

Tunisia: From the advent of Islam to Independence: A Historical Study

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ABSTRACT:

The geographical location of Tunisia has a tremendous significance for its history, as it exposes it to the major powers of the world and not only this; the country gets influenced to a wide variety of cultures. All the conquerors of the country fully sought to superimpose their hegemony – political, social, and cultural upon its adherents. The phase started with the era of Phoenicians, followed by Romans, Vandals, then Muslims, and finally colonial and neo-colonial era. Each and every one from the above mentioned powers tried their level best to have the impact on the country in the best possible way. In this struggle, the emerging one sought to exterminate the values of the former and so on and so forth.

The country witnessed throughout its entire history the coming and going of various powers and after the advent of Islam in the country, one finds total transformation of the values. During the Muslim rule in the Tunisia, many dynasties governed it for example *Aghlabid*, *Fatimid*, *Zirid*, *al-Muwahhid*, *usaynid* etc. Thereafter in the second half of the 19th century, a new phase began in the region commonly known as colonial phase. In this direction the paper attempts to present a concise history of Tunisia under two main sections, viz. Tunisia, Islam, and later Developments; and Tunisia's experience as a colonial state and their resistance against it, till independence. Lastly the paper is followed by the concluding remarks.

Key words: Tunisia; Islam, Maghrib, Phoenician, Carthage, Aghlabids, Fatimids, dey, bey, French Occupation, *Dustūr*, Neo-Dustūr, *Abū Raḥbāh*.

Introduction:

Tunisia is a country regarded by many to have a vital and strategic location in the contemporary world situation. It is because of this geographic location that many of the great powers tried to explore the region. The country is almost equidistant from the Atlantic Ocean and the Nile River.¹ From the Atlantic, the Mediterranean Sea flows more or less due east, but at Tunisia it turns abruptly south, thus providing it two faces on the Mediterranean – one in north toward Europe and second in east toward Islamic Regions. It is these two regions that have made an unflinching mark on the history of the country.² About the country's vital strategic position coupled with the influence of the two above mentioned powers made L. Carl Brown to conclude:

Located thus at the hub of this great inland sea, with both an eastern and northern coastline, Tunisia has been a weathercock for Mediterranean history, revealing

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from which direction have come the stronger winds of politico-military power.

A center of power in its own right in the Carthaginian period, Tunisia later became the heartland of Roman Africa. The territory of the present-day Tunisia and eastern Algeria was also the strongest bastion of North African Christianity. Following the rise of Islam and the beginning the Arab penetration into North Africa in the seventh century, Tunisia embraced Arabo-Islamic culture. Thereafter Muslim Tunisia, given its central Mediterranean location, fluctuated between eastern and western Islamic worlds, at times more identified with the one, at times more with the other.³

Tunisia is a small African country, with an area of 163,610 square kilometres (63,170 square miles).⁴ The distances from the northernmost tip (Mediterranean) to the southernmost region is approximately 500 miles⁵ (800 kilometres) and between east and west it is about 150 miles.⁶ The country is connected on the western side with Algeria and on the south eastern side with Libya. The whole region i.e., North Africa is commonly known as *Maghrib* and it refers to the above named three countries along with Mauritania and Morocco.⁷ Though the small size of the country is apparent enough, still the country is conferred with varied geographic and climatic diversity. The country has three prominent divisions – the mountainous north (coastal plain consisting of rolling hills and low mountains); high steppes and low steppes, and the Sahil in the centre; and the Sahara⁸ in the south (the portion of the great desert spreading from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea). The existing population of Tunisia is about 10.7 million comprising of 98% Arabs (Muslims), 1% Europeans (mainly Christians), and 1% Jews and others.⁹

Tunisia, Islam, and later Developments

Tunisia is a country that has always been on the historic paths of invasions and conquests. The Phoenician merchants were the first to happenstance the indigenous people of Tunisia. These settlers founded a chain of colonies to facilitate their business activities. In 814 B.C., the Phoenicians founded one such colony that came to be known as Qart Hadasht – “new city” (Carthage).¹⁰ Later on, in a successful venture Romans defied the ascendancy of the Phoenicians in the region, and began to govern the area and also introduced there the Christianity as the religion for several centuries to come. Their supremacy was followed by the Vandals – a Germanic tribe from Spain,¹¹ from the north and the Byzantines (rulers of the Constantinople) from the east across the Mediterranean Sea.¹² The advance of the Islam and the Muslims in the region during the seventh century sealed the door of the long chains of Western influences as being cherished and fostered by the Romans, Vandals and the Byzantines. Before the Muslim advance, the entire region (*Maghrib*) as stated earlier experienced other foreign conquests. The Muslim liberation of the region left an ineradicable mark on the society in its totality that others failed to do. It is crystal clear that in spite of the huge impact of European colonization and further transformations in the post-colonial or neo-colonial era, Islam still describes the lives of the masses in the entire region.

The Muslims carried out an extraordinary campaign of disseminating the Message of Islam into Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa and other parts. It was in 647 C.E., that the Muslims began their campaigns toward the *Maghrib* as per the orders of third Caliph of

Islam – ‘Uthman (may Allah be pleased with him). But these campaigns in the region came to a halt for a substantial period and were reintroduced with the emergence of the *Umayyads*. Finally, it was ‘Uqba bin Nafi’ (may Allah be pleased with him), who was the first from the Muslims to venture the region effectively and in the year 670 C.E. founded *Qayrawān* and made it as a base for further campaigns in the region.¹³ After that the region witnessed for about a thousand years a series of rise and fall of the various dynasties; governing it from distant places – Umayyad from Damascus, Abbasid from Baghdad, Fatimid from Cairo, *Zirid* and *al-Muwāḥḥid* from Morocco and others.¹⁴

Tunisia came under the authority of Aghlabids in 808 C.E., when Ibrahim bin *Aghlab*, the governor of *Zab* entered with his troops into *Qayrawān* after he was called to do so by the Abbasids. Ibrahim bin *Aghlab* accepted the call and requested the Caliph to grant him the region as a hereditary fief, in order to run it independently. The Caliph accepted the accomplished fact and in return Ibrahim bin *Aghlab* paid an annual tribute of 40,000 Dinars to the Caliph.¹⁵ During the reign of Aghlabids, the history of the region was dominated by two important issues as perceived by *Jamāl M. Abū al-Nasr*: “the recalcitrance of the Arab *jund* and the hostility of the orthodox religious circles [particularly *Mālikī* School] to the Aghlabid system of government.”¹⁶ It should also be borne in mind that of the four orthodox schools of Islamic law, *Mālikī* School founded by *Mālik bin Anas*, had a very strong base and also the inspired and pious ‘*Ulamā*’ in the region like *Shahnun*¹⁷ (d.854). It is for this reason that almost all the Muslims of North Africa (*Maghrib*) follow and abide by the *Mālikī* School till this day.

After the end of Aghlabids, came the turn of the Fatimids, who gained the control of Tunisia by overthrowing the formers, and thus began to rule it in the very beginning years of the tenth century. It is said that before making Cairo (*Qahirah*) as the seat of their authority, they governed Tunisia for about three-quarters of a century from 909 to 973. During this period in spite of their accomplishments, they made no headway at all in disseminating their beliefs either among ‘*Ulamā*’ or among the general masses of the region. The same has been observed by L. Carl Brown. He articulates: “Yet, Fatimid *Shi‘ism* never succeeded in challenging *Mālikī* Sunni orthodoxy for the loyalty of the masses. Within a relatively short time after it lost political sponsorship, *Shi‘ism* had vanished from Tunisia without apparent trace.”¹⁸ After getting hold of Cairo, they abandoned Tunisia and at the same time designated Berber *Zirids* as their runners of the region. It is also worthy to mention that the political instability in the region barely came to a standstill and this time *Banū Iḥlāl* – an Arab Bedouin tribe, supported and encouraged by the *Fatimids* invaded Tunisia. In the same course, in the 12th century as mentioned above, the Normans of the Sicily got hold of Tunis and other coastal regions, and their conquest was followed by the *al-Muwāḥḥids*, who in 1159 gained the control of *Mahdiyya* and then Tunis.¹⁹ *Al-Muwāḥḥids* managed to run the affairs of the region by nominating the governors belonging to the *al-Muwāḥḥids* till 1230 and after that Abu *Zakariyya* – a descendant of the, announced his independence in the region. It was predominantly because of the role played by him in suppressing the rebellion of *Banū Ghaniyah* in 1234 which paved the way for the setting up of *Hafsid* supremacy in the region. After the establishment of the state, they ruled the region for more than three hundred years from

1227-1574.²⁰

Ottomans then conquered Tunisia by deposing the *Hafsids* coupled with clearing the region from the Spanish interventions. In the region the civil and military administration was placed under a *pasha* appointed by the Ottomans. Very brief time elapsed; a military revolution led by junior-level janissary officers called *deys*²¹ transferred the power from the *pasha* to the *deys*. During the period of *deys*, one more institution was present called *bey* and it was the duty of an officer called *bey*,²² to assist *dey* in various matters like the process of maintaining peace among the tribal communities and also to collect taxes and tributes.²³ With the advance of time, several transformations took place in the office of the *bey* and with such extensive powers very soon the office of the *bey* emerged as a contending power to the central authority (*dey*). In 1705, such a development process witnessed the emergence of the dynasty of the *beys* that overshadowed the administration and the government of the *deys*.

It was *Husayn bin 'Ali* – a Turk of Greek origin and the founder of the dynasty, who on July 1705 was declared as the sovereign by the troops under the title of *bey*.²⁴ He established the hereditary sovereignty in Tunisia that lasted without any transformation of the dynasty till July 1957,²⁵ when the country was declared 'Republic'. Prior to this, one of the fundamental transformations that the country witnessed in the second half of the 19th century was the rising influence and presence of foreigners particularly France, Britain and Italy and their rival attitude towards one another which finally culminated with the establishment of French-Protectorate on 8 June 1883.²⁶ In this way a new phase began in the history of Tunisia in which the inhabitants resisted the occupation by adopting several ways and means.

Tunisia: Occupation to Independence

Tunisians endeavoured relentlessly and vigorously to put an end to the colonization and occupation, which came into existence when the "Convention of La Marsa, of 8 June 1883"²⁷ was signed between Paul Cambon – the first French resident minister in Tunisia and the 'Ali Bey. After the establishment of the French Protectorate, Europeans started to make settlements in Tunisia day in and day out and it is but natural certainly a response would have been given to such activities and rightly observed that Tunisians did resist such settlements with full vigour. History bears testimony to the fact that in such circumstances, diversity in response is inevitable – same was witnessed in Tunisia. The opposition thus raised, attracted its support from different agencies and sources like from those Tunisians who had left the country and were in contact with the East, or from intellectuals who were temporarily staying in the *Maghrib* like *Shaykh Muhammad Abd^L h* (1884-1885, 1903). Each group whether inside or outside had their own unique way of giving response to the Protectorate. Some of them desired to regain and restore to the Tunisians their eloquent past; others criticized and opposed French Protectorate and their policies openly and vehemently; some others developed conservative tendencies and still some viewed French as an important institution for the development of the region.²⁸

Among these groups an active and more vibrant role was played by the

Young Tunisians, which in 1908 came to be called as Young Tunisia Party. 'Al-ḥi al-Fī si in a perfect way describes the character, ideology and transformation of the party in these lines:

The early orientation of the movement was nationalist and secular, along lines of the Young Turks, but when the ḥīrah group [Students belonging to al-ḥīrah Institute established this group; they went abroad to carry on advanced studies and returned with enlightened views] joined in the party veered towards support of Pan-Islamism.²⁹

The party made persistent political demands from 1914-19. In 1919, the group enhanced and strengthened their powers and made more representations. It was in the same year that the Young Tunisians founded a new party – al-ḥīrah al-Dustūrīyah (the Dustūrīyah Party).³⁰ In a manifesto, they presented the various objectives of the new party:

The purpose underlying the formation of the party is to help the nation achieve its maturity and to strive for its liberation from bondage so that the people of Tunisia may become free in the enjoyment of all the rights which other free nations enjoy. The party believes that this objective could be attained by a speedy implementation of a constitutional system which enables the people to govern themselves, as is the case throughout the civilized world.³¹

At the very outset, the party made a direct demand for independence, but later on shifted its policies toward reform through debate with the French and establishing diplomatic relations thereof; with the intention to achieve independence legally. But time proved that it failed to gain its objectives and diminished through the departure of one of its prominent leaders 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Thaḥībi and also was unable to survive from the onslaught of the French in terms of persecution and imprisonment of its leaders. Though the party toiled hard to regain and revive its political ground under the cover of trade union action in 1924, but miserably failed and thus the opposition (the Dustūrīyah Party) to the Protectorate languished in passivity for a long time till the birth of a new organisation on 2 March 1934, under the title of al-Hizb al-Dustūrīyah al-Jadīd (the Neo-Dustūrīyah Party) led by a young and energetic lawyer – ḥīrah al-ḥīrah al-Dustūrīyah al-Jadīd (Habib Bourguiba).³² Ideologically, Neo-Dustūrīyah did not differ from the antecedent (old-Dustūrīyah), but the former criticized severely the lack of activism and dynamism in the latter. For a long period in the history of Tunisia, the activity of this party was not surpassed and also the personality and character of its leader as well. It is therefore very much desirable here to present at some length his personality coupled with his accomplishments.

ḥīrah al-ḥīrah al-Dustūrīyah al-Jadīd, son of a retired lieutenant in the Beylical Guard was born in the town of Monastir, in 1903, one of the ancient cities of the Sahel. At the age of five he was sent to Tunis to get primary education at the Sadiki College's elementary school annex, followed by Sadiki College and finally at Lycee Carnot.³³

ḥīrah al-ḥīrah al-Dustūrīyah al-Jadīd, after finishing his schooling in Tunis left for Paris to study law and political science. While in Paris, he developed contacts with different people and groups, one of them was Dr. Materi – the first

president of the Neo-Dust^l r. *Ab^l Raq^l bah*, returned Tunisia in 1927 with few French law degrees, French culture, French wife and a son.

It is pertinent here to make it ample clear that the life history of *Ab^l Raq^l bah*, and the party Neo-Dust^l r are connected and interconnected – that is to say one cannot be alienated from the other, and at the same time it is quite impossible to understand one while doing away with the other. So, when there is a mention of Neo- Dust^l r, it should be borne in mind that at the same time it highlights the personality of its leader as well.

The dynamism of the party was fundamentally based on the realization of the long cherished dream – to accomplish an independent and sovereign Tunisia, for which they were all optimistic and worked in combination. The party while busy in pursuing the above presented dream also insisted the immediate implementation of the below given reforms:

- I. Closing down of the “colonial allowance”. (An allowance amounting to one-third of the basic salary paid to French employees in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco).
- II. Termination of official colonization of the land.
- III. Compulsory education for all.
- IV. Establishment of elected municipal councils.
- V. Appointing the inhabitants to different government posts and jobs, including a greater share in pivotal posts.
- VI. Effective relief program.
- VII. Forming anti-usury legislation.
- VIII. Cessation of a Grand Council and its replacement by a duly elected Tunisian parliament and a government responsible to it.³⁴

The party and its leaders were continuously oppressed; still it traversed the path toward developing its organs and disseminating the influence among the masses without bounds. After the emergence of the party, hardly six months had passed, it was banned and in the subsequent two decades it carried on its activities illegally. In 1934, the turbulences and clashes which occurred between Neo- Dust^l r and Old Dust^l r culminated with the imprisonment of *Ab^l Raq^l bah* and his associates. He spent almost ten of the following twenty years in different French prisons (1934-36, 1938-43, and 1952-54). Before his release from the first imprisonment in 1936, he had almost emerged as the leader by capturing the imagination of the young generation.³⁵

Ab^l Raq^l bah was at liberty from 1936-1938, and it was during this period that the party's structure was organized and structured. It was the period when the party was largely coordinated, and with passing of every flash it gained unrelenting support of the masses. *Jam^l l M. Ab^l al-Nasr*, while highlighting the mass character of the party, observes: “The mass character of the party is evident from its membership of about 100,000 in 1937 organized into 400 branches. The membership remained steady: in 1954 it was estimated at 106,000.³⁶” The party survived the Protectorate's persecution and also the strains of the Second World War, owing to its broad based structure and efficient organisation. *Ab^l Raq^l bah* played an active role as the secretary general of the party

until 1938, when its first president, Dr. Materi resigned from the party as a protest over the campaign of violence that *Ab^l Raq^l bah* sanctioned against the Old- *Dust^l r*. Henceforth, *Ab^l Raq^l bah* assumed the full authority of the party. The level of coordination and the cohesive nature of the party can be depicted from the fact that although its leader was either in prison or in exile for most of the period (1938-1955), still it carried on the struggle.

A dramatic change was seen in the country when in June 1942, *Munsif Bey* acceded to the throne. It was an abject surprise for all, when he acted as a symbol of nationalist aspirations and at the same time endeavoured to re-cultivate the bond between the 'authority' and the 'people'. He welcomed nationalist leaders, affiliated either to Old *Dust^l r* or Neo- *Dust^l r* and also left an indelible impression on the minds of the masses by mixing with them during his outings. *Munsif Bey* himself supervised the social welfare activities. As the time elapsed, the *Bey* to a great degree increased his ability to act independently and it is in this connection he put an end to the already existing government and had a new one with the assistance of Muhammad Shanniq – a sympathizer of Neo- *Dust^l r*. Within a very short span of only six months, the eminence of *Munsif Bey* overshadowed the reputation of any other contemporary political leader in the country especially *Ab^l Raq^l bah*. People could be heard speculating that had the *Munsif Bey* remained in power, one could have hardly heard *Ab^l Raq^l bah*'s name in the country as his political future would have been totally eclipsed by the former. To *Ab^l Raq^l bah*'s good luck, *Munsif Bey* was deposed by the Free French authorities, thus in a way rescued the political identity of *Ab^l Raq^l bah*. *Jam^l l Ab^l al-Nasr* mentions the reason for the deportation of *Munsif Bey* in these lines. "He was accused of collaboration with the Axis, but the more likely reason for his removal from the throne was his attempt to shake off French control."³⁷

Among the masses there was a general perception that the end of the war would bring Tunisia closer to independence, but it never heralded any change on the ground level. *Ab^l Raq^l bah* left the country secretly in March 1945, so as to gain international support for the country. In this act of solicitation, he toured many places, first went to Egypt, and then spent next two years in Asia, Europe and United States. In the meantime, different groups already existing in the country not only continued the struggle but also coordinated each other's action. In the same period that is in 1946 UGTT – Tunisian Trade Union Federation (Union General des Travellers Tunisiens) was founded. This coordinated effort was further welded when a congress was held on 23 August 1946 in which the Old *Dust^l r*, Neo-*Dust^l r*, the Union of Tunisian Government Employees, the staff of the *Zayt^l nah* University, and UGTT participated. The conference was still going when the police barged into the building on the authority of a warrant signed by the Resident General. The police searched all the conferees one by one and arrested at least sixty participants including the chairman of the conference – al-'Ar^l si al-Haddad and other personalities, levelling on them the charges of contriving against the state and also of re-establishing a disbanded organization.³⁸

The point to be taken into serious consideration is that the Protectorate did not abrogate the sovereignty of the *bey* in theory, but practically it shared it and it could be

said that it was similar to the concept of co-sovereignty. From 1950 onwards, the issue of co-sovereignty emerged as the major bone of contention between the Protectorate and the Tunisian Nationalists. With every passing moment demonstrations, strikes and the boost in the activities of Tunisian guerrillas (*Fellaga*) posed more pressure and threat to the Protectorate, eventually compelling it to give in. The Protectorate recognized the increasing vigour of the Tunisians, but hardly willed to grant freedom to them. In compliance to this growing vigour, the Mendes-French government came out with a proposal of granting autonomy to Tunisia on 30 July 1954. The French government turned into negotiations with the *bey*, hoping to out flank Neo-Dust^l r and conceiving that the exclusion of the most outspoken nationalists or the one who were the 'Vanguards of the Freedom Movement', would enhance the search for such a political solution which could be in their interest and favour.

Neo-Dust^l r rejected these solutions and reforms as half measures and at the same time in the following years they boosted their activities more and more. The situation worsened further as the country witnessed intensified activities of the *fellaga* (Tunisian guerrillas) in urban areas, attacking French farms and police stations. Such a status-quo compelled the Protectorate to accept the gravity of the Tunisian situation by giving them the autonomy. It gives an impression that the Protectorate's acceptance and appreciation of the gravity of the situation was to a large extent due to the decisive role played by the *fellaga* (Tunisian guerrillas). In the prevailing scenario, for the Protectorate, granting autonomy was seen as the apogee step in bringing the country's situation under control. In traversing this path real headway was made only in 1955, when the French establishment released *Ab^l Raq^l bah* and allowed him to act as the representative of the Tunisian negotiating team. An accord on granting autonomy to Tunisia was implemented on 22 April 1955, and in the next month *Ab^l Raq^l bah* entered the country as an emerging leader.³⁹ However, diverse versions can be observed regarding the new accord. Here the point becomes ample clear by quoting the words of Kenneth J. Perkins who observes: "Bourguiba and the French, however, viewed the new arrangement in entirely different lights. For the latter, internal autonomy was an end itself; for Bourguiba it was a stepping stone toward complete independence."⁴⁰

However, some of the members of the party openly criticized and denounced the agreement which *Ab^l Raq^l bah* had concluded with the French government. Among them, the most extreme position was held by one of his associates Salih bin Yusuf (party's secretary general) who attacked the agreement as an Arab nationalist and accused *Ab^l Raq^l bah* of submissiveness and also his policy of moderation, and at the same time Salih bin Yusuf and his supporters favoured the idea of pursuing anti-colonialism to its logical end.

For *Ab^l Raq^l bah* autonomy was a base to gain complete independence. His policy and position was fully endorsed and supported in the Neo-Dust^l r Congress of 17 November 1955. In the meantime, the ground situation, in Morocco and Algeria also changed steadily. Not only this even in Tunisia and Algeria the people were rising up against the Protectorate. In other words, it can be said that the door was open to a bloody rebellion on all fronts. The struggle against the French Protectorate carried by the

Moroccan nationalists was gaining ground with every single moment. Such situation compelled the French to accept the principle of Morocco's independence on 6 November 1955. The French at the same time would have never failed to realize that it would be followed by the similar kind of demands from the Tunisia. *Ab^l Raq^l bah* seized the opportunity with the both hands and pressed for the termination of the French Protectorate. The doors for negotiations were opened on 29 February 1956 which finally culminated in signing officially the independence protocol to Tunisia on 20 March 1956.⁴¹

Conclusion

History bears testimony to the fact that Tunisia has always been on the brink of political and cultural influences. It is in this direction that some of the experts viewed that the entire North African region made no original contribution to civilization, though such views are highly contested ones. About Tunisia, it can be rightly articulated that its persistent contact with those who were more advanced in all the fields and who established their supremacy in the region meant that the impulses which led to the development of its ideals and values came from those who were 'outsiders'. No matter, how much and what sort of impact these outsiders laid on the country, especially recent drive by the colonial forces, the fact still remains that all of them except the Muslims miserably failed to sustain their identity in the region. The said statement fully matures when the ethos of the people living there are minutely examined. One reaches to the conclusion that Islam and Islamic ethos still governs the lives of the masses in the region.

NOTES & REFERENCES:

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- ³ L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey: 1837-1855* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974) pp. 19, 21
- ⁴ "Tunisia", retrieved from <http://ramsar.wetlands.org/Portals/15/TUNISIA.pdf>, (accessed on 29/08/2013)
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- ¹⁰ Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 15
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23
- ¹² *Tunisia in Perspective, op. cit.*, p. 12
- ¹³ Roland Oliver and J. D. Fage, *A Short History of Africa* (U.S.A.: Penguin Books Ltd, 1962) p. 70
- ¹⁴ *Tunisia in Perspective, op. cit.*, p. 15

- ¹⁵ Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1987) p. 54
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 56
- ¹⁸ Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-6
- ¹⁹ Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp.42-3
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46
- ²¹ Dey is a Turkish word meaning “maternal uncle” and is generally used to designate official functions in the Regencies of Algeria and Tunisia. Another use of it was to designate a lower rank in the Janissary militia toward the end of 16th century in Tunisia. For details, see, R. Le Tourneau, “Dayi [Dey]”, in B. Lewis, *et al.*, (eds) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam [EI²]* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 2:189
- ²² Bey is a Turkish word meaning “lord” and is used in a number of ways and has various dialect forms viz *bäg, bäk, bek* etc. Sometimes the word *bäg* is used to denote the second rank in the hierarchy of high dignitaries. All the uses of the term *bäg* or *beg* or *bey* very rarely designates a specific position or duty rather is essentially honorific. For details, see, L. Bazin, “Beg or Bey”, in *EI²*, 2:1159, The term Bay (*Bey*) is applied to the ruler of Tunisia and it was *Uthman Bey*, who established the office at the expiry of the 16th century. The holder of the office was entrusted with the command of the tribes, to maintain peace and also to collect taxes. Granted with extensive powers, very soon the Bey emerged as the most famous man in the country. Also it was the same title that was assumed by *Husayn bin ‘Ali*, the founder of the Husaynid dynasty in Tunisia on 10 July 1705 and the office continued until 26 July 1956. For more details see, Ch. Samaran, “Bay”, in *EI²*, 2:1110
- ²³ Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 171
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Mahmud Brelvi, *Islam in Africa* (Lahore: Din Muhammadi Press, 1964) p. 89
- ²⁶ Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 292
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton and Bernard Lewis, (eds) *The Cambridge History of Islam* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970) 2A: 316
- ²⁹ *Al-Ḥiṣṣa*, *The independence Movements in Arab North Africa*, tr by Hakim Zaki Nuseibeh, (Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1954) p. 47
- ³⁰ *Dustur* in modern Arabic means “constitution” or “constitutional charter” and it is now used in the same sense in the Arab countries. Here it deals with the development and establishment of the party *al-ḥizb al-urr al-Dustur* and *al-ḥizb al-Dustur al-Jadid*. For details see Lewis et al., “*Dustur*” in *EI²*, 2:638
- ³¹ *Al-Ḥiṣṣa*, *op. cit.*, p. 54
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 318
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- ³⁴ *Al-Ḥiṣṣa*, *op. cit.*, p. 69
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75
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- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 363

³⁸ Al-F η si, *op. cit.*, p. 74

³⁹ Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 113

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Abun-Nasr, *op. cit.*, p. 367