to “commercial expansion emanating from north-Western Europe”, while H. A. R. Gibb has stressed the impact of British education on India’s Muslim elite.¹⁷ Similarly, some contemporary Muslim scholars, like Fazlur Rahman, have also considered influences resulting from the British presence as significant in the generation and evolution of Islamic modernist and reformist discourses in Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.¹⁸

Clearly, the historical and socio-political context of post-Mughal India, including the impact of British education, made some form of reaction to the British imperialism/colonialism inevitable. As in other Muslim societies, in India, too, responses to the multi-faceted British influence and challenge have spanned the spectrum, in the words of Hafeez Malik, from total rejection to total embrace to synthesis: (i) total rejection of these influences and the advocacy of a strict observance of Islam, later followed by the development of Islam-based models of government and resistance to the British conquest; (ii) total embrace of European-style modernity; and (iii) synthesis, represented by Islamic modernism.¹⁹ No doubt, many diverse factors were responsible for both the multiplicity of Muslim responses to the British challenges and to the emergence of reformist discourse in India. In spite of their differences regarding the principal impetus behind the emergence of the Islamic modernist phenomenon—whose bases were laid, in the Indian subcontinent, by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan—most scholars agree that

¹⁵ Ibid., 552. For a detailed discussion on the “Intellectual” and “economic” legacy, and of “social impact” of colonialism, see Nasr, Ibid., 549-599.

¹⁶ Hassan, “Islamic Modernist and Reformist Discourse in South Asia”, 159.

¹⁷ Bruce B. Lawrence, “Islam in South Asia”, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Modern Islamic World*, (Ed.) John L. Esposito, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2: 282 [hereafter abbreviated as *OEMIW*]; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), 63.

¹⁸ See, Fazlur Rahman, “Revival and Reform in Islam”, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2, 641.

¹⁹ Hafeez Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 8 [hereafter cited as Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*]; see also Hasan, “Islamic Modernist and Reformist Discourse in South Asia”, 160.

“Islamic modernists advocate flexible, continuous interpretation of Islam” in order to “reform” the Muslim tradition and law that have become “outdated, fossilized, or harmful” by scrutinizing those aspects in light of Islam’s normative sources—the Qur`an and the authentic Sunnah.²⁰

Since the time of its pioneering figures (Sir Sayyid in India/South Asia, and Al-Afghani in the Middle East), Islamic modernism in South Asia especially has evolved in an uneven fashion. But the conditions that led to this development in South Asia are similar and comparable to those in other Muslim countries and societies—whether in the Southeast Asia, in the Middle East, or in Africa—including the authoritarianism of most post-independence governments, the disappointing results of modernization policies, which have not mitigated socio-economic disparities, the manipulation of religion by political leaders, and for Bruce Lawrence, the most “profound change” for the Muslims of India came not through the “decline of Mughals, the attrition of indigenous groups, or the persistence of Shi`i politics, but rather through the advent of the British.”²¹

Although modern Islamic reform is often simply presented as a response to the challenge of the West, in fact its roots are both “Islamic (its revivalist tradition) and Western (a response to European colonialism)”. Islam possesses a rich, long tradition of “Islamic revival (*tajdid*) and reform (*islah*)”. Down through the ages, individuals and organizations undertook the renewal of the community in times of weakness and decline, responding to the apparent gap between the Islamic ideal and the realities of Muslim life.²² As with all things, a return to the fundamentals of Islam—the Qur`an, the life of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), and the early Muslim community—offered the model for Islamic reform.

Islamic modernism throughout the Muslim world called for a reformation (*islah*) and reinterpretation (*ijtihad*) of Islam. Responding to the plight of Muslim communities and the intellectual and religious challenge of the West, Islamic modernism sought to bridge the gap between Islamic traditionalists and secular reformers or conservative religious scholars, characterized by following and emulating the past blindly (*taqlid*), and Western secular elites, regarded as uncritical in their imitation of the West and insensitive to Islamic tradition. The blame for the backwardness and plight of the Muslim community was credited to the *Ulama*’s static sanctification of Islam’s classical or medieval formulations and their resistance to change; so Islamic modernists wished to produce a new synthesis of Islam with modern science. John L. Esposito, regarding this situation, claims:

Islamic modernists of the nineteenth and twentieth century, like secular reformers were open to accommodation and assimilation; they wished to produce a new synthesis of Islam with modern sciences and learning. Thus they distanced themselves from the rejectionist tendency of religious conservatives as well as

²⁰ David Commins, “Modernism”, in *OEMIW*, 3:118.

²¹ Bruce Lawrence, in *OEMIW*, 2: 282.

²² John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 49; John O. Voll, “Renewal and Reform in Islamic History: *Tajdid* and *Islah*”, in *Voices of Resurgent Islam* (Ed.), John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 45.

*western-oriented secular reformers who restricted religion to the private life, and they looked to the west to rejuvenate state and society.*²³

Islamic modernism had an ambivalent attitude toward the West, a simultaneous attraction and repulsion. Europe was admired for its strength, technology and political ideas of freedom, justice, and equality, but often rejected for its imperialist goals and policies. Reformers like Afghani, Abduh, Sir Sayyid, and Iqbal, argued the compatibility of Islam with modern science and the best of Western thought. They preached the need and selective synthesis of Islam and modern Western thought; condemned unquestioned veneration and imitation of the past; reasserted their right to reinterpret (*ijtihad*) Islam in light of modern conditions; and sought to provide an Islamically based rationale for educational, legal, and social reform to revitalize a dormant and impotent Muslim community. ... Islamic modernism [in contrast to 18th century revivalist movements which sought to restore a pristine past] wished to reformulate its Islamic heritage in response to the political, scientific, and cultural challenge of the West. It provided an Islamic rationale for accepting modern ideas and institutions, whether scientific, technological, or political (constitutionalism and representative government). For most of these reformers, the renaissance of the Muslim community was the first step to national independence or liberation from the hated yoke of colonialism—the restoration of Muslim power. Muslims, they believed, must look to Islam, their source of strength and unity, but learn the secrets of Western power in order to cast off foreign rule and regain their identity and autonomy.²⁴

As a result, Muslim reformers emphasized the “dynamism, flexibility, and adaptability” during the early development of Islam, characterizing this time period as having been distinguished by Islamic accomplishments in the sciences, law, and education.²⁵ In the Middle East, Afghani, who epitomized the concerns and program of Islamic modernism, argued that reason, philosophy, and science were not foreign to Islam, were not simply the products of West, or as Adeed Dawisha argues, that “Islam was in harmony with the principles discovered by scientific reason; [it] was indeed the religion demanded by reason.”²⁶ Afghani advocated for an Islamic renaissance, which would unite the Muslim world while simultaneously confronting the cultural threat posed by adaptation of Western ideals. Abduh, on the other hand, was the developer of the intellectual and social reformist dimensions of Islamic modernism. Afghani is considered one of the catalysts of Islamic modernization, with Muhammad Abduh seen as one of its great synthesizers. Abduh is even seen as the “Father of Islamic Modernism” in the Arab world. They sought to reform Muslim’s “clinging to the past” and “backwardness,” which had been brought on by a retreat into orthodoxy caused by Mongol domination. Afghani and Abduh did so by attempting to reach a compromise between Islamic law and modernity.²⁷ Meanwhile, in South Asia (or the Indian subcontinent) Sir Sayyid—devoting his life to religious, educational, and social reform—called for a bold new theology and reinterpretation of Islam to respond to modern change; and acceptance, not rejection, of what was best in the Western thought; and Muhammad Iqbal—combining what he thought to

²³ Esposito, “Contemporary Islam”, 647.

²⁴ Esposito, *The Islamic Threat*, 55-56.

²⁵ John L. Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 127.

²⁶ Adeed Dawisha, *Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003) 19.

²⁷ Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path*, 130.

be best of the East and the West, his Islamic heritage and Western philosophy to produce his own synthesis and reinterpretation of Islam—called for the reconstruction of religious thought (in Islam) to revitalize the Muslim *Ummah*.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan: Life and Legacy

Sir Sayyid was a product of British ruled post-Mughal India. Sir Sayyid was born in Delhi, the capital of the Mughal Empire, on 17 October 1817. His family had migrated from Herat (now in Afghanistan) in 17th century CE.²⁸ Sir Sayyid was born at a time when rebellious governors, regional insurrections and the British colonialism had diminished the extent and power of the Mughal state, reducing its monarch to figurehead status. He received an education traditional to the Muslim nobility in Delhi and later studied mathematics, astronomy, medicine and Islamic jurisprudence. In a nutshell, Sir Sayyid had a formal education (strictly traditional) which was never completed as he ceased his schooling at the age of 18, but he reached out, through his personal study and independent investigation, to new horizons of intellectual creativity and laid groundwork for a modern interpretation of Islam, especially after the Mutiny of 1857.²⁹ Under British rule, Indian Muslims' social, economic, and political positions had been severely eroded. This reality had a profound impact on Sir Sayyid's intellectual development.

Sir Sayyid was the eldest of the five prominent Muslim modernists whose influence on Islamic thought and polity was to shape and define Muslim responses to modernism in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Like the other modernists of his time discussed above, Sir Sayyid was deeply concerned with the state of Muslims in a world dominated by European colonial powers.

Being an educational and political leader of Muslims who were living under British colonial rule in India, Sir Sayyid developed the concepts of religious modernism and community identity that mark the transition from Mughal India to the rise of representative government and the quest for self-determination. In other words, Sir Sayyid surveyed the abysmal and appalling state of Muslim community in India after the Sepoy Uprising of 1857, which resulted in formal British colonial rule and the end of Muslim dominance in the Indian subcontinent. The Sepoy Uprising, or the first 'war of Independence'³⁰ as Indians call it, was a decisive and significant event in the history of Indian Muslims and it deeply influenced the development and progression of Sir Sayyid's thinking. The 1857 Uprising was also "an 'archaic' attempt" of Indian Muslims to recover their lost power in India; but its failure, due to the lack of organization, spelt the disintegration and collapse of the feudal structure of Muslim society. This defeat was accepted as final by Indian Muslims in the second half of the 19th century, and they felt the need for a "new kind of leadership—a leadership of adjustment—to

²⁸ For the biographical details see, among others, Altaf Hussain Hali, *Hayat-i-Javed (A Biographical Account of Sir Sayyid)*, English Trans. K. H. Qadiri and David J. Mathews (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1979); George F. Irving Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan* (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, [1885]1974).

²⁹ Hafeez Malik, "Ahmad Khan, Sayyid", in *OEMIW*, I: 54; D. Lelyveld, "Ahmad Khan (Sir) Syed", in *EIMW*, I: 32.

³⁰ Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964; published in India by Oxford in 1999), 55.

find a *modus vivendi* with the British rulers and their resurgent Hindu compatriots.”³¹ From 1858 to 1898, this leadership was provided by Sir Sayyid, thrust upon him by “historical circumstances within India.”³²

Sir Sayyid’s response to the challenge of the West, or more directly, to the British presence (colonialism and imperialism) in India was, in Aziz Ahmad’s words, “a complete surrender to the impact of modern ideas”, as he was concerned with “only a fraction of the Muslim world—the Indian Muslims.”³³ Most importantly, it convinced him that the best of Western civilization could and should be assimilated by the Muslims because the “pure” Islam taught by the Qur’an and lived/ practiced by Prophet (pbuh) was not simply unopposed to Western civilization but was, in fact, its ultimate source and inspiration. To put this in other words, the first two decades after 1857 witnessed Sir Sayyid’s increasing preoccupation with the prevailing conditions of Muslims in India. Like the Muslim modernists in Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire, Sir Sayyid espoused the causes of: (i) rationalism in Islam, which established a new orientation—that religion existed as an aid to man’s progress, and man did not exist just for religion; (ii) social reforms patterned after Western culture; (iii) modern education through English, and (iv) Muslim nationalism. His thesis also emphasized that (v) civilizations do not belong to nations, but to man. Consequently, progress and prejudice, advancement and narrow-mindedness, could not coexist. To accomplish the goals of his normative values, Sir Sayyid endeavored to establish Muslim-British rapprochement in India.³⁴

Perceiving Muslims as backward and in need of education, Sir Sayyid undertook three major projects designed to increase public involvement in educational and social arenas:

To “initiate an ecumenical movement in order to create understanding between Muslims and Christians;” that is, he spearheaded a modernist movement that saw no genuine conflict between Islam and Christianity because of their common moral message;

To “establish scientific organizations that would help Muslims to understand the secret of [the] West’s success;” that is, the establishment of Aligarh Scientific Society in 1865—a translation society to make Western thought more accessible; and

To “analyze objectively the causes for the 1857 revolt.”³⁵

For Sir Sayyid, Muslims needed to change the way they saw and responded to the modern world. For that purpose, he devoted his life to religious, educational, and social reform. Like Afghani and ‘Abduh, he called for a bold new theology or reinterpretation of Islam and acceptance, not rejection, of what was best in Western thought. In Esposito’s words, he called for a new theology to respond to the modern change.³⁶ He wanted to show that he was reclaiming the original religion of Islam, which God and His Messenger had disclosed, not that religion which the *Ulama* and the preachers had fashioned. His interpretation of Islam was guided by his belief that Islam was compatible with reason and the laws of nature and, therefore, in perfect harmony with modern scientific thought. He argued that Islam’s teachings

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 59.

³³ Ibid., 59.

³⁴ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 8-9.

³⁵ Malik, “Ahmad Khan, Sayyid”, in *OEMIW*, I: 58.

³⁶ Esposito, *The Islamic Threat*, 58.

concerning God, the Prophet, and the Qur'an are compatible with modern science, which involves discovery of the work of God in natural laws; in other words, Sir Sayyid argued that Islam is "in full correspondence with reason."³⁷ Furthermore, he equated reason with understanding and considered it an acquired quality that enables human beings to distinguish between good and bad, right and wrong, proper and improper. According to Sir Sayyid, who used terms like understanding, reason, and intellect interchangeably, the only criterion for a person having reason, intellect, or understanding is behavioral rather than substantive.

Educational Reforms (Projects and Program) of Sir Sayyid

Sir Sayyid's educational program was meant to change the intellectual, political, and economic destiny of Muslim India, and had its humble beginnings in 1864, when he founded the Aligarh Scientific Society for the introduction of Western sciences primarily among Muslims in India.³⁸ The Society translated works on physical sciences into Urdu and published a bilingual journal, *Aligarh Institute Gazette* (1866).³⁹ The objectives of the Society, as noted by Altaf Hussain Hali in *Hayat-i-Javed*, were: 1) to translate works from English or other European languages into native languages for common use among the people; 2) to search for and publish rare and valuable oriental works; 3) to publish any periodical which may improve the native mind; etc.⁴⁰

What did the Society accomplish? Its planning and the approved projects reflect largely Sir Sayyid's orientation toward the sciences and their relevance to contemporary India. The Society "translated forty European books dealing with history, political science, meteorology, electricity, algebra, geometry, calculus, hydrology, and agriculture."⁴¹ At the inauguration of the *Scientific Society*, George F. Irving Graham praised the efforts of Sir Sayyid and said that:

*For the first time in the annals of Hindustan has a Mohammedan gentleman, alone and unaided, thought over and commenced a Society in order to bring the knowledge and literature of the nations of the Western world within reach of immense masses of the people of Eastern.*⁴²

In 1864, Sir Sayyid founded a modern school at Ghazipur, and in 1868 promoted the formation of educational committees in several districts of northern India. During his visit to England from May 1867 to October 1870, he internalized positive aspects of British culture including the value system of modern scientific education; and in order to study British educational institutions, he visited the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Fully equipped

³⁷ Christian W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978), 257.

³⁸ Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan – 1857-1947*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 36-7. [Hereafter cited as Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*].

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 37; Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 89; see also Dr Ali Ahmad, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan on Education*, (Aligarh: Publication Division, Aligarh Muslim University, 2006), 18-19.

⁴⁰ *Proceedings of the First Meeting of the Scientific Society*, Ghazipur, Jan. 9, 1864, *Fikr-o-Nazr* (Aligarh), April 1963, 8; see also Hali, *Hayat*, 86-4-6; Malik, *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴¹ Malik, *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴² Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan*, 72.

with modern ideas and orientations, upon returning he prepared his blueprint for the higher education of Muslims and laid the foundation of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (MAOC) at Aligarh in 1874, modeled on Cambridge University.⁴³ In 1920 the College became Aligarh Muslim University (AMU). Meant primarily for Muslims, it was interdenominational, providing *Sunni* and *Shia* theological education, and included Hindu students as well. It aimed, in the words of Aziz Ahmad, at the liberalization of ideas, broad humanism, a scientific world view, and a pragmatic approach to politics. It strove for a steady increase of educated Muslims in the government services. It smoothed the transition of young generation of Muslim elite from almost medieval conservatism to at least superficial modernism. And, finally, it was to produce the leadership for Muslim political separatism in India as a counter-balance to the growing influence of the Indian National Congress.⁴⁴

Along with Sir Sayyid, his colleague and son Sayyid Mahmud, had conceived the three colleges to be located on a single campus, constituting the nucleus of a University patterned after “the system of Oxford and Cambridge, combining instruction with residence under a certain discipline.”⁴⁵ The MAO College was to create a new value system among Muslim students. First, a consciousness of Muslim nationality, national solidarity, and solidarity obligation had to be instilled. Secondly, their dedication to Islamic religion should be strengthened so that they would remain loyal to the *Shihadah*, the affirmation of Islamic faith. Thirdly, values emphasizing honesty, truthfulness, and compassion for others must be internalized. Fourthly, Sir Sayyid maintained that Arabic and Persian literary and cultural traditions should be maintained in order to counter-balance the corrosive impact of modern English education. Lastly, primacy was given to the value of Muslims` solidarity obligation in the boarding houses, where the students were made to realize that only with mutual help and the development in group orientation, could nations be born.⁴⁶ To Sir Sayyid, a modern Muslim reflected in his personality a refined synthesis of philosophy, natural science, and the *Shihadah*.

Sir Sayyid devoted most of his energies to promoting education among Muslims. He also founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference (MAOEC), originally Muhammadan Educational Conference. Along with MAO College, the MAOEC aimed at “rectifying the situation through the voluntary efforts of the Muslim community”⁴⁷ for the general promotion of Western education in Muslim India, for the enrichment of Urdu through translations of indispensable scientific works, to exercise political pressure for the acceptance of Urdu as the secondary language in all government and private schools, to emphasize the necessity for educating women as essential for the balanced intellectual development of future generations, and to formulate a policy for the higher education of Muslim students in Europe.⁴⁸

⁴³ Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 37.

⁴⁴ Ahmad, *Ibid.*, 37

⁴⁵ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 198.

⁴⁶ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 211, 213; see also Ahmad, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan on Education*, 24-26.

⁴⁷ Sanjay Seth, *Subject Lessons: The Western Education of Colonial India* (Duke University Press, 2007), 112.

⁴⁸ Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference, *Majmua-i rezolushanha-i dihsala 1886-95* (1896), 10-14, 20-21. 43, 48, as quoted in Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 37-8.

Subsequently he began the publication of a journal, *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*, which was to reform Muslim religious thought and progress. Named after the famous ethical treatise of Ibn Miskawayah, but apparently modeled on Addison's and Steele's *Spectator* and *The Tatler*. It tried to do for India (and for Indian Muslims) what Steele and Addison's magazines had done for Britain and its people at the beginning of 18th century. These magazines seem to have had a great influence upon the morals, social customs, traditions and national consciousness of the British; and in the same way, in *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*, Sir Sayyid wrote articles on such topics as "morals, social life and society as well as on religious topics"⁴⁹ and thus it presented articles on a wide range of subjects "from public hygiene to rationalist speculation on religious dogmas". In its brilliant pages "modernism emerged as a potent force and considerably changed the course and the direction of Islam in India."⁵⁰ *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*, which was meant to educate and civilize Indian Muslims, had three main objectives: (1) Establishment of social harmony among the Muslims of India; (2) revival of true Islamic traditions; and (3) removal of the misconception of Islam from the masses in regards with modern developments.

The first issue of this journal was published on December 24, 1870, and Sir Sayyid made it an instrument for the diffusion of his modern values, eliciting an intensely negative response from some segments of the religiously conservative Muslim middle classes.⁵¹ The major aim of *Tahzib al-Akhlaq* was to overcome those religious prejudices which were stopping the Muslims from progressing and which really had nothing at all to do with Islam. By pointing out to the Muslims the weaknesses of their own society, which had brought about a decline in their morals, through *Tahzib al-Akhlaq*, as Hali has noted, Sir Sayyid tried to make them detest the offensive and injurious customs and beliefs to which they are clinging. He wanted to show them the drawbacks, wherever they existed, in the reverence they had for ancient learning and to replace their hatred for modern sciences with a desire to that would bring them the same advantages as it had brought in the rest of the world.⁵²

In its first phase, the journal remained in existence for six years, and during this time period, Sir Sayyid had written 112 out of 262 published articles.⁵³

Scholarly Evaluations of Sir Sayyid's Educational Reforms?

The significance and impact of Sir Sayyid's reform work has formed the basis for a body of scholarship by both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars and writers. For instance, John L. Esposito writes that Sir Sayyid combined theory with practice, seeking to implement his idea and train a new generation of Muslim leaders. His prolific writing was accompanied by his leadership in many educational reforms: a translation society to make western thought more accessible, the introduction of their own journals, and the formation of Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College (later named as Aligarh Muslim University), which was modeled after Cambridge university.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Hali, *Hayat*, 123-4.

⁵⁰ Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism*, 38.

⁵¹ Malik, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 200.

⁵² Hali, *Hayat*, 125.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, , 126; see also Ahmad, *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan on Education*, 21.

⁵⁴ Esposito, "Contemporary Islam", 649.

Various other writings have emphasized different areas of Sir Sayyid's thought and activity—social and political, educational and cultural—in which he made reforms. But almost all agree that his prime achievement was a revival of Muslim morale and prestige in British India, and that to him goes the credit for having re-established the dynamism of Muslims in India as a social and political force. His efforts are regarded as a “dynamic and constructive achievement” that made a tremendous impression on modern Islam. In the words of A. H. Albiruni (the pseudonym of Pakistani historian, S. M. Ikram), Sir Sayyid not only filled the big void created in the life of the Muslim community by the disappearance of the Muslim rule, but also he bridged the gap between medieval and modern India and gave the Indian Muslims “a new cohesion, a new policy, new educational ideals, a new prose, a new approach to their individual and national problems, and built up an organization which could carry on his work.”⁵⁵ Altaf Hussain Hali (in *Hayat-i-Jawid*) after presenting Sir Sayyid's overall view sets out to describe his various “services to country, community and religion”; and denotes his work by the term “Reformation”, calling him a reformer.⁵⁶ For Allama Iqbal, Sir Sayyid's “real greatness” lies in the fact that he caught a glimpse of the “positive character of the age which was coming”, and he felt the need for a “fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it”; and there is no denying in the fact that this sensitive soul was, in the Indian subcontinent, the “first to react the modern age.”⁵⁷

Some of his contemporaries in Europe, such as John Strachey and Sidney Low, characterized Sir Sayyid's thinking as “liberal”, “progressive”, or “enlightened”, and these comments have continued even after his death.⁵⁸ This European view was shared by many Indian writers—Hali and Justice Shah Din (1868-1918), for example. Shah Din did not consider Sir Sayyid a great scholar of Arabic, or a well-versed theologian, nevertheless, he maintains:

*the fact remains, that in his power of grasping the fundamental principles of our Islamic system of faith, and in his keen insight into such of his features have made it a great motive power in the world, he has been hardly excelled by the most learned theologians of modern times.*⁵⁹

B.A. Dar projected this image succinctly as: “He was the first man in modern India to realize the necessity for a new interpretation of Islam that was liberal, modern, and progressive.”⁶⁰

Clearly Sir Sayyid's entire intellectual energy was devoted to resolving the conflict between religion and science and to reconciling the best of both for the younger generation of

⁵⁵ A. H. Albiruni, *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* (Lahore: Sheikh M. Ashraf, 1950), 12-13

⁵⁶ Hali, *Hayat*.

⁵⁷ Allama Muhammad Iqbal, *Islam and Ahmadism* (Lahore: Anjuman-i- Khuddam ud Din, 1936) , 22; Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 26.

⁵⁸ Sidney Low, *A Vision of India* (London: Smith & Elder, 1906), 282; Troll, *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵⁹ J. S. Din, *Syed Ahmad Khan as a Religious Re-former* (Lecture delivered in Lahore in 1903), Rpt. in Bashir Ahmad, *Justice Shah Din: His Life and Works* (Lahore: Ferozsons, 1903), 292-319; Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 19.

⁶⁰ B.A. Dar, *Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 1st ed. (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture 1957), 262

Muslim elites whom he wished to attract. Thus, Sir Sayyid was the first representative of Islamic modernism in South Asia to present a new orientation of Islam that reacted to the modern age.⁶¹

Conclusion

By way of conclusion it is safe to say that the emergence of Islamic modernism and the legacy the modernists produced influenced the development of the Muslim community and its attitude toward the West. Their vision inspired Muslim intellectuals and activists across the Muslim world to emphasize educational reforms that incorporated a modern curriculum, legitimated legal and social change, and contributed to the formation of anti-colonial independence movements. And Sir Sayyid, captivated by the amazing progress registered in multiple fields by Europeans, wanted similar scientific and technological sophistication and superiority, material progress and advancement for Muslims as well.

Galvanized by a vision, and inspired by a dream, a determined Sir Sayyid, armed with the courage of convictions, generated a unified vision and put his ideas into practice. At present it is seen in the form of Aligarh Muslim University; and what is presently needed is to maintain this legacy—a legacy of education, of learning, of culture, of civilization, and of a rich tradition—which Sir Sayyid has left behind for the educational advancement and improvement of Muslims.

Moreover, it is also necessary to mention that Muslim modernists were determined and stimulated, in the real sense, with new thinking on contemporary issues demonstrating that Islam is a dynamic religion that calls for continuing intellectual evaluation and appraisal of both normative and historical Islam, and they constructed modernist, enlightened, just, forward-looking, and life-affirming Muslim societies. In his reaction to British Imperialism and its impact on Indian society, Sir Sayyid was the first Indian Muslim to feel the need for a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. The progressive spirit of the historic Aligarh movement founded by Sir Sayyid for the intellectual, moral and social regeneration of Indian Muslims remains a font of insight and a source of inspiration and empowerment for those who want to create communities and societies that embody the highest ideals and best practices of Islam. Last, but not the least, it is my conviction that the voices of educational reformist thinkers like Sir Sayyid have prevailed and will continue to prevail against all the negative forces and that their thinking will remain as a source of inspiration for all the reformist and modernist thinkers, not only across the Muslim world—from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in South Asia, Indonesia and Malaysia in Southeast Asia, to Central Asia, and from Middle East to North Africa—but also for Muslim thinkers of Europe, America and other countries and continents across the globe, for the reason that it is still not only relevant, significant, and important, but equally essential, considerable and appropriate.

⁶¹ I have discussed the present theme, in an earlier work on Sir Sayyid's contribution to the modernist/reformist thought as well. See, Tauseef Ahmad Parray, "Islamic Modernist and Reformist Thought: A Study of the Contribution of Sir Sayyid and Muhammad Iqbal", in *World Journal of Islamic History and Civilization* [WJIHC], 1 (2): 79-93, (UAE: IDOSI Publications, 2011). Available online at [http://idosi.org/wjihc/wjihc1\(2\)11/2.pdf](http://idosi.org/wjihc/wjihc1(2)11/2.pdf)

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