

ISLĀM AND NATIONALISM IN THE ARAB WORLD

A SELECTED AND ANNOTATED

BIBLIOGRAPHY

by

Hishām A. Nashshābah

A thesis submitted to the Institute of  
Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal  
(Canada), in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Master of  
Arts (Islamics).

Montreal, 1955.

TO MUHAMMAD BEY SALĀM

With Sentiments of Gratitude and Profound Respect

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his thanks for the help generously accorded to him by the Oriental Division at the New York Public Library, and the libraries of Princeton and Harvard universities which have made his work much easier. He is also grateful to Mr. Richard Mitchell for giving him access to his valuable collection of books on the Muslim Brotherhood.

He is deeply indebted to Professor F. Bagley for his help at every stage of this work and to Professor W.C. Smith, Director of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University, for his advice and guidance.

Last and not least he wishes to express his gratitude for the Maqāsid Association in Bayrūt, Lebanon, for giving him a year's leave to come and continue his studies at McGill University, and for the Rockefeller Foundation who have granted him a fellowship for that same purpose.

There are many other friends whose kindness and help he recalls, but if their names be missing in print, it is not because they are forgotten. To them and to all the above-mentioned he deeply feels an obligation.

H.A.N.

Institute of Islamic Studies

McGill University

August, 1955.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Preface.....	5
Chapter I: The Wahhābī Movement.....	7
Chapter II: The Sanūsīyah Movement.....	27
Chapter III: Al-Azhar Mosque and University.....	44
Chapter IV: Al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī.....	59
Chapter V: Muḥammad 'Abduh.....	70
Chapter VI: The Muslim Brotherhood.....	90
Chapter VII: The Modernists.....	110



## PREFACE

This thesis is not an exhaustive bibliography of Islām in the modern Arab world and its relations with Arab nationalism. It is an attempt to provide a working guide to the most reliable literature on the subject which has been accessible to the writer, or which he knows to exist. Works dealing with the historical background are only mentioned when necessary for the understanding of religious developments, or when the historical and religious aspects are indistinguishably interwoven as in the Wahhābī and Sanūsī movements.

A start is made with the Wahhābī movement which arose in Central Arabia in the Eighteenth century A.D., seeking to purge Islām of corrupt and superstitious accretions and to restore the purity of its faith and practice, as these were believed to have been in its earliest days - during the life of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphate at Madīnah. As such, Wahhābism is regarded by various orientalists not only as a great religious reform movement but also as a reassertion of the "Arab idea" in Islām<sup>1</sup>. This is not to say that Arab consciousness of nationhood in modern times dates from the Eighteenth century; such consciousness only came into being<sup>in</sup> the Nineteenth at the earliest, and even then, was not clearly defined or widely held.

Another reason for beginning with the Wahhābīs is that later religious revivals in the Arab world largely drew their initial inspiration from Wahhābī doctrines and are therefore sometimes named

---

<sup>1</sup>Gibb, H.A.R., Mohammedanism, sec. ed., London, New York, Toronto Oxford University Press, 1953, p. 168.

"Neo-Wahhābī"<sup>1</sup>, even though their conclusions may have been very different.

In the last chapter, entitled "The Modernists", only a small selection of the most representative works dealing with religious reform and revival has been included from among the mass of available material. Selection has, indeed, been the purpose of the entire thesis, but it had to be exercised more drastically in the last chapter than elsewhere.

The works selected are in western languages, particularly English and French, and in Arabic. Many of them are available at McGill University, in the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies (designed<sup>at</sup> by the initials IIS) in the Redpath Library (designed<sup>at</sup> RP), which is the main library of the University and in the Divinity Hall Library (designed<sup>at</sup> DH). Other works were available at the New York Public Library (designed<sup>at</sup> NYP), the Princeton University Library (designed<sup>at</sup> PUL) and the Harvard University Library (designed<sup>at</sup> HUL).

It was not thought right to omit mention of books known or believed to be significant for the subject which the writer, inspite of earnest efforts, could not procure in the time available. Such works are designed "X", and others are listed in supplements. The same designation ("X") has also been used for books found in individual collections.

While well aware of this and other deficiencies in his work, the writer hopes that this thesis will contribute towards satisfying a need which he believes to be much felt by students of Islām in the modern Arab world.

H.A.N.

---

<sup>1</sup> Gibb, H.A.R., Modern trends in Islām, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1945, p. 32.

## CHAPTER I

### The Wahhābī Movement

The history of the Wahhābīs<sup>1</sup> or, as its adherents called it, the Unitarian movement in Islām, begins effectively from the alliance in 1743 of Muḥammad ibn Su'ūd, Lord of Dar'īyah, a town in the interior of Najd, with Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, a widely travelled Najdī theologian who had adopted the ideas of the puritan Ḥanbalite reformers, Ibn Taymīyah [1263-1328 A.D.] and his follower Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah [1292-1356 A.D.]. Before that alliance neither Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb nor Muḥammad ibn Su'ūd had had much success as a religious reformer or as a military leader respectively, but the combination of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's religious drive with Ibn Su'ūd's military genius created a powerful Bedouin state in Najd. With such speed did this state conquer such wide territories, including, for a short time, Makkah and Madīnah, that the prestige of the Ottoman Empire, nominally the sovereign of Arabia, was seriously threatened. First the Pasha of Baghdād, and, after his failure, the Pasha of Egypt, Muḥammad 'Alī, were charged by the Sublime Porte with undertaking a punitive expedition to guarantee the continued

---

<sup>1</sup>We have chosen to use the name Wahhābīs to denote the followers of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb despite its inaccuracy, thinking that the use of any other term is likely to create confusion; also we have noticed that writers with strong Wahhābī leanings have, in recent times, been reconciled with this name.

allegiance which the Peninsula owed to the Ottoman Sultan. After encountering great difficulties and violent resistance, the Egyptian expedition successfully achieved its ends in 1818. Thereafter the power of the Su'ūdīs and the ideas of religious reform for which they stood entered into a long period of comparative decline.

In the latter part of the Nineteenth century the House of Rashīd, another powerful family of northern Arabia, was able to dominate Najd after defeating the weakened House of Su'ūd.

The accounts of travellers who saw conditions in Arabia during the period of the Rashīdīs show that law and order were well established; but their rule was not destined to last for long. In 1902 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Su'ūd, by a daring move overcame the Rashīdī garrison at al-Riyād in Najd and re-established the rule of his family in that city.

During and after the First World War, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Su'ūd managed the affairs of his realm, and especially his relations with the Allies, with such masterly skill that he was able to extend his rule, first over the whole of Central Arabia and then over the Ḥijāz with the Holy Cities and 'Asīr. His "Kingdom of Su'ūdī Arabia", as it was named in 1932, covered the whole Peninsula except for parts of the Persian Gulf coast, 'Uman, 'Aden and its dependencies, and the Yaman. For the first time since the early Caliphate, the vast extent of this Kingdom was brought under the control of an effective government.

Although the purpose of this chapter is to provide a guide for the study of Wahhābī doctrine rather than the history of the Wahhābī state, it seemed desirable to mention the more important historical and other works portraying life in Central Arabia in the Eighteenth and

Nineteenth centuries, because such works enable the western reader to sense the atmosphere in which the Wahhābī teachings flourished; but only a brief list of the more outstanding of these is given.

- IIS                    Niebuhr, C.,    Déscription de l'Arabie, d'après les  
observations et recherches faites dans le  
pays même, French translation from the  
Dutch <sup>version</sup> ~~original~~, 2 vols., Paris, Brunet,  
1779, pp. 206-211.
- NYP                   Pelly, L.,       "A visit to the Wahhābī Capital, central  
Arabia", Royal Geographical Society Journal,  
London, Murray, 1865, Vol. 35, pp. 169-191.
- RL                    Blunt, Lady A., A pilgrimage to Nejd, the cradle of the  
Arab race, 2 Vols., London, Murray, 1881.  
See especially Vol. I, pp. 257-734, and Vol.  
II, pp. 251-270.
- RL                    Hogarth, D.G., The penetration of Arabia, a record of the  
development of western knowledge concerning  
the Arabian Peninsula, New York, Stokes,  
1904, See Index.
- RL                    Palgrave, W.G. Narrative of a year's journey through  
central and eastern Arabia (1862-63), London,  
MacMillan, 1908, See Index.
- RL & IIS            Doughty, C.M., Travels in Arabia deserts, 2 Vols. in I,  
3rd ed., New York, Random House, 1921,  
See Index.

Niebuhr's is the earliest western account of the Wahhābīs, and gives details of their wars and doctrines; the observations he makes are penetrating, and authoritative though often regrettably brief. Pelly gives a very good descriptive study of Riyāḍ, the capital of central Arabia under Wahhābī rule. Doughty and Hogarth throw in passing references on the general history and doctrine of the Wahhābīs. Lady Blunt and Palgrave, who visited Arabia in the latter part of the Nineteenth century, give valuable information on the House of Rashīd, and Palgrave also relates a conversation with a Wahhābī 'ālim who tried to define and enumerate the major and minor sins "saghā'ir" and "kabā'ir" according to Wahhābī doctrine<sup>1</sup>; this definition must, however, be treated with reserve because it may only have been the personal opinion of one particular 'ālim of uncertain standing.

The early western scholars who devoted particular attention to Wahhābī history include:

- |     |                      |   |
|-----|----------------------|---|
| NYP | Raymond J.,          | <u>Mémoire sur l'origine des Wahhabys, sur la</u><br><u>naissance de leur puissance et sur l'in-</u><br><u>fluence dont ils jouissent comē nation.</u><br><u>Rapport de J. R. daté de 1806, document</u><br><u>inédit extrait des archives du Ministère</u><br><u>des Affaires Etrangères de France, pref.</u><br>by Edouard Driault, Cairo, Institut<br>Francaise d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925. |
| IIS | Rousseau, [J.B.L.J.] | <u>Description du pashalik de Bagdad,</u><br><u>suiwie d'une notice historique sur les</u><br><u>Wahabis, et de quelques autres pièces</u>  |

---

<sup>1</sup>Palgrave, op. cit., pp. 281-85.

- relatives à l'histoire et à la littérature  
de l'Orient, Paris, Treuttel et Wurtz,  
1809, pp. 125-182.
- NYP                    \_\_\_\_\_, "Notice sur la secte des Wehabîs",  
Fundgruben des Orients, Vol. I, Wien,  
1809, pp. 191-98.
- IIS                    Corancez, L.A.O. de, Histoire des Wahhabis, depuis leur  
origine jusqu'à la fin de 1809, Paris  
Paris, Crapelet, 1810.
- NYP                    Finati, G., Narrative of the life and adventures of  
Giovanni Finati, native of Ferrara; who,  
under the assumed name of Mohamet, made  
the campaigns against the Wahabis for the  
recovery of Mecca and Medina.... Trans-  
lated from the Italian and edited by  
W.J. Bankes, London, Murray, 1830, 2 Vols.  
in one.
- IIS                    Burckhardt, J.L. Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabis, Vol. II,  
London, Colburn and Bentley, 1831.
- RL                    Crichton, A., The history of Arabia, ancient and modern,  
Vol. II, New York, Harper, 1845, pp. 254-305.
- NYP                    Rehatsek, E., "The history of the Wahhabys in Arabia and  
in India," Journal of the Bombay Branch of  
the Royal Asiatic Society, 1878-80, Vol. XIV  
Bombay, Society's Library, London, Trübners,  
1880, pp. 274-401.

Burckhardt's second volume deals almost exclusively with the Wahhābīs and has been described as "the best early account"<sup>1</sup> on the subject. He tells the story of the Wahhābīs from their earliest appearance in the Eighteenth century, "Through all their wars with Arabs and with the Turks down to 1816, that year in which he [Burckhardt] returned from Arabia, the scene of action, to Egypt, when, not long after, a premature death terminated his literary career,.....".<sup>2</sup> The book has been translated from English into French in three volumes entitled, Voyages en Arabie, (IIS) Paris, Bertrand, 1835. The next best Western account of the early history of the Wahhābīs is Corancez's Histoire.... Corancez, who was French consul in Aleppo from 1800 to 1808, carefully checked the information he had been able to gather, and his informants were often first-hand observers; but his account of the life of the founder of the Wahhābī movement is inadequate. He ascribes Wahhābī expansion solely to the weakness and misrule of the Ottomans (whose authority in most of Arabia was at all times merely nominal) and ignores the importance of the religious fervour stirred up by 'Abd al-Wahhāb which, combined with the leadership of Muḥammad ibn Su'ūd, must surely have been the main reason for their astonishing victories. Corancez also gives an excellent description of the beliefs and customs of the Wahhābīs, and his account of their history is reliable although his interpretations may be debated.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ettinghausen, R., ed., A selected and annotated bibliography of books and periodicals in Western languages dealing with the Near and Middle East, with special emphasis on medieval and modern times, with supplement, Washington, D.C., The Middle East Institute, 1954

<sup>2</sup>Burckhardt, J.L., Notes on the Bedouins....., introduction pp. IV-V.



Raymond and Rousseau are also informative about the history of the Wahhābīs, though their accounts are much shorter than those of Burckhardt and Corancez and their chief interests are in Syria and Iraq rather than in Arabia. The preface to Raymond's work by Driault is very useful, for it mentions some of the earliest accounts on the Wahhābīs which appeared in France in the Nineteenth century as well as those by Turkish and other writers.

Finati and Rehatsek give two other historical accounts, in which Finati deals with the Egyptian expedition on the Wahhābīs while Rehatsek deals with the origins of their movement and draws his information chiefly from Corancez and Pelly. He also treats the spread of the movement in India, to which the last fifty pages (pp. 351-401) of his essay are devoted.

More recent accounts of Wahhābī history from its rise until the formation of the Kingdom of 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Su'ūd include:

- NYP                      Philby, H. St. J.B., Arabia, London, Benn, 1930.
- RL                        Musil, A.,            Northern Nejd, a topographical itinerary,  
New York, American Geographical Society,  
1928.

Philby's Arabia is the best modern work in a Western language. The author, who is an unchallenged authority on Su'ūdī Arabian life, displays an admirable historical acumen and writes in a delightful style. His information is based not only on first-hand experiences and an intimate knowledge of Su'ūdī affairs but also on the Arabic texts which constitute the primary sources for a study of the Wahhābīs. Musil's book is mainly

geographical, but pages 236 to 304 give a highly informative account of the relations between the Houses of Su'ūd and Rashīd. His treatment, however, of the life of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb is short and sometimes inaccurate<sup>1</sup>.

Of the Arabic sources the most important and by far the most authoritative are:

- X                    Ibn Ghannām, Ḥusaynī, Rawḍat al-afkār wa al-afḥām li murtād ḥāl al-imām wa ta'dād Ghazawāt dhawī al-Islām, 2 Vols., Bombay, al-Maṭba'ah al-Muṣṭafawīyah, n.d..
- X                    Ibn Bishr, 'Uthmān (ibn 'Abd Allāh), 'Unwān al-majd fī tārikh Najd, 2 Vols., Makkah, al-Maṭba'ah al-salafīyah, 1349 A.H./1930 A.D.

Both works relate the events in the traditional form of annals, treating the history of the movement in chapters for every year. The material is gathered from individuals who had first-hand recollections of the early history of the Wahhābī movement<sup>2</sup>.

Of the more recent books in Arabic on the history of the Wahhābīs the following deserve special mention.

---

<sup>1</sup>Rentz, G.S., Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb....., see below, pp.18.

<sup>2</sup>The contents of these two works are well described in the bibliographical essay attached to George Snairly Rentz Jr.'s thesis (in typescript) entitled Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1702/3-1792) and the beginnings of the Unitarian Empire in Arabia, University of California, June, 1948. (IIS)

- NYP            Rihānī, A.F., Tārīkh Najd al-ḥadīth wa mulḥaqātiki,  
1st ed. Bayrūt, Ṣādir, 1928.
- IIS            Ḥamzah, Fu'ād, Qalb jazīrat al-'Arab, Cairo, al-Maṭba'ah  
al-salafīyah wa maktabatiḥā, 1933.
- IIS            Wahbah, Ḥāfiẓ, Jazīrat al-'Arab fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn,  
2nd ed., Cairo, Maṭba'at lajnat al-ta'līf  
wa al-tarjamah wa al-nashr, 1946.
- IIS            Maḍī, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, Al-nahāḍāt al-ḥadīthah fī  
jazīrat al-'Arab; Vol. I, fī al-Mamlakah  
al-'Arabīyah al-Su'ūdīyah, Cairo, Dār  
ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, 1951.

Ḥamzah and Wahbah are two prominent officials of the present Su'ūdi state and it is on their works chiefly that the Italian Arabist Carlo Alfonso Nallino drew for most of the material in his L'Arabia Sa'ūdiana, (IIS) Rome, 1939. These works are chiefly historical and provide authoritative accounts. Maḍī's book is on very much the same pattern and better written and arranged than Wahbah's or Ḥamzah's. Rihānī gives another excellent historical account, laying particular stress on the rise of Wahhābism until the success of Ibn Rashīd and the reign of Abdul-'Azīz ibn Su'ūd in the Twentieth century.

Of the shorter accounts the following are not purely historical but often make mention of Wahhābī doctrine and practice:

- IIS            Dozy, R., Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme, trans.  
from the Dutch, Leyden & Paris, Brill &  
Maisonneuve, 1897, pp. 410-29.

- IIS Euting, J., Tagebuch einer Reise in inner Arabien, 2 Vols.,  
Leyden, Brill, 1896, Vol. I. pp. 157-172.
- RL Zwemer, S.M., Arabia, the cradle of Islam, Edinburgh &  
London, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900, pp. 191-201.
- IIS Huart, C., Histoire des Arabes, 2 Vols., Paris, Geuthner,  
1913, pp. 283-304.
- IIS Hogarth, D.G., Arabia, Oxford, Clarendon, 1922, pp. 99-131.
- IIS Stoddard, T.L., Ḥādir al-ʿālam al-Islāmī, with the comments  
of Amīr Shakhīb Arslān, 2 Vols., Cairo, al-  
Maṭbaʿah al-salafīyah, 1343/1924. Being an  
annotated translation by A. Nuwayhid of  
DH Stoddard's The new world of Islam, New York,  
Scribner's, 1923, see especially footnote  
volume II, pp. 97-102.
- RL Longrigg, S.H., Four centuries of modern Iraq, Oxford,  
Clarendon, 1925, pp. 212-217.
- IIS Philby, H. St. J.B., "Burton Memorial Lecture: The recent  
history of the Hijaz", Journal of the Royal  
Central Asian Society, Vol. XII, 1929,  
pp. 332-48.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, "A survey of Wahhābī Arabia, 1929", Journal  
of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. XVI,  
1929, pp. 468-81.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, "The triumph of the Wahhābīs", Journal of  
the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. XII,  
1926, pp. 293-319.

- IIS Wahbah, Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ, "Wahhabism in Arabia: past and present",  
Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,  
 Vol. XVI, 1929, pp. 458-67. Also available  
 NYP in Islamic Review, Vol. 17, 1929, pp. 279-90.
- IIS Phoenix, "A brief outline of the Wahhābī movement",  
Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society,  
 Vol. XVII, 1930, pp. 401-16.
- IIS Margoliouth, D.S., "Wahhābiya", Encyclopaedia of Islām,  
 Vol. IV, Leyden, London, Luzac & Brill, 1934,  
 pp. 1086-90.
- IIS Amīn, Aḥmad, Zu'a mā' al-iṣlāh fī al-'Asr al-ḥadīth,  
 Cairo, Maṭba'at al-nahḍah al-Miṣrīyah,  
 1948, pp. 10-25.
- IIS Gaury, G. de, Rulers of Mecca, London, Harrap, 1951,  
 pp. 191-242.
- IIS al-Ṣa'īdī, 'Abd al-Mut'āl, Al-mujaddidūn fī al-Islām min  
al-qarn al-awwal ilā al-rābi' 'ashar,  
100 A.H., Cairo, al-Namūdhaḥjīyah, n.d.,  
 pp. 437-41.
- X al-'Aqqād, Abbās Maḥmūd, Al-Islām fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn,  
 Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-ḥadīthah, 1954,  
 pp. 101-109.

Margoliouth's article in the Encyclopaedia of Islām in addition to historical and doctrinal information, contains a valuable section on Wahhābī literature with an extensive list of Arabic manuscripts and other sources. Philby's articles deal chiefly with the history of the Wahhābīs

in the Twentieth century, while Aḥmad Amīn and al-Ṣa'īdī give very good accounts of the life and teachings of the founder. De Gaury, Euting and Amīr Shakīb Arslān in his comments on Nuwayhid's translation of Stoddard, are almost exclusively historical. De Gaury deals chiefly with the Wahhābī wars against Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of Egypt with emphasis on the role of the Sharīf of Makkah in that war, his chief source being Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahhabys (see above p. 11 ). Euting has a chapter on Rashīdī affairs at the time when that dynasty was at the height of its power, and Arslān gives a brief but brilliant essay on the history of Wahhābism from its rise until modern times. Longrigg speaks of the dealings of the Wahhābīs in Irāq especially their sack of the Shī'ī shrines at Karbalā' and Najaf in 1812. The articles by 'Aqqād, Dozy, Huart, Phoenix, Wahbah and Zwemer contain authoritative discussions on Wahhābī doctrines and practices, as well as historical sketches.

For further, chiefly historical, references the reader is referred to,

- |     |               |  |
|-----|---------------|--|
| IIS | Rentz, G.S.,  | <u>Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1702/3-1792)</u><br><u>and the beginnings of the Unitarian Empire</u><br><u>in Arabia, "Bibliographical Essay" at the</u><br><u>end of the text, thesis (typescript)</u><br>University of California, June 1948. |
| IIS | _____ ,       | "Literature on the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia",<br><u>Middle East Journal</u> , Vol. IV, 1950,<br>pp. 244-49.   |
| IIS | Winder, R.B., | "Bibliography" a typewritten copy of the<br>bibliography of his thesis presented at<br>Princeton University on the history of the<br>Wahhābīs in the 19th century.   |

RL Musil, A., Northern Negd....., op. cit., pp. 327-330.

x

x

x

Detailed information about the doctrinal side of the Wahhābī movement is to be found almost solely in Arabic sources. For the origins and background a study of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, the spiritual fathers of the movement, is indispensable. Few of their numerous writings have, however, been published even in Arabic, and even fewer have been translated into Western languages. Lists of their works, and introductory studies of their doctrines, are given in the Encyclopaedia of Islām under "Ibn Taimīyah", Vol. II, pp. 421-23 and "Ibn al-Qayyim al-Djāwzīyah", Vol. II, pp. 392-93; in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings, New York, Scribner & Sons, 1915, under "Ibn Taimīyah" (Vol. VII, p. 72), and in Brockelmann, C., Geschichte der Arabischen litteratur, Supplement II, Leyden, Brill, 1938, pp. 119-126. Some of the writings of Ibn Taymīyah have, however, received the attention they deserve and have eventually been published, including the following:

- IIS Ibn Taymīyah, Taki al-Dīn Aḥmad, Al-siyāsah al-shar'īyah fī iṣlāḥ al-rā'ī wa al-ra'īyah, reviewed and edited by Dr. 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār and Aḥmad Zakī 'Atīyah, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1951.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, Naqd al-Mantiq, reviewed and corrected by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Razzāq Ḥamzah and Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣunay', corrected also by Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Faqī, 1st ed., Cairo

- Maṭba'at al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadiyah,  
1370 A.H./1951 A.D.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Qawā'id al-nūrāniyah al-fiqhiyah,  
reviewed by Muḥammad Ḥamid al-Faqī, Cairo  
Maṭba'at al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadiyah,  
1370 A.H./1951 A.D.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, Kitāb al-Rubuwwāt, Cairo, Idārat al-ṭibā'ah  
al-muniriyah, 1346 A.H./1927 A.D.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, Kitāb al-radd 'alā al-Manṭiqiyīn, with an  
introduction by Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī,  
published by 'Abd al-Ṣamad Sharaf al-Dīn  
al-Kutubī, Bombay, al-Maṭba'ah al-Qayyimah,  
1368 A.H./1949 A.D.
- Henri Laoust has made a most worthy achievement in his translation  
into French of some of Ibn Taymiyah's works, namely:
- IIS Laoust, H., Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie  
canonique de Taki-d-Dīn Ahmad b. Taimiya,  
Traduction annotée (1) du Ma'ārij al-wusūl  
ilā ma'rifat annā usūl al-dīn wa furū'ahā  
kad bayanahā ar-Rasūl, et (2) d'Al-kayās  
fi-s-ṣar' al-Islāmī, Cairo, Imprimerie de  
l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale,  
1939.
- DH \_\_\_\_\_, Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politi-  
ques de Taki-d-Din Ahmad b. Taimiya, Cairo,  
Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie  
Orientale, 1939.



DH \_\_\_\_\_, Le traité de droit publique d'Ibn Taimiya,  
Traduction annotée de la Šiyāsa Sar'īya,  
Beirut, Institut Francais de Damas, 1948.

A short but useful study of Ibn Taymīyah and of his opposition to  
Sūfism and to Ghazālī is given in:

MacDonald, D.B., Development of Muslim theology, juris-  
prudence and constitutional theory, New  
York, Scribners & Sons, 1903, pp. 270-78;  
283-85.

It is only natural that Ibn al-Qayyim should receive less attention  
than Ibn Taymīyah, for he was a slavish follower of the latter. Two  
important works on Ibn Qayyim which are accessible are:

DH Cooke, F.T., "Ibn Qayyim's Kitāb al-Ruh", The Moslem  
World, Vol. XXV, 1935, pp. 129ff.

IIS Vlieger, A. de, Kitab al-Qadr, matériaux pour servir à  
l'étude de la doctrine de la prédestination  
dans la théologie musulmane, a translation  
into French of Ibn al-Qayyim's Kitāb al-  
Qadar, Leyden, Brill, 1903.

Among the writings of the Wahhābīs themselves the most important are  
those of the founder Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb who wrote several tracts.  
None of these has yet been published in book form or otherwise, a large  
number of them being still only in manuscript form in the British Museum.  
The only work by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb to which the present writer  
had access is:

- IIS            Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad, Masā'il al-jāhiliyyah al-lati khālafa fihā Rasūl Allāh (ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa sallam) ahl al-jāhiliyyah, edited and enlarged by Sayyid Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī, Cairo, Salafiyyah Press, 1348/1929.

Among other representative Wahhābī tracts, the following deserve special mention:

- IIS            Ibn Saḥmān, Shaykh Salaymān, Irshād al-ṭālib ilā aḥamm al-maṭālib wa minhāj al-ḥaqq wa al-ittibā'  
fī mukhālafat ahl al-jahl wa al-ibtidā',  
Cairo, al-Manār, 1340/1921.
- IIS            \_\_\_\_\_, Al-hadiyyah al-sunniyyah wa al-tuhfah al-Wahhābiyyah al-najdīyah, Cairo, Al-Manār Press, 1344/1925.

Ibn Saḥman tried in the former to bring up a number of theological problems and give answers as explanations to them in accordance with the Wahhābī view-point, while the latter is a collection of five essays on doctrine written by some 'ulama' of Najd. Mention may also be made of a pro-Wahhābī treatise dealing with the effect of the Wahhābī movement on the reforms, religious or other, carried out by Ibn Su'ūd in the Arabian peninsula:

- IIS            al-Faqī, Muḥammad Ḥamid, Athar al-da'wah al-Wahhābiyyah fī al-iṣlāḥ al-dīnī wa-l-'umrānī fī jazīrat al-'Arab, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-nahdah, 1354/1935.

The author of this book is the chairman of a pro-Wahhābī organization in Egypt called "Anṣār al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadiyyah". The book is not scientific in its treatment but is of interest as an example of Wahhābī propaganda.

The following are works dealing with the doctrinal side of Wahhābism:

- NYP                      Chodzko, A.,      "Le deisme des Wahhabis expliqué par eux-memes", Journal Asiatique, Vol. 9, 1848, pp. 168-86.
- NYP                      Calverlye, Edwin, E., "The doctrines of the Arabian 'Brethern'", Moslem World, N.Y., 1921, Vol. II, pp. 364-376.
- IIS                      Diffelen, R.W. van, Der leer der Wahhabieten, Leyden, Brill, 1927.

This last book, which was originally handed in as a thesis to the university of Leyden, contains a useful bibliography which lists both favourable and unfavourable writings on the Wahhābīyah (see pp. 81-83). To this list must be added an essay of 26 pages by al-ʿAmilī (probably a Lebanese Shiʿite Shaykh) entitled Kashf al-irtiyāb ʿan atbāʾ Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, (X) Damascus, Maṭbaʿat ibn Zaydūn, 1346 A.H./1927 A.D., to which Shaykh Rashīd Riḍa answered in another book entitled Al-Sunnah wa al-Sh iʿah, (IS) Cairo, al-Manār, 1348 A.H./1929 A.D.

Chodzko presents a very useful article on doctrine containing a text in Arabic, preceded by an introduction in Persian, which the author claims is written by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb himself, exposing the basic doctrine of the Wahhābīs. A very useful pursuit would be to compare

Chodzko's text with the "Catechism of the Wahhābīs" written by Su'ūd and translated by Burckhardt, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 363ff.

Finally, Caverley gives the doctrines of the "brethren", an organization created by 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Su'ūd. The article throws light on this organization which has been little discussed.

---

The Wahhābī Movement (Supplement)

- ‘Abd al-Bāṣit al-Fāḥūrī, Tuḥfat al-anām, Cairo, 1327.
- al-Alūsī, Maḥmūd Shukrī, Tatimmat Tārīkh Najd, 2nd ed.,  
Cairo, al-Maṭba‘ah al-salafīyah, 1347 A.H.  
/1928-29 A.D.
- Dahlān, Aḥmad ibn Zaynī, Al-durar al-saniyah fī al-radd  
‘alā al-Wahhābiyah, Bayrut, n.d..
- Hartmann, R., "Die Wahhabiten", Deutsche Morgenländische  
Gesellschaft, Zeitschrift, Vol. III, Leipzig,  
1924, pp. 176-213.
- Krajewski, L., "Le triomphe du Wahhabisme", Revue politique  
et parlementaire, Vol. 129, Paris, 1926,  
pp. 260-79.
- Maurizi, V., History of Seyd Said, sultan of Muscat,  
together with an account of the countries  
and people on the shores of the Persian Gulf,  
particularly of the Wahabees....., London,  
Booth, 1819.
- N , Auguste de, "Notice sur les Arabes et sur les Wahabis",  
Annales encyclopediques, Vol. 5, Paris, 1818,  
pp. 5-30.
- O’Kinealy, G., "Translation of an Arabic pamphlet on the  
history and doctrines of the Wahhabis,  
written by ‘Abdul-Wahhab the founder of  
Wahhabism", Asiatic society of Bengal Journal,  
Vol. 43, Calcutta, 1874, pp. 68-82.

- Prisse d'Avennes, E., "Les Wahhabi", Société de géographie  
de l'Est bulletin, Vol. 30-31, Paris, 1909,  
pp. 41-47.
- Pröbster, E., "Die Wahhabiten und der Magrib", Islamica,  
Vol. 7, Leipzig, 1935, pp. 65-112.
- Rihānī, Amīn Fāris, Arabian peak and desert, London, Constable,  
1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Around the coasts of Arabia, London, Constable,  
1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Makers of modern Arabia, Boston, Houghton,  
1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Mulūk al-ʿArab, 2 Vols., Bayrūt, 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Tarīkh Najd, Bayrūt, 1928.
- Schacht, J., "Zur Wahhabitischen Literatur", Zeitschrift  
für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete, Vol. 6,  
Leipzig, 1928, pp. 200-212.
- Zwemer, S., "The Wahābīs: their origin, history, tenets,  
and influence", Journal of the transactions  
of the Victoria institute, Vol. 33, London,  
1901, pp. 311-30.

## CHAPTER II

### The Sanūsīyah Movement

Before proceeding to works on the history and doctrine of the Sanūsīyah movement, it has been thought advisable to mention the following bibliographical works which give valuable indications for further detailed study.

- NYP            Minutilli, F., Bibliografia della Libia, Torino, Bocca, 1903.
- NYP            Ceccherini, V., Bibliografia della Libia (in continuazione alla "Bibliografia della Libia" di F. Minutilli, Roma, Bertoro, 1915.
- NYP            Societa Italiana per lo studio della Libia e della albre colonie, Archivo bibliografico coloniale (Libia), 4 vols., Florence, Maggi, 1915-21.
- IIS            Pfannmüller, D.G., Handbuch der Islamliteratur, Berlin & Leipzig, de Gruyter, 1923.
- NYP            Varley, D.H., A bibliography of Italian colonization in Africa with a section on Abyssinia, London, Royal Empire Society and Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1936.
- X             Evans-Pritchard, E.E., Bibliographical notes on members of the Sanūsī family, Benghazi, 1945.
- NYP            "A selected bibliography of writings on Cyrenaica", African Studies, Johannesburg, No. 4, September 1945, pp. 146-50, and No. 5, June 1946, pp. 189-94.

- X Fuller, G.H., A list of references on the Italian colonies in Africa, Washington, 1947.
- IIS Crudgington, J.W., "Literature on Arab Libya", The Middle East Journal, Vol VI, Spring 1952, pp. 247-51.

x

x

x

The history of the Sanūsīyah as a religious order starts in 1837 when Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Sanūsī al-Khaṭṭābī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī, who belonged to a learned and noble family, established the first centre of his religious order (zāwīyah) at Abī Qubays in the vicinity of Makkah. Previous to that date, he had travelled all over North Africa and Arabia; visiting Morocco, Algeria, Cyrenaica (Bargah), Egypt, the Hijāz and the Yaman; and in the course of these travels had acquired an intimate knowledge of the state of Islam in much of the Muslim world; he noticed its ills and weaknesses and studied the teachings of many of the ṣūfī orders in North Africa.

It was not until 1842 that he established his first zāwīyah in Libya (Lūbyā or Lībyā) or more precisely, Cyrenaica, where he decided to spend the rest of his life amid the desert wastes spreading his teachings and organizing his followers into a religious confraternity. This first zāwīyah came to be known as al-Baydā.

At this time, the whole of Libya was under direct Ottoman authority, the former indirect administration through the Qaramānlī beys having been ended in 1835 when a Walī from Istambul took over the government of the country. The new system of administration lasted until the Turco-Italian War of 1911, Ottoman sovereignty ceased and the country passed into Italian hands.



During the Italian occupation, the Sanūsīs proved themselves ardent guerilla warriors and lovers of the self-rule which they had enjoyed to a large extent under the Ottoman régime.

Until 1922 the Italian colonial authorities tried a policy of rapprochement, hoping to win the allegiance of the Sanūsīs by granting them some degree of self-government. After the Fascist régime had come to power, however, the Italian administrators could no longer restrain their ambitions and by 1932 had suppressed every agitation for freedom with exemplary severity. Yet they could not completely dismember the Sanūsīs, and in the second world war the Sanūsīs played a significant role on the North African front at the side of the Allies. With <sup>the</sup> end of the war Libya was put under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and in 1952 became an independent federal state headed by His Majesty al-Sayyid Idrīs al-Sanūsī, a descendant and the successor of the great Sanūsī of little more than a hundred years ago.

Among the travel books which give interesting and useful glimpses of life in the Libyan Desert are:-

- |     |              |  |
|-----|--------------|--|
| NYP | Rohlf's, G., | <u>Kufra</u> , Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1881.                 |
| RL  | Forbes, R.,  | <u>The secret of the Sahara:- Kufara</u> , London, 1921. |

These are the most important travel books dealing with the area in which the Sanūsīs established themselves.

For the Sanūsīyah movement both <sup>as</sup> a religious order and a political force and for an overall view of its importance, the following works are valuable.

- |     |           |  |
|-----|-----------|--|
| NYP | Rinn, L., | <u>Marabouts et Khouan, étude sur l'islam en</u><br><u>Algerie avec une carte indiquant la marche,</u> |
|-----|-----------|--|

- la situation et l'importance des ordres  
religieux musulmans,<sup>Alger,</sup> Jourdan, 1884, esp.  
pp. 481-515.
- NYP Duveyrier, H., La confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed  
ben Ali es-Senousi et son domaine géographique,  
Paris, Société de Géographie, 1886.
- NYP Bourbon del Monte, St. M., L'Islamismo e la Confraternità  
del Senussi, Città di Castello, Tipografia  
dell'Unione Artigrafiche, 1912, pp. 86-246.
- IIS Insabato, E., L'Islam et la politique des Alliés, translated  
from the Italian by Magli-Boisnard, Paris,  
Berger-Levrault, 1920, pp. 39-77.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, "La Senussia", Affrica, (periodical), 1950-51.
- DH Margliouth, D.S., "Sanūsī", Encyclopaedia of Religion and  
Ethics, edited by James Hastings, Vol. IX,  
New York, Scribner's, 1921, pp. 194-96.
- IIS Forbes, R., "The Senussi as a factor in North African  
development", Journal of the Royal Central  
Asian Society, Vol. VIII, 1921, pp. 168-82.
- IIS (Anonymous), "al-Sanūsī", Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. IV,  
Leyden and London, Brill and Luzac,  
pp. 154-55.
- NYP Cantalupo, R., L'Italia Musulmana, 2nd ed., Rome, Italia  
d'Oltremare, 1929, especially pp. 104-15.
- X Adams, C. C., "The Samusiya order", Handbook on Cyrenaica,  
Cairo, British Military Administration, 1945.

- IIS Shukrī, Muhammad Fu'ād, Al-Sanūsīyah dīn wa dawlah, Cairo,  
Dār al-fikr al-'Arabī, 1948.
- DH Evans - Pritchard, E.E., The Sanusi of Cyrenaica, London,  
Oxford University Press, 1949.
- X 'Aggād, 'Abbās Mahmūd al-, Al-Islām fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn,  
Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-hadīthah, 1954.

Until Shukrī and Evans-Pritchard wrote their books in 1948 and 1949 respectively, Duveyrier was considered the standard work on the Sanūsīs. But as knowledge about the Sanūsīs has increased, Duveyrier's book has been found to suffer from "an over-emphasis on the political threat of Mahdism" and to be "badly dated"<sup>1</sup>, whatever that may mean. Duveyrier, on the other hand, tries to trace the "geographical development of the intellectual conquests"<sup>2</sup> of the Sanūsīyah, and whatever criticisms may be made, his work still commands attention for the valuable information it contains. Along with Shukrī and Evans-Pritchard it remains a chief source of information on the Sanūsīs.

Insabato in L'Islam et la politique des Alliés considers the Ṣūfī aspects of the movement and seeks to prove that there is no fundamental difference between their teachings and those of Christianity. He lays special emphasis on the Ṣūfī aspects of Islam and takes the Sanūsīyah as an example of a flourishing Ṣūfī order. He discusses it chiefly in Chapters IV, V and VI and deals with its history, doctrines and internal organization respectively. "La Semussia", also by Insabato, has been described as "the most objective Italian treatment of the subject...."<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Crudgington, op. cit., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup>Duveyrier, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Crudgington, op. cit., p. 248.

He was one of the agents of the Italians in touch with the Sanūsīs before the Tripoli landings, and is said by Crudgington to have tried to dispel many of the antagonistic concepts concerning the Sanūsī which had characterized Italian writings.<sup>1</sup> As this article is not available in the libraries which the present writer has been able to consult, he has not had an opportunity to verify Crudgington's opinion. Rinn's work is often quoted by Shukri as another authoritative and dispassionate treatment, describing the political attitude of the Sanūsīs as well as their military power and organization and their religious doctrines.<sup>2</sup> The articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam and in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics deal well with the origin, spread and political role which the Sanūsīyah has played and is likely to continue playing in North Africa. The Encyclopaedia of Islam also traces the doctrinal roots of the order.

Rosita Forbes considers the origin and spread of the Sanūsīyah, as well as the role which it played during , before and after the first world war.

Bourbon del Monte, an authority on the subject, tried to prove that "there was no evidence that the Sanūsī were anti-Italian and predicted that good relations could be established with the order".<sup>3</sup> He also discussed the history, doctrine, organization and politics of the order. The study is extensive and illuminating. Cantalupo, who was Under-Secretary for the Colonies under the Fascists, stresses "the importance of the

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 249 .

<sup>2</sup>Shukri, op. cit., pp. 60-61 and passim

<sup>3</sup>Crudgington, op. cit., p. 249 .

influence that the Sanūsī exerted upon the life of the desert Bedouin"<sup>1</sup>. He also devotes a short section to the origin and development of the order and another to Italy's relations with it.

Of the Arabic authors, Shukrī deserves special mention. In a very informative treatment, he deals with all aspects of the Sanūsīyah with special emphasis on its more recent history. He makes a favourable appraisal of its teachings and appreciates what it has been able to achieve for Arab Libya. His information is drawn chiefly from the writings of, and personal contacts with, the Sanūsīs themselves. He tries to prove that the Sanūsīyah can provide a suitable basis for the establishment of a state and, in this way, vindicates the demand of the Sanūsīs for Libyan independence. Unfortunately, the book suffers from poor exposition and arrangement of the valuable material it contains. Had the author followed a more systematic method, many repetitions would have been avoided. This, however, may seem a minor matter compared to the intimate knowledge of the subject that the author displays. 'Aggād, on the other hand, treats the subject very hastily and provides, at best, only a brief introductory essay.

The following works deal chiefly with the history of Libya in the nineteenth century and the rise and development of the Sanūsīyah during that time.

IIS	"A. L. C.",	"Les Senoussiya en Tripolitaine", <u>Revue</u>
		<u>du Monde Musulman</u> , Vol. I, December 1906,
		pp. 168-82.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 249 .

- RL                   Hassanein, Ahmad Muhammad, The Lost Oases, London, Butterworth, 1925, especially pp. 56-67
- NYP                  Coro, F.,           Settantasei anni di dominazione Turca in Libia 1835-1911, Tripoli, Maggi, 1937.
- X                    Cachia, A. J.,   Lybia under the second Ottoman occupation 1835-1911, Tripoli, 1945.
- FUL                  Aglietti, B.,    "La confraternità senussita", Oriente Moderno, Vol. 26, January - June 1946, pp. 2-12, also July - December 1946, pp. 65-69.

"A.L.C." gives a clear exposé of the political relations of the Sanūsīs with the Ottomans and adds considerable information on the Sanūsīs themselves. Hassanein discusses the history and organization of the Sanūsīyah in a useful and informative manner. Aglietti gives "an account of the origin, development, and contacts of the Senussi [Sanūsī] with England, France and Italy, and argues that the intemperance, xenophobia, and inability of certain leaders were responsible for compelling Italy to assume direct administration of inner Cyrenaica"<sup>1</sup>. Coro and Cachia both give accounts of the history of Libya after 1835 when it fell under Ottoman control; they are indispensable reading for a general idea of the conditions in which the Sanūsīyah rose.

The history of the Sanūsīyah in the twentieth century is closely related to that of the Italian occupation of Libya from 1912 onwards. Most of the important works on this period are in Italian, and it must be pointed out that the majority of these are biased and, though often containing valuable information, need be read critically.

---

<sup>1</sup>Crudgington, op. cit., p. 248 .

- NYP Malvezzi de Medici, A., L'Italia e l'Islam in Libia,  
Firenze, Treves, 1913.
- X Acquaviva, S., Il problema libico et il Senussismo, Rome,  
1917.
- NYP Meriano, F., La Questione di Giarabub, Bolgna,  
Lanichelli, 1926.
- NYP Gabelli, O., La Tripolitania dalla fine della guerra  
mondiale all'avvento del Fascismo, 2 Vols.,  
Rome, 1932, (Intra, 1937-39).
- NYP Giglio, C., La confraternità Senussita dalle sue origini  
ad oggi, Padua, Cedam, 1932.
- NYP Serra, F., Italia e Senussia (vent'anni di azione  
coloniale in Cirenaica), Milano, Treves-  
Treccani-Tumminelli, 1933.
- X Al-Lajnah al-ṭarābulsiyah bi Miṣr, Min al-ummah al-ṭarābulsiyah  
ila al-'alam al-Islāmī - al-ummah al-  
ṭarābulsiyah tastaghīth min faṣā'i al-  
Itāliyyīn, n.d..
- X Ḥaddād, Muḥammad 'Alī al-, Ḥādir Ṭarābulus al-Gharb, Vol. I,  
Baghdād, 1937.
- NYP Arslān, al-Amīr Shakīb, "Les Juifs se rappellent maintenant  
que les Arabes ont souffert en Libye", La  
Nation Arabe, Revue Mensuelle, No. 20, 21,  
Vol. VIII, Geneva 1938, pp. 1171-72.
- NYP ———, "Les plaintes des Musulmans de Libye",  
La Nation Arabe, Revue Mensuelle, No. 20, 21,  
Vol. VIII, Geneva 1938, pp. 1085-98.

- IIS                   Arberry, A.J. and Landau, R., [eds.], Islam to-day,  
London, Faber and Faber, 1942, pp. 106-113.
- X                    Cumming, D.C., "The modern history of Cyrenaica",  
Handbook on Cyrenaica, Cairo, British  
Military Administration, 1945.
- IIS                   Rivlin, B., "Unity and nationalism in Libya",  
Middle East Journal, Vol. III, Jan. 1949,  
pp. 31-44.
- NYP                  Fornani, "La Senussia in Tripolitania", Rassegna  
Italiana, Vol. 27, March 1950, pp. 169-77.

The main concern of the Italians during the period in which they ruled Libya was to arrive at some kind of settlement whereby they could retain their hold over the country, and at the same time make their stay a profitable one. With the Sanūsīs organizing an often effective resistance and clamouring constantly for self-government, these aims proved difficult to achieve.

After the establishment of the Fascist régime in 1922, the Libyans were deprived of the small degree of autonomy which they had hitherto enjoyed, and continuous unrest ensued. In their discussions of this situation, Italian writers tried to analyze conditions in Libya and suggest solutions which might lead to the pacification of the country. They invariably recognized the power of the Sanūsīs, but advocated different policies to deal with them. Malvezzi de Medici "an official of the Colonial Office at the time, insisted that Arab cooperation was indispensable for a better administration of the Colony"<sup>1</sup>; and although his book

---

<sup>1</sup>Crudgington, op. cit., p. 249.



makes only a passing mention of the Sanūsīyah proper, it is still important for showing Italy's attitude towards her Muslim subjects. Acquaviva "proposed a Sanūsī kingdom under an Italian protectorate as the only practical course of action"<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, Giglio advocated force in dealing with Arab resistance; his book, however gives informative accounts of the founder of the Sanūsīyah and of its doctrine and organization, and describes its role in the Turco-Italian War of 1911-12 and the first world war. Pp. XIII - XIV provide a short bibliography on these subjects.

Meriano maintained "that the fundamental error in the occupation had been not to recognize the importance of the Sanūsī and to deal with them from the start"<sup>2</sup>. His book contains five chapters which are of direct relevance for our purpose, dealing with the attitude of the confraternity towards the Caliphate, its religious doctrines, its history and its activities after Italian occupation. Serra covers almost the same range, claiming that since the Italian occupation the Sanūsīyah had begun to show signs of weakness; later developments in Libyan politics were to disprove this opinion.

Gabelli discusses developments in Libya between 1912 and 1930. His book is one of the "Storia della Libia" series sponsored by the Fascist Colonial Institute and is extremely biased<sup>3</sup>. It deals with the Arabs in Libya generally and not exclusively with the Sanūsīyah.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 249 .

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 249 .

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 249 .

A more objective work than Gabelli's is the chapter by Cumming in the Handbook on Cyrenaica. This gives a good summary of the history of Libya from the beginning of Italian occupation until the second world war. Ḥaddād's book is an account in Arabic of that same period. Chapter VIII of Arberry's and Landau's work is another general survey of events in Libya with particular stress on the modern period.

The writings of Amīr Shakīb Arslān in his La Nation Arabe, and the publication of al-Lajnah al-Ṭarābulsiyah bi Miṣr are interesting documents showing the concern of the Arabs and Muslims generally over what was happening in Libya, as well as Libya's hopes of what an appeal to all Muslims and Arabs might produce.

Fornani "discusses the internal conflict among the various Arab factions and the futile attempt of the Sanūsī to extend their authority into Tripolitania between 1913 and 1922"<sup>1</sup>. Finally Rivlin deals with developments in Libya after World War II, at the same time mentioning the attitudes of the Great Powers. He describes the political aims of Idrīs al-Sanūsī, his influence on the people and his attitudes towards Arab nationalism generally. Rivlin also makes mention of the factors making for unity and separation in Libya to-day. The article is well-written and throws light on the present-day policies of independent Libya.

x

x

x

The Sanūsīyah as a religious fraternity follows the general pattern of the many similar fraternities in North Africa but can be distinguished from them in two important respects. First, the teachings of its founders call for a return to the mainsprings of Islam, the Qur'ān and Sunnah;

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 250 .

and secondly, the Sanūsīyah from its very beginning was destined to play a political as well as a religious role. This last feature became all the more marked in the Twentieth century.

It will be noticed that in these two respects as in many others the Sanūsīyah seems remarkably similar to the Wahhābiyah of Arabia. What distinguishes them from each other is that, while the Wahhābīs were essentially anti-ṣūfī in their religious outlook and had to fight with fellow Arabs and fellow-Muslims to spread their teachings, the Sanūsīs had definite ṣūfī leanings and fought chiefly against Western colonizers. Indeed the Sanūsīyah movement might not have developed into a militant organization had it not been for the alien environment in which it grew and the experiences of its founder in the French-occupied part of North Africa.

The chief source of Sanūsī doctrine is in the writings of the Sanūsīs themselves. Of the works of the founder the following two seem to be the most outstanding:-

X                      al-Sanūsī al Khaṭṭabī, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, Kitāb īqāz al-wasṭan fī al-'amal bil-ḥadīth wa al-Qur'ān, published by the author's grandson Muḥammad Idrīs al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī, Cairo, 1349 A.H. /1930 A.D.

NYP                      \_\_\_\_\_, Kitāb al-masā'il al-'ashr al-musammaḥ bughyat al-maḥasid fī khulāṣat al-marāsid, n.p., n.d..

The first of these two books urges Muslims to follow the Qur'ān and Hadīth, while the second is a treatise dealing with a variety of theological subject such as fiqh, ijtihād, taglīd and Ḥadīth.

These, however, are not the only works of the founder. A descriptive

list of his writings is given in Shukrī, op. cit., pp. 41-44.

Of literature in Western languages on the Sanūsī doctrines and practices, the following are noteworthy:-

- IIS            Depont, O. and Cappolani, X., Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes, Alger, Jourdan, 1897, pp. 213-14, 219-20, 223, 539-68.
- IIS            Pommerol, J., L'Islam africain, chez ceux qui gettent, Paris, Fontemoing, 1901-02, especially pp. 331-32, 363-64.
- IIS            Macdonald, D.B., Development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory, New York, Scribner's sons, 1903, pp. 61-63
- NYP            Ducati, B., "Lo stato semussita", Rassegna Italiana, Vol. XI, Feb. 1928, pp. 175-82.
- NYP            Lo Bello, F., "La confraternità dei Semussi", Rassegna Italiana, Vol. XI, July 1928, pp. 650-56.

Depont and Cappolani deal with the fraternities of North Africa generally and they devote to the Sanūsīyah only one section of their voluminous book (pp. 539-68); nevertheless, since the North African orders have many aspects in common, a reading of the whole book may prove profitable, or, at least, of the sections of it dealing with the Qādirīyah and Mīrghaniyah orders. Pommerol's work is principally a narrative of his experiences in North Africa, but in the preface to the second edition (p. iii), he says that it is chiefly with "Snoussisme" and its influence that he wants to deal. Particularly noteworthy are the French translations of a Sanūsī wird on pages 331-32 and 363-4. Compared with that of Depont

and Cappolani, however, Pommerol's work is of secondary importance.

Macdonald in the very few pages he devotes to the Sanūsīyah, cannot be expected to say much about it; but, he gives us a clear and succinct summary laying particular stress on the doctrinal side.

Ducati and Lo Bello discuss how far the religious doctrines of the Sanūsīyah effected its political attitude. Ducati maintained that its mystic teachings were responsible for making the order a kind of state within a state. Lo Bello opposed this thesis, pointing out that the Sanūsīs did not assume a definitive political role until the Italian occupation of Libya<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ibid, p. 248 .

The Sanūsīyah (Supplement)

- Kremer, A. von, Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islams.  
Der Gottesbegriff, die Prophetie und die  
Staatsidee, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1868.
- 'Azzām, A.R., "Heilige, Sekten und Religiöse Orden in  
Tripolis", Der Neue Orient, 3 fg., Vol. 6,  
Heft 18, pp. 243-47.
- Hartmann, M., "Aus dem religiösen Leben der Libyschen Wüste",  
Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, Vol. I,  
1898, pp. 260-74.
- Schwally, F., "Zur Heiligenverehrung im modernen Islam  
Syriens und Nordafrikas", Archiv für  
Religionswissenschaft, Vol. VIII, 1905,  
pp. 85-96.
- Barclay, Sir Th., The Turco-Italian War and its problems,  
London 1912.
- Hachaichi, Muḥammad ibn, Voyages au pays des Senoussia,  
Paris, Callamel, 1912.
- Sommerfeld, A., La guerra italo-turca e le sue conseguenze,  
translated into German by Mario Mariani,  
Berlin, 1912.
- Shahbandar zadé Aḥmad Ḥilmi, Tarīḥī Islām, 2 vols., Istambul,  
1326-27 A.H./1908-09 C.E.
- Williams, G., In the hands of the Senoussi,
- N N., Zauiē ed Ichuan Senussite della Tripoli-  
tania, 1917.

NYP                   Graziani, R., Cirenaica pacificata, Milano, Mondadori,  
1932.

NYP.                               , Verso il Fezzan, Tripoli, 1929.

NYP                               , La riconquista del Fezzan, Milan, 1934.

[Ministry of War] Campagna di Libia, 5 Vols., Rome 1922-27.

### CHAPTER III

#### Al-Azhar Mosque and University (359 A.H./970 A.D. - )

Al-Azhar mosque was built in the newly founded city of Cairo in 970 A.D. by Jawhar al- Ṣiqillī (the Sicilian), during the reign of the first Fāṭimid Sultān Abū Tamīm Ma'ād, known as al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (341 A.H./952 A.D. - 365 A.H./975 A.D.). Like other institutions it passed through various stages of prosperity and decline during its long career, and was periodically enlarged.

Having made Cairo their political capital, the Fāṭimids established al-Azhar to be the center of their spiritual power. As such its purpose was to propagate the Ismā'īlī Shī'ī rite which the Fāṭimids followed. For a time, the teaching of any doctrine other than Shī'ism within the mosque was prohibited.

So successful were the lectures of Ibn Killis, minister of al-Mu'izz, that he was encouraged to ask al-Azīz (366 A.H./976 A.D.-386AH/996 A.D.), the latter's successor, to make al-Azhar an academy. Al-Azīz readily agreed, and Abū Ya'qūb was appointed first rector. From then on, al-Azhar became more and more famous as a seat of Islamic learning, and benefactors competed in donating cash or foodstuffs, building annexes and making additions, often of great value, to its library.

The subjects taught were exclusively religious, and chiefly concerned with jurisprudence. It is said however that mathematics, astronomy, medicine and geography were also taught, particularly after the decline



of the Dār al-Ḥikmah which was founded in Cairo by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in 1005 A.D.

Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, who succeeded the Fāṭimids in Egypt in 1171, being an ardent Sunnī, neglected al-Azhar and established in Egypt several rival institutions which taught the Arabic language and Muslim religious subjects according to the Sunnī doctrine. His successors followed in his footsteps and for almost a whole century Al-Azhar fell into complete stagnation.

In 1260, however, under the Mamlūk ruler, al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars, attention was redirected to al-Azhar, which rapidly revived. The Mongol invasion which created havoc in Syria and Iraq, but did not touch Egypt, left al-Azhar without a rival as the most important center of learning in the Muslim world. The chief subjects of study were religion and the Arabic language; other secular subjects were taught but few were interested in them.

With the Ottoman conquest of the Arab World in 1516-17; al-Azhar once again fell into decay; constant disorder and ill-treatment of the 'ulamā' paralyzed cultural activity. Courses nevertheless continued to be given but no important contributions were made to learning. It is known that the study of sciences, however meagre it had been before, was now completely abandoned.

This situation continued until the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī, Pasha of Egypt (1806-1849), who took an interest in al-Azhar to the extent of including Azharites in the educational missions which he sent to Europe. Among them were some who proved amply equal to the opportunity thus offered, notably Rifā'ah Bey al-Taḥṭāwī who is considered the most outstanding

literary figure of his age.

During the Nineteenth century al-Azhar fully regained its eminence in the Muslim world. It was not yet ready, however, to make any serious reform in its educational system, insisting rather on preserving its medieval administrative and curricular structure. It thus became a stronghold of conservatism in the Islamic and Arab World and was much in need of reform.

The first efforts in that direction were made at the end of the Nineteenth century by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, at whose instance significant steps were taken towards modernisation. His achievements still left much to be desired, but led to an increasing realization of the necessity of reform. Thus, for al-Azhar, the twentieth century opened an era of transformation which is still going on.

Among books dealing with al-Azhar generally, - its history, aims, administration, budget etc. - , the following are of note:

- |     |                  |  |
|-----|------------------|--|
| NYP | Bayram, Muṣṭafā, | <u>Risālah fī tārīkh al-Azhar</u> , Cairo,<br>Maṭba'at at Tamaddun, Cairo 1321 A.H./<br>1903 A.D.  |
| NYP | Calamè, G.,      | "La mosquée - université al-Azhar",<br><u>Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement</u> ,<br>Vol. 46, 1903, pp. 481-503.                        |
| NYP | al-Mawṣilī,      | 'Uthmān al-Mawlawi, <u>Al-Tawajju' al-akbar</u><br><u>'ala lisān al-jāmi' al-Azhar</u> , Cairo, n.d.,<br>[but early 20th c. or late 19th c.] |
| IIS | Vollers, K.,     | "Azhar", <u>Encyclopædia of Islām</u> , Vol. I,<br>Leyden and London, Brill and Luzac, 1913,<br>pp. 532-39.                                  |

- IIS                      Dunne, J.H.,      An introduction to the history of education in modern Egypt, London, Luzac, 1938.
- IIS                      Zwemer, S.M.,      Heirs of the Prophets, Chicago, Moody Bible Institute, 1946, pp. 68-81.
- (Anonymous),      Al-jāmi' al-Azhar, mubdhah 'an tarīkhīhi wa a'mālīh, 361 - 1370 A.H., Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Azhar, 1950.
- (Anonymous),      Al-Azhar University (A.H. 361-1370), its history and work, Cairo, al-Azhar University Press, 1950.

The article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam is an excellent study of the historical phases through which al-Azhar passed, and also describes the Mosque itself, curriculum, and general trends in religious education. A valuable bibliography is appended.

Bayram's work, which is a pamphlet containing the text of a speech delivered at the 13th conference of orientalist held at Hamburg in September 1902, presents a careful study of the history, administration and curriculum of al-Azhar. Calamé relates the history with special emphasis on the reform movement inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh.

Zwemer describes the mosque, its students, staff, history, and rules of admission, and appraises its historical importance; but the information given is more touristic than scholarly.

The Azhar University Press publication is a very useful short pamphlet which gives a remarkably clear picture of al-Azhar's history, system of education and recent development. The anonymous English work mentioned above is a translation of it.

Al-Mawṣilī, a poet, has composed a qaṣīdah lamenting the ancient glory of al-Azhar, which he thought had been lost at the time he wrote.

Under this section must also be mentioned the Revue du Monde Musulman, which contains numerous articles on different aspects at al-Azhar. Of these the following are some of the best: Vol. I, p. 277, 421. Vol. VI, pp. 280-83, Vol. VII, pp. 447-48. Vol. IX, p. 515.

The under-mentioned works deal almost exclusively with the history of al-Azhar:

- NYP            al-Ḥanafī, al-Zayyātī, Sulaymān Rashād, Kanz al-jawhar fī tārikh al-Azhar, Cairo, 1322 A.H. [1904 A.D.]
- NYP            Arminjon, P., "Les universités Musulmanes d'Egypte", Revue de Paris, Vol. V, 11th year, 1904, pp. 297-320.
- NYP            (Anonymous) "Al-Azhar, tārikhuhu wa 'ulūmuhu wa talāmidhatuhu", al-Hilāl, Vol. XVII, Oct. 1908 - July 1909, pp. 341-49.
- PUL            Abū al-'Uyūn, Maḥmūd, Al-Azhar, Cairo, al-Azhar Press, 1949.
- PUL            Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, Service de Conservation des Monuments Arabes, Notice historique sur la mosquée "El-Azhar à l'occasion de la visite de ce monument par les hotes de l'Egypt au vingt-cinquième anniversaire de l'Université Fouad el-Awal, Cairo, Imprimerie nationale, 1950.

Al-Ḥanafī relates the history of the Azhar from its establishment and although he rarely mentions an authority to support his statements, his account is generally accurate and useful. His method is to take the

Rectors of al-Azhar one after the other and discuss events during the rectorship of each.

Arminjon deals not only with al-Azhar but also with other muslim religious schools in Egypt; the bulk of his information, however, is on al-Azhar's history both old and modern.

The article in al-Hilāl gives glimpses of the history of al-Azhar rather than a continuous account. It mentions the courses given, the degrees awarded and the repartition of the students by sects at the date of writing. As far as it goes, the article is good and informative.

Abū al 'Uyūn, general secretary of al-Azhar, is mainly concerned with history but also discusses the reforms of modern times and matters of internal organization and administration. His book is highly informative though no attempts at analysis are made. The pamphlet issued by the Egyptian Ministry of Education is primarily addressed to tourists and all it contains is a sketch of the history of al-Azhar, in English and French, and two good photographs of al-Azhar mosque.

For literature stressing the recent history of al-Azhar and the reforms of the later nineteenth and early twentieth century, the following are useful:

Heidborn, A., "A Muslim university", Imperial Quarterly Review, series 3, Vol. XVI, 1903, pp. 300-26.

(Anonymous), "The Khedive and El-Azhar", Moslem World, Vol. XVI, 1926, pp. 131-37.

al-Marāghī, Shaykh Muṣṭafā, "A defence of the reforms in al-Azhar, " Islamic World, Vol. 7, 1929 pp. 153-68, also in Moslem World, Vol.19,

pp. 183-95, 1929.

Adams, C.C., Islām and Modernism in Egypt, London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 27-31.

Riḍā, Shaykh Rashīd, Al-Manār wa al-Azhar, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Manār, 1353 A.H./1934 C.E.

Ḥasanayn Bey, Muḥammad Khalīl, "Fourteen years at the Azhar", Moslem World, Vol. 31, 1941, pp. 69-73.

al-Ṣa'īdī, 'Abd al-Mut'āl, Tārīkh al-Islāh fī al-Azhar, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-I'timād, 1943.

al-Zawāhirī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Aḥmadī, Al-Siyāsah wa al-Azhar min mudhakkarāt Shaykh al-Islām al-Zawāhirī, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-I'timād, 1945.

Amīn, 'Uthmān, Muhammad 'Abduh, trans. from the Arabic by Charles Wendell, American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 77-79.

When al-Azhar was first established the educational system and administrative set up was very simple: at the head stood the Shaykh al-Azhar or Rector, whose authority was absolute and whose decisions on all questions were final. Though he sometimes conferred with other 'ulamā', he was under no legal obligation to do so.

To become a student at al-Azhar all one had to do was to go in and listen to the lecturing 'ālim. No conditions for admission were imposed or qualifications required of the student. He could choose any course he wanted and stay as long as he desired. There were no examinations and the only test of competence was ability to lecture on some particular branch of Muslim learning. When a student deemed himself possessed of such ability, he sought the permission of his professors to give proof

of it and if permitted chose one of the columns and began to give lectures. If he proved capable he would stay on as a lecturer and eventually be formally recognized by the Rector and his colleagues as an 'ālim of al-Azhar. If, on the other hand, he failed to draw enough students he would be advised or would himself decide to resume his studies under more learned professors. Other students, after attending lectures for a number of years, might decide not to make their careers at al-Azhar; they could, after receiving certificates from their professors qualify as canon-lawyers, judges in Shari'ah courts, teachers in other schools or Prayer-Leaders in the mosques, depending on the testimonials they had secured from their professors or from the Rector of al-Azhar.

The courses given were based on commentaries on the work or works of some outstanding scholar of the 'Abbāsid period. Only rarely did the students have before them the text which formed the subject of the teacher's lectures. Their duty was to take notes and read commentaries on the original text or even commentaries on a commentary of that text. These commentaries they often memorized.

The main courses were: The traditional sciences (al-'ulūm al-naqlīyah) which included dogmatic theology ('ilm al-kalām) and ('ilm al-tawhīd), exegesis (tafsīr), tradition (ḥadīth), Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh), the principles of jurisprudence (uṣūl al-fiqh), Islamic mysticism (taṣawwuf) and ethics ('ilm al-Akhlāq). There were also the rational sciences (al-'ulūm al-'aqlīyah) which included grammar and syntax (ṣarf wa naḥw) prosody ('ilm al-'arūd), rhetoric ('ilm al-balāghah) which was subdivided into ma'ānī, bayān and badī', and logic ('ilm al-mantiq). History, geography, physics, chemistry, mathematics and other natural sciences were utterly neglected, even in the Nineteenth century.

The first serious attempt to reform this system was undertaken by Khedive Ismā'īl during the Rectorship of Muḥammad 'Abbās al-Mahdī in 1872. A law was then passed requiring al-Azhar to give official diplomas to its graduates. The candidate for such a diploma was to take an examination before a committee of 'ulamā'' chosen by the Rector. Successful candidates would be given the 'Ālimīyah' diploma, which carried with it the highly respected title of 'ālim'.

In 1895, through the efforts of Muḥammad 'Abduḥ, another law was passed, providing for further reforms in the internal organization of al-Azhar. Among other things it provided for a fixed permanent grant from the State treasury, the systematization of stipends, allowances etc..., raising of the teacher's stipends and improvement of the living conditions of the resident students. In addition, the study of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography and history of Islām were introduced as compulsory subjects.

In 1911 the third wave of reforms began when, on the advice of a committee including Fathī Zaghāl Pasha, Tharwat (Sarwat) Pasha and Ismā'īl Ṣidqī Pasha, the programme of instruction at al-Azhar was divided into elementary, intermediate and higher grades. A Council was set up to recommend further improvements. This Council was presided over by the Rector whose powers were now more closely defined.

In 1930 and 1936, during the Rectorships of al-Zawāhirī and al-Marāghī respectively, further reforms were undertaken. The institution was divided into four grades: i, Primary, ii, Secondary, at the end of which successful students were granted the Secondary Education Certificate, iii, Higher, which was subdivided into (a) The Faculty of Islāmic Law,



(b) The faculty of Theology and (c) The faculty of Arabic Language, and iv, Specialization, at the end of which the student was granted the 'Ālimīyah certificate. For the 'Ālimīyah with Licence the following fields were available: Islāmīc Law, preaching and spiritual edification and teaching; and for the 'Ālimīyah with the title of Master (Ustādh): Islāmīc Law and Legal Principles, Monotheistic Theology and Divinity, Qur'ān and Ḥadīth, History of Islam, Grammar and Rhetoric. For each one of these fields of specialization, special requirements have to be fulfilled in the Higher Grade<sup>1</sup>.

The following works deal chiefly with curricula, administration, finances etc. at al-Azhar and are worthy of notice:

- NYP                    al-Ḥuwayḥī, Naṣr, Al-mabādi' al-naṣrīyah li Mashāhīr al-  
'ulūm al-Azhariyah, Cairo, 1887.
- NYP                    (Anonymous), A'māl majlis idārat al-Azhar, Cairo, 1324,  
A.H./ 1905 A.D.
- NYP                    Gottheil, R. [J.H.], "Al-Azhar the brilliant, the spiritual  
home of Islam", Bookman, Vol. XXIV, 1901-  
1907, pp. 501,511.
- NYP                    Brunet, E., "Rapport sur l'organisation de l'université  
musulmane el-Azhar", Nouvelles archives des  
missions scientifiques et littéraires, Vol.  
XVIII, pp. 1 - 28.
- NYP                    (Anonymous), Qānūn al-Jāmi' al-Azhar, Cairo, Maṭba'at  
al-Sa'ādah, 1911.

---

<sup>1</sup> The information in this section has been chiefly taken from the book  
Al-Azhar University, its history and works, op. cit., passim.



Most books on the history of al-Azhar mention its attitude towards various specific issues and its reasons for such attitudes; and most of those describing its curriculum throw light on general trends of thought among the 'ulama'. <sup>A</sup> ~~The~~ more reliable source, however, is the official organ and mouthpiece Majallat al-Azhar (PUL) whose editor at one time was a leading thinker and literary figure of the Arab world, Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī. When first established in 1930 the journal was called Nūr al-Islām (PUL), but after 1936, Vol. V, the present title was adopted.

Many books have been written describing one aspect or other of al-Azhar. The following are among the more interesting:

- NYP Arminjon, P. and Crabitès, P., "Al-Azhar University", The Nineteenth Century, Vol. 98, 1925, pp. 540-49
- X al-Ḥakīm, Z., Risālat al-Azhar fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn, min wujhat nazar al-mar'ah, 2nd ed., Maṭba'at al-Risālah, n.d.
- NYP Harris, G. K., "Al-Azhar through Chinese spectacles" Moslem World, Vol. XXIV, 1924, pp. 178-82.
- NYP al-Gamal, 'Abbās, "La mission de l'Azhar au XXième siècle", Egypte Contemporaine, 27th year, 1936, pp. 367-403. (Arabic & French texts).
- NYP Adams, C.C., "Comparative religion in the Azhar University", Moslem World, Vol. XXXV, 1945, pp. 111-25.

The article by Arminjon and Crabitès is a critical expression of their views concerning al-Azhar as a center of Islāmic learning. It is evident that the authors were not favourably impressed by Islām generally.

Miss Al-Ḥakīm's is a good book, in which she advocates the admission of women into al-Azhar, on convincing grounds. Al-Gamal's article is a defence of al-Azhar and an enumeration of its services to Islām: it is informative and eloquent, but should be included among polemic literature.

Harris writes an interesting article, in which he tries to reproduce the impressions of al-Azhar formed by four Chinese students of that institution. Adams discusses a publication containing "the substance of a series of lectures on Christianity which were delivered in the course on History of Religions in the Specialized Section on Preaching and Religious Instruction in the College of the Principles of Religion in the Azhar University, Cairo"<sup>1</sup>. Adams criticizes the author of this publication and argues against his contentions. It must be said that the publication referred to did not express the official view of al-Azhar on Christianity.

---

<sup>1</sup>Adams, "Comparative religion.....", Moslem World, op. cit., p. 111.

Supplement on al-Azhar

Arminjon, P., L'enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmanes d'Egypte, Paris, 1907.

Fago, V., "L'università egiziana di Cairo.....", Nuova Antologia, 1909.

Prisses d'Avennes and Hamont, Projet de Réforme, presented to Muḥammad Pasha Sa'īd by the "Commission de la reforme de l'université d'el-Azhar", Cairo, 1911.

PUL

Flury, S., Die ornamente der Hakimund Ashar moschee, Heidelberg, Winter, 1912.

al-Zawāhirī, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Aḥmadī, Kanz al-anwār fī faḍā'il jami' al-Azhar, Kat. Lauberg, Leiden, No. 263.

Pedersen, J., Al-Azhar, et muhammedansk universitet, Kobenhavn, Boghandel, 1922.

Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad Abū Bakr, The university of al-Azhar, a lecture delivered August 19, 1924 at Cambridge, Cairo, 1925.

Ḥasanayn Bey, Muḥammad Khālīd, Reform at al-Azhar university, Cairo, 1940.

Yūnis, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and Tawfīq, 'Uthmān, Al-Azhar, Cairo Dār al-Fīkr al-'Arabī, 1946.

IIS

‘Atīq, A. A., Al-Azhar, the mosque and university, The  
Egyptian Education Bureau, Egyptian uni-  
versity series, n.d.

#### CHAPTER IV

### Al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī 1839 - 1897

Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī was described by Massignon as "a master of energy". Among his disciples was the most outstanding reformers of Islām in the Arab world in modern times, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduḥ; and a life of incessant activity carried him all over Western Asia and Egypt, to France, Britain and Russia, and possibly as far as America.

Born in 1839 either in Persia or possibly Afghānistān, of a family which claimed descent from the Prophet's grandson Ḥusayn, he pursued his studies in different parts of Persia and acquired a wide acquaintance with the Islamic religious sciences and many other fields of knowledge. But above all he early developed an astounding eloquence in Persian, and later in Arabic and Turkish. He even made himself proficient in English.

In 1857 he went on a pilgrimage to Makkah and then returned to Afghānistān to enter in the service of the royal family. After the death of the King, Dūst Muḥammad Khān, the throne was disputed among his three sons and Jamāl threw in his lot with Muḥammad A'ẓam who secured the throne after defeating his brothers. The victorious Amīr made Sayyid Jamāl, then only 27, his minister.

In the meantime, Shīr 'Alī, brother of the ruling Amīr organized an army with the support of the British in India, and after a further civil war deposed A'ẓam and won the throne. Sayyid Jamāl's popularity, however, was so great that Shīr 'Alī did not dare to harm him, but he strictly

curtailed the young and energetic Sayyid's activities. Jamāl could not live in such an atmosphere and on the pretext of making another pilgrimage to Makkah he left Afghānistān for India in 1869, never to return.

From then until his death in 1897, Sayyid Jamāl travelled far and wide in the Muslim world and Europe. More often than not he was expelled from the countries he visited on government orders. In 1870 he was in Istanbul, from 1871 to 1879 in Egypt. In 1879 he went to India and stayed there until 1882 when, after the collapse of the 'Arābī revolt in Egypt, he was permitted to leave. During this stay in India he wrote his most important work, The Refutation of the Materialists. He then went to London where he spent a few days, and from there to Paris where he began the publication of an Arabic weekly, al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā and was joined by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh who had become his disciple during his eight year stay in Egypt. A Persian disciple, Mīrzā Bāqir also joined him and took part in the editing of the paper.

Since the British restricted its circulation in both Egypt and India, al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā soon collapsed after less than two years. In 1884 Jamāl left Paris first for London and then for Moscow. He called on Muslims all over the world to unite and free themselves from foreign domination. In 1886 he was in Persia and in 1889 we find him at Munich where he met the Shāh of Irān, then on visit to Germany. At the Shah's invitation, he went back to Persia where his advocacy of constitutional government made him so popular that the Shāh thought his presence in the country dangerous. He was expelled in 1890, and then stayed in Baṣrah, suffering much from ill-health, until 1892, when he travelled first to London and then in the same year to Istanbul. There he remained until



his death in 1897.

Considering the great hardships of travel in those days, one can appreciate the enormous vitality and endurance that Sayyid Jamāl possessed. Freemasonry may have been the key which opened to him so many doors; but his driving force was religious zeal, and the aim for which he never ceased to agitate was to see accomplished within his own lifetime the unification of the Muslim peoples into one Islamic state under one Caliph. Two essential beliefs underlay this aim, first, that all Muslim countries must be freed from all forms of foreign rule and, secondly, that Islām was an ideally suitable basis upon which to build a modern state. The means which Sayyid Jamāl suggested for the achievement of his aim was political revolution.

The results of Sayyid Jamāl's activities were threefold:-

1. In the political field, he fanned the spirit of religious nationalism and resistance to western interference, and contributed to the outbreak of the 'Arābī revolt in Egypt.
2. In the cultural field, his reforming ardour gave life to the pens of his followers and opened their literary horizons to new subjects.
3. In the theological field, Sayyid Jamāl tried to prove the compatibility of Islām with science and reason and consequently opposed all the superstitious beliefs which had become attached to it.<sup>1</sup>

For all these reasons, Sayyid Jamāl can rightly be considered one of the prime movers of the modern religious and political revival of the Muslim world, and notably of the Arab lands and Persia.

---

<sup>1</sup>A summary of an important article in Jamāl's Refutation of the Materialists is given in C.C. Adams' book, Islam and Modernism in Egypt, London, Oxford University Press, 1933, pp. 15-16.

Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn's most illustrious student and follower was Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, the great religious thinker and reformer of Islām in modern times. Consequently much of the material on Sayyid Jamāl is to be found in works dealing with Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, who has on the whole received the greater attention. In this chapter only those works will be mentioned which deal mainly or exclusively with Sayyid Jamāl; many books, or chapters of books which incidentally discuss Sayyid Jamāl in connection with 'Abduh will be omitted.

The following give long accounts of Sayyid Jamāl's life and ideas:

- IIS            al-Makhzūmī, Muḥammad Pasha [ed.], Khaṭirāt Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī al-Ḥasanī, Bayrūt, al-Maṭba'ah al-'Ilmiyah, 1931.
- PUL            Madhkūr, Muḥammad Sallām, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, bā'ith al-nahḍah al-fikriyah fī al-sharq, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Hawārī, 1939.
- PUL            Qal'ajī, Qadrī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī Ḥakīm al-sharq, Bayrūt, Dar al-'ilm li'l-malāyīn, 1947.
- al-Mujāhid, Sharīf, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī: his role in the Nineteenth century Muslim awakening, A thesis presented to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill University, (Unpublished), Montreal, 1954.

Al-Makhzūmī was a personal friend of Sayyid Jamāl and his unofficial secretary during his stay in Turkey, and can therefore be considered authoritative. He tries to record Sayyid Jamāl's life and views on

particular matters as he heard them from the Sayyid himself. The book is a faithful record rather than a systematic study; but it gives very detailed and interesting information about the Sayyid's career and is the best source in Arabic on the subject. The preface by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq is excellent.

Qadrī Qal'ajī cannot be said to have the qualities of a good biographer but he gives a useful elementary account of Sayyid Jamāl. The anecdotes which he has gathered make the book enjoyable reading.

Al-Mujāhid makes a thorough study of Sayyid Jamāl's life and his influence on the countries of the Muslim world. His book is based chiefly on Urdu and Persian sources and as such contains valuable material on his influence in Persia and India.

Many of the shorter accounts show better scholarship than the above mentioned books, though they may not be so abundant in facts or display the same personal attachment to the subject in hand. Of these, the following deserve mention:

- |     |                |  |
|-----|----------------|--|
| NYP | Zaydān, J.,    | <u>Tarājim mashāhīr al-sharq</u> , Vol. II, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Hilāl, 1902-03, pp. 54-66.                                  |
| NYP | Browne, E.G.,  | <u>The Persian revolution of 1905-1909</u> , Cambridge, University Press, 1910, pp. 1-30, 401-04.                          |
| IIS | Goldziher, I., | "Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", <u>Encyclopaedia of Islām</u> , Vol. I, London and Leyden, Luzac and Brill, 1913, pp. 7008-11. |

- PUL                    Tarāzī, Ph. di, Tārīkh al-ṣaḥāfah al-ʿArabīyah, Bayrūt,  
al-Maṭbaʿah al-Adabīyah, 1913, pp. 293-99.
- IIS                    Adams, C.C., Islam and modernism in Egypt, London,  
Oxford University Press, 1933.
- PUL                    Amīn, ʿUthmān, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, 1839-1897",  
al-Kitāb, Vol. I, 1946, pp. 679-85.
- IIS                    Amīn, Aḥmad, Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāh fī al-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth,  
Cairo, Maṭbaʿat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣrīyah, 1948,  
pp. 59-120.

Probably the most informative and useful of these accounts is Browne's. This deals primarily with Sayyid Jamāl's role in the events which led up to the Persian revolution and his extraordinary influence over his contemporaries, whether Shī'ites or Sunnites. Besides a good biography, Browne's work contains a "memorandum of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn", which is an appreciation of the Sayyid by W.S. Blunt.

Adams devotes one chapter in his book (chiefly concerned with Muḥammad ʿAbduḥ) to Sayyid Jamāl and gives a good summary of his life and ideas. One minor factual mistake in Adam's account must be pointed out, namely: that Jamāl's first visit to Turkey in 1870 was during the reign of the Sultān. Abdul-ʿAzīz, not that of Abdul-Ḥamīd, who did not come to the throne until 1876.<sup>1</sup>

Zaydān's article is another valuable source of information. The author shows that Sayyid Jamāl never wavered in his allegiance to the Caliphate; a point later contested by Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā, who said that

---

<sup>1</sup>See Adams, op. cit., p. 6

Sayyid Jamāl's prime objective was to find a rallying point for all Muslims, be it a Caliph, a Mahdī or any similar head. Zaydān also says that the Sayyid became Minister of War in Persia in 1886, which does not appear to be accurate.

Goldziher's article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam is excellent, but the appended bibliography is most inadequate.

Uthmān Amīn's and Aḥmad Amīn's articles concentrate on the political objectives of Sayyid Jamāl's agitation. Aḥmad Amīn's essay, which is well documented, points out that the Sayyid's objective was to reform the government through reforming the people and not vice-versa.

Vicomte de Tarāzī's useful account of the Sayyid emphasizes his literary and stylistic influence on the young Egyptian writers of the day.

In addition to the above, mention must be made of al-Manar, (X) Vols. I - XXVII, edited by Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā, and his Tarīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Of less importance are three other accounts of Sayyid Jamāl's life, namely:

- |     |                            |  |
|-----|----------------------------|--|
| NYP | Rossi, E.,                 | "Il centenario della nascita di Gemāl ud-Dīn el-Afghānī celebrato a Kābul", <u>Oriente Moderno</u> , Vol. XX, No. 5, 1940, pp. 262-65. |
| NYP | Amīn, 'Uthmān,             | "Jamāl ed-Din el-Afghani", <u>Islamic Review</u> , London, Vol. XXXVIII, March 1950, p. 43.  |
| IIS | al-Ṣa'īdī, 'Abd al-Mut'āl, | <u>Al-mujaddidūn fī al-Islām min al-qarn al-awwal ilā al-rābi' 'ashar</u> , Cairo, al-Maṭba'ah al-Namūdḥajīyah, n.d., pp. 490-95.      |

Rossi gives a concise biography of Sayyid Jamāl and list of books

about him in Urdu. Amīn and al-Ṣaʿīdī's books are short biographical sketches for the general reader.

Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn was not himself a prolific writer; he influenced his contemporaries mainly through his personal magnetism and eloquence. His few written works in Arabic are:

- NYP                    al-Afghānī, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn, "al-Bābīyah", Kitāb dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, edited by Buṭrus al-Bustānī, Vol. V, Bayrūt, Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif, 1881, pp. 26-28
- NYP                    \_\_\_\_\_, Risālah fī ibtāl madhhab al-dahriyīn wa bayān mafāsidihim wa ithbāt anna al-dīn asās al-madaniyah wa al-Kufr fasād al-'umrān, Bayrūt, 1303 A.H./1886 A.D.
- NYP                    \_\_\_\_\_, Tatimmat al-bayān fī tārīkh Afghānistān, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Mawsū'at, 1318 A.H./1901 A.D.
- PUL                    \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Qadā' wa al-qadar, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Manār, n.d.

To this list must be added al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā, (NYP) (reprint), Bayrūt, Tawfīq, 1910; for although most of the articles were probably not directly from his own pen, they represent his revolutionary views.

By far the most important of Sayyid Jamāl's works is the Risālah... mentioned above. The original was written in Persian under the title Naycharīyah; yā Natūralīsm..... It was translated into Arabic by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh. Recently a French translation under the title of

Réfutation des Matérialistes, (IIS), Paris, Geuthner, 1942, has been made by Mlle. A.M. Goichon, who includes in the same volume one of the Sayyid articles on "Islām and Science" which first appeared as a result of his controversy, during this period, with Ernest Renan in the Journal des Débats.

Sayyid Jamāl's Tatimmat al-Bayān... was also translated into Arabic from the Persian original, but the name of the translator is not given. It is a history of Afghānistān with little bearing on the Islamic movement.

Al-Qadā' wa al-Qadar represents Sayyid Jamāl's views on predestination. He contends that belief in predestination is not inherent in Islām. Pages 3 to 4 of the same book contain a short biography of Sayyid Jamāl by an author of uncertain identity who states that he was poisoned, rather than died of cancer as is generally accepted.

Two further references to Sayyid Jamāl's place in the modern reform movement deserve mention.

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| NYP | Massignon, L., "De Jamal oud Din au Zahawi", <u>Revue du Monde Musulman</u> , Vol. XII, 1910, pp. 561-70.          |
| NYP | Blunt, W.S., <u>Secret history of the English occupation of Egypt</u> , London, Unwin, 1907, especially pp. 73-83. |

Massignon's excellent article deals more with Zahāwī than with Sayyid Jamāl. While recognising the latter's great influence on later Islamic thinking, Massignon points out the independence of later writers from the Sayyid and their eventual support of "materialism" inspite of his

bitter refutation of it. Blunt, whose judgment and accuracy are commendable, describes Sayyid Jamāl's advocacy of the reform of al-Azhar.

A Bibliography of works in Persian and Urdū by or about Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī appears in Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī: his role in the nineteenth century Muslim awakening, by Sharīf al-Mujāhid.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup>See above p. 62.



Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (Supplement).

- ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, Muḥammad Fahmī, "Al-sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī  
ustādh al-wahdah al-Islāmīyah",  
al-Risālah, Vol. 13, pp. 237, 290, 420.
- ‘Abd al-Rāziq, Mustafā, "Al-sayyid Jamāl al-Afghānī", al-Siyāsah  
al-usbū‘īyah, No. 65, 1927.
- Ayyūb, Dhū al-Nūn, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", al-Majallah  
al-‘Irāqīyah, No. 14, Vol. 5.
- al-Dujaylī, ‘Abd al-Karīm, "Al-sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn kama a‘rifuhu",  
al-Ra‘yu al-‘ām (newspaper), No. 1175,  
1944.
- Ḥamadāh, ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī nubdhah min  
ḥayātihi", al-Thaqāfah, No. 116, Vol. 3.
- Khallāf, ‘Abd al-Mun‘im, "Ilā sirr Jamāl al-Dīn", al-Risālah,  
Vol. 6, p. 409.
- Khūrī, Ra‘īf, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī bidhrat thawrah",  
al-Ṭalī‘ah, No. 4-8, Vol. 1.
- Shiblī, Maḥmūd, "Dhikrā Jamāl al-Dīn", al-Risālah, No. 506,  
Vol. 11.
- al-Shumayyil, Shiblī, "Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī", al-Zuhūr, Vol. 3,  
p. 411.
- Ṭouqān, Qadrī Ḥāfiẓ, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Maṭba‘at Bayt  
al-Maqdis, Jerusalem, 1947.
- al-‘Ubaydī, ‘Abd al-Jabbār Khalaf, "Al-sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī",  
al-Rabī‘ah al-‘Irāqīyah, Vol. 1, p. 372.

## CHAPTER V

Muḥammad 'Abduh  
1849-1905

While Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī gave the revolutionary stimulus, it was Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh who worked out the intellectual basis for the modernist tendency in Islām and made it viable. All later modernists in the Arab world can in one way or another be considered disciples of Muḥammad 'Abduh. His influence on religion, literature and politics has been, and still is, pervading.

The commonly accepted date for the birth of 'Abduh is 1849, though earlier and later dates are also given. Born of an Egyptian peasant family in a small village in the Gharbiyah province, and growing up in an equally small village known as Maḥallat Naṣr, Muḥammad 'Abduh lived the typical childhood of his class and might have been expected to become a farmer working on the land of his father, as his brothers, indeed, did.

'Abduh's father, who had a remarkable personality, insisted on giving his son Muḥammad a further education after he had finished his elementary schooling in the village Kuttāb (Qur'ān school). He went against his will, because he always thought that his vocation was to follow in the footsteps of his older brothers. But in spite of many unsuccessful escapades through which he hoped to interrupt his studies for good, Muḥammad 'Abduh

was sent to al-Azhar. He is reported to have said that for two years he was incapable of understanding anything of what was being taught to him there, for three reasons: his own desire to become a farmer rather than a scholar; the incomprehensible jargon used by the teachers in their lectures, and the bad quality of the food given to the Azhar students which undermined their physical and mental health. He nevertheless resolved to make the best out of his stay; he worked hard at his studies and after many years was able to graduate with an 'Alimīyah degree.

While Muḥammad 'Abduh was still a student at al-Azhar, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī came to Egypt, and 'Abduh and many other young students fell under his magnetic influence. For eight years 'Abduh was his student; when the Sayyid was asked to leave Egypt in 1879 he is reported to have told his Egyptian friends and admirers who came to bid him farewell, "I leave you Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, and he is sufficient for Egypt as a scholar".

'Abduh embarked on his career as a reformer in 1877. First he became a professor at al-Azhar where he taught theology, history and the Arabic language; both his method of teaching and the contents of his lectures were new to the traditional 'ulamā' of that university.

In 1879, with the abdication of Khedive Ismā'īl in favour of his son Tawfīq, an era of reaction set in contrary to the general expectation, 'Abduh was exiled from Cairo to Maḥallat Naṣr, his native village, and Sayyid Jamāl was expelled from Egypt. In 1880, however, Riyāḍ Pasha, who was then Prime Minister, made 'Abduh one of the three editors of the official organ of the Egyptian Government, al-Waḡā'i' al-Miṣrīyah.

Through energetic reforms, 'Abduh made it a journal of broad scope, high literary standard and great influence, and was soon appointed editor-in-chief. This connection with al-Waqā'i'... did not, however, last for more than eighteen months. Muḥammad 'Abduh had some connection with the 'Arābī revolt in May 1882, and was afterwards removed from his office and asked to leave the country. There is no doubt that he sympathised with 'Arābī and the other leaders, though he differed from the military on essential points.

Thus exiled from Egypt in 1882, 'Abduh went to Syria where he spent two years. In 1884, he was invited by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn to join him in Paris. He left Bayrūt for Paris and remained there for a year during which he collaborated with the Sayyid and Mirzā Bāqir in producing al-Urwah al-Wuthqā.

In 1885 'Abduh returned to Bayrūt where he continued the work he had already started of spreading the spirit of scientific enquiry and rational thinking in all fields of knowledge. He gave lectures on the Qur'ān and welcomed Muslims and non-Muslims alike to his house. Everyone had the greatest regard for him.

At the end of the same year he was requested to become teacher at the Sulṭānīyah high school in Bayrūt. There he introduced important reforms in the administration and curriculum, and found time to translate from Persian into Arabic Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn's book in reputation of the materialists. He also prepared the material for his most important work the Risālat al-Tawḥīd, which he published in 1897, and wrote articles for the press on many subjects.

From this time on, 'Abduh abandoned the revolutionary extremism of Sayyid Jamāl, and devoted his efforts to practical reform, so far as possible with the consent and help of the government. In 1899 he became Grand Muftī of Egypt, a post which placed him among the highest officials in Islām. This second phase of his career continued until his death on July 11, 1905. During these years he was responsible for reforms in the native tribunals, the Dār al-Fatwā (Mufti's Office) the Legislative Council and al-Azhar. He also established the Muslim Benevolent Society, the first of its kind in Egypt, aiming chiefly at the establishment of private modern schools, and wrote in defence of Islām against Christian polemics his al-Islām wa al-Naṣrānīyah.... .

The most important works dealing with Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh and covering his life, works and religious ideas are:

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| NYP | <p>al-Sha'ib, Aḥmad, <u>Al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh</u>, Alexandria, Maṭba'at al-Iskandariyah, 1347 A.H./1929 A.D.</p>  |
| IIS | <p>Riḍā, Muḥammad Rashīd, <u>Tārīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh</u>, Cairo, Dār al-Manār, Vol. I, 1350 A.H./1931 A.D., Vol. II, 2nd ed. 1344 A.H./1925 A.D., Vol. III, 2nd ed., 1367 A.H./1948 A.D.</p> |
| IIS | <p>Adams, C.C., <u>Islam and Modernism in Egypt</u>, London, Oxford University Press, 1933.</p>   |
| IIS | <p>Amin, 'Uthmān, <u>Muḥammad 'Abduh</u>, Cairo, A'lām al-Islām series, Dār ihyā' al-kutub al-'arabiyyah, 1944. An English translation from the Arabic original has appeared under the same title. Translator</p>       |

Charles Wendell, American council of  
learned societies, Washington, 1953.

X Qal 'ajī, Qadrī, Muhammad 'Abduh, Bayrūt, Alām al-ḥurriyah  
series, 1948.

Riḍā's work is the fullest and most authoritative account on 'Abduh's life and thought. Written by one of his most notable students and followers, who founded the periodical al-Manār and the Salafīyah party to develop 'Abduh's religious teachings, it investigates fully every aspect of 'Abduh's career. The first of the three volumes into which it is divided deals with 'Abduh's life, the second reproduces his articles and briefer works and the third, the obituary notices and eulogies which appeared on his death. The book is indispensable for the study of 'Abduh.

Next to Riḍā's work in importance is that of C.C. Adams, who gives an excellent treatment of 'Abduh's life and thought. The book has been translated into Arabic by 'Abbās Maḥmūd with a preface by Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq under the title, al-Islām wa al-tajdīd fī Miṣr, (PUL), Cairo, Maṭba'at al-i'timād, 1353 A.H./1934 A.D. The author says in his preface (p. vi) that his work does not claim to present "anything new, not heretofore discovered, with the life and teachings of Muḥammad 'Abduh.....", but he very rightly adds that "it sets these forth with greater fullness than has been done heretofore, and in particular, <sup>that it</sup> gives some account of the later developments of the movement." Adam's work is the best which has been written in English and shows depth and carefully balanced judgement.

'Uthmān Amīn's book shows an intimate knowledge of the subject and

is one of the best shorter accounts. Qadrī Qal'ajī's work is another short account and makes very enjoyable reading. Al-Shā'ib's book deals almost exclusively with 'Abduh's life and only makes a passing mention of his ideas of reform.

Of chapters or articles on 'Abduh in books or periodicals the following deserve mention:

- NYP            al-Ḥanafī, Sulaymān Rashād, Kanz al-jawhar fī tārikh al-Azhar, Cairo, 1320 A.H./1902 A.D., pp. 164-70.
- NYP            Gottheil, R.J.H., "Muhammad 'Abdu, late mufti of Egypt", Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. XXVIII, 1907, pp. 189-97.
- IIS            Schacht, J., "Muhammad 'Abduh", Encyclopaedia of Islam, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 678-80.
- NYP            Horten, M.    "Muhammed Abduh", Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients, Vol. XIII, 1916, pp. 83-114, also Vol. XIV, 1917, pp. 74-128.
- IIS            Carra de Vaux, Baron, Les penseurs de l'Islam, Vol. V, Paris, Geuthner, 1926, pp. 254-67.
- NYP            Adams, C.C., "Mohammed Abduh, the reformer", Moslem World, Vol. XIX, 1929, pp. 264-73.
- DH            Kohn, H.,    "Mohammed Abdu", Encyclopaedia of the social sciences, Vol. X, New York, MacMillan, 1933, pp. 571-72.
- IIS            Lammens, H., L'Islam: Croyances et Institutions, 3rd ed.,

- Bayrūt, Imprimerie Catholique, 1943,  
pp. 269-75. Translated into English by Sir  
X E.D. Ross, Islam: beliefs and institutions,  
London, 1929.
- IIS Amīn, Aḥmad, Zu'ama' al-iṣlāḥ fī al-'aṣr al-ḥatīth,  
Cairo, Maktabat al-naḥdah al-miṣrīyah, 1948,  
pp. 280-337.
- IIS al-Ṣa'īdī, 'Abd al-Mut'āl, Al-mujaddidūn fī al-Islām min  
al-qarn al-rābi' ila al-qarn al-rābi' 'aṣhar,  
Cairo, al-maṭba'ah al-namūdhajīyah, n.d.,  
pp. 530-44.
- X al-'Aqqād, 'Abbās Maḥmūd, Al-Islam fī al-qarn al-'ishrīn,  
Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-ḥadīthah, 1954,  
pp. 125-29.

By far the most challenging of these articles is that by Horten, who after relating 'Abduh's life and religious ideas, rejects the generally accepted view that 'Abduh was a reformer and maintains that he was a traditional thinker. However controversial Horten's contention may be, and however scant the acceptance which it has found, the article is essential for a thorough study of 'Abduh's religious ideas. C.C. Adams devotes part of a chapter of his Islam and modernism in Egypt<sup>1</sup>, to a discussion of Horten's thesis.

The article by Schacht in the Encyclopædia of Islam gives a very good summary of 'Abduh's life and ideas. Kohn's article in the

---

<sup>1</sup>op. cit., pp. 105-07.



Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, however, is very brief, and inadequate when it comes to 'Abduh's religious ideas. Carra de Vaux mentions chiefly 'Abduh's reforms at al-Azhar and criticism of Hanotaux, but glosses over much more significant issues.

Lammens deals chiefly with the relation of 'Abduh to the Manār party and the Salafīyah movement headed by Rashīd Riḍā. Gottheil gives a good summary of 'Abduh's life and the reforms which he advocated, adding little that is new or original though the presentation of the material is very good. Adams' article in the Moslem World deals mainly with 'Abduh's life and has few references to his ideas of reform.

Of the shorter Arabic accounts mentioned above that of Aḥmad Amīn is probably the most informative. The author displays a very good grasp of his subject and does not conceal his great admiration for the revered Imām. Al-Ṣa'īdī devotes his attention to the doctrinal relationship between Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā, but fails to stress their dissimilarities on many issues. Al-Ḥanafī is informative and especially interesting about 'Abduh's life at al-Azhar; he gives details of some of 'Abduh's experiences as a student and of the books which he read with Sayyid Jamāl. Al-'Aqqād devotes only a small though scholarly section to 'Abduh, but fails to do justice to his importance for "Islām in the twentieth century". In addition to the above, mention must be made of the periodical al-Manār which was not accessible to the writer of this thesis but undoubtedly contains valuable information on 'Abduh.

Concerning particular aspects of 'Abduh's life the following works must be noted:

- PUL 'Abd al-Rāziq, Ḥasan and Amīn, Qāsim, "Al-Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, ishtighāluhu fī majlis al-shūrā", Al-Muqtataf, Vol. XXX, 1905, pp. 985-991.
- NYP Blunt, W.S., Gordon at Khartoum, London, Swift, 1911, See index.
- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, My diaries, Part I and II, New York, Knopf, 1921, see index.
- IIS al-Ṣa'īdī, 'Abd al-Mut'āl, Tarīkh al-islāh fī al-Azhar, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-i'timād, 1362 A.H./ 1943 A.D., pp. 44-48 and passim

Al-Muqtataf was a periodical edited in Cairo by Shiblī Shumayyil, the first great populariser of science in the Arab world; the article in it was partly written by Ḥasan Pasha 'Abd al-Rāziq (pp. 985-87) and partly by Qāsim Amīn (pp. 987-91). The former deals with 'Abduh's attempts to bridge the gap that had existed between the Khedive and the Council of State, while Qāsim Amīn who is less informative, enumerates the noble characteristics of 'Abduh's personality.

Al-Ṣa'īdī draws attention to an interesting aspect of 'Abduh's career, namely his efforts to bring <sup>the</sup> Khedive to support certain reforms at al-Azhar University.

In both his above-mentioned books, Blunt gives illuminating accounts of Abduh's activities, especially in London and Paris. Reference to his works is indispensable for the understanding of certain phases of 'Abduh's life.

All his life, Muḥammad 'Abduh strove both for practical reforms and, perhaps not altogether successfully, to build a new theological and philosophical system for Islām. His three main objectives were to reform Islām by bringing it back to its original purity, to free Muslim education and the Arabic language from rigid traditionalism, and to ensure that government be carried on for the good of the people. These objectives, however distinct they may seem, were connected in his mind.

Concerning the reform of Islām, 'Abduh drew on the ideas of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, who advocated a return to the pristine purity of early Islām, and on those of al-Ghazālī (1058-1111 A.D.) with whose ethical concept of religion he was in full accord. By rejecting mechanical formalism in religious belief and practice, 'Abduh thought to eliminate taqlīd (rigid adherence to the traditions and interpretations of the past), and therewith the differences between the madhāhib (schools and sects), and to re-open the "gate" of ijtihād (intellectual endeavour). He believed that Islām was for all times and places and therefore, that reason and religion must go hand in hand, reason being necessary to prove the truth of religious doctrines, and religion or faith to serve as a check against the aberrations of reason. On prophecy and revelation 'Abduh says that the object of the former is "the education of the masses" and that the latter is an intuition the knowledge of whose divine origin is exclusive to Prophets. He attacks the cult of saints, though not denying them respect and high honour, and opposes the attribution to them of any superhuman powers. He was not a predestinarian, but opposed fatalism and urged Muslims to strive constantly to build up a healthy

society based on a high moral standard and mutual support. 'Abduh's writings certainly contain an apologetic element; but this is interwoven with his general interpretation of Islām. Reform, not apology, is his essential purpose. Thus 'Abduh argues in favour of Islām that it is the most rationalistic and realistic religion; but he goes on to advocate that the common good (maṣlaḥah) be considered more important than the literal text (nass), should the two come into conflict.

'Abduh's religious ideas are expressed in his own writings, these are, in chronological order:

- NYP                'Abduh, Muḥammad, Tafsīr sūrat al-'Asr, Cairo, al-manār, 1903.
- NYP                \_\_\_\_\_, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-karīm, juzu' 'Ammā, Cairo, Bulāq, 1904.
- NYP                \_\_\_\_\_, Tafsīr al-Fātiḥah, Cairo, al-Manār, 1905.
- NYP                \_\_\_\_\_, Mushkilāt al-Qur'ān wa mushkilāt al-ahādīth aw al-tawfīq bayn al-nuṣuṣ al-muta'aridah, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-imām, n.d.
- NYP                \_\_\_\_\_, Al-'urwah al-wuthqā, Bayrūt, Tawfīq, 1910.
- NYP                \_\_\_\_\_, Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ḥakīm, 5 Vols., Cairo, al-Manār, 1907-12, also, 1922.
- HUL                \_\_\_\_\_, Al-ḥikmah al-Islāmiyah, majmū'at maqālāt, Alexandria, Maṭba'at Jurjī 'Arzūzī, 1333 A.H. /1914 A.D.
- IIS                \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Islām wa al-radd 'alā muntaqidih, Cairo, Tawfīq, 1343 A.H./1924 A.D., pp. 3-43.

IIS. \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Islām wa al-Naṣrānīyah ma'a al-'ilm  
wa al-madaniyah, 7th ed., al-Manār,  
1367 A.H./1948 A.D.

IIS \_\_\_\_\_, Risālat al-tawḥīd, 10th ed., Cairo, al-  
Manār, 1361/1942 A.D.

Of these works al-ʿUrwah al-Wuthqā is the least representative of ʿAbduh's general attitude, or at any rate of his later attitude. It is not known whether the articles were written by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn, ʿAbduh or Mirza Bāqir, but they certainly represent mainly the spirit of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn. It must have been ʿAbduh, however, who put them into good Arabic.

The series of books on Tafsīr were all edited by Shaykh Rashīd Riḍā and were based on notes taken from the lectures of ʿAbduh at al-Azhar. It is likely that Riḍā filled in many gaps which might have been missing from these notes, and that the Tafsīr should therefore be considered as much the work of Riḍā himself as of ʿAbduh, although Riḍā took great pains in pointing out which were his own comments. The Tafsir sūrat al-ʿAsr includes a lecture by ʿAbduh on the education of children besides the commentary on the 103rd surāh of the Qurʿān; both were reprinted from the journal al-Manār. Similarly, the Tafsīr al-Fatīhah is followed by five treatises dealing with religious topics, also reprinted from al-Manār. The Mushkilāt al-Qurʿān... discusses the problem of reconciliation between the Qurʿān and Traditions.

All these works, like ʿAbduh's other writings, illustrate his rationalist approach to theology and as such constitute important landmarks in the history of Qurʿānic exegesis. Emphasizing the importance of reason

in understanding Islām and proving the truth of the prophethood of Muḥammad is al-Ḥikmah al-Islāmīyah...

Al-Islām wa al-radd 'alā muntaqidīh was written by 'Abduh in answer to Gabriel Hanataux. Pages 3 to 43 are a translation of Hanataux's essay, after which comes, 'Abduh's reply to it. Pages 97 to 130 summarise the ideas which 'Abduh expounded in detail in his Risālat al-tawḥīd.

This last is the most important of Muḥammad 'Abduh's works, because it gives the fullest statement of the theological and philosophical system which he tried to set up (as outlined on page 79 above). This book has been translated into French by the joint efforts of B. Michel and Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq under the title of Risālat al-tawḥīd, exposé de la religion Musulmane, (IIS), Paris, Geuthner, 1925. The book also contains an excellent introduction summarising the life and ideas of 'Abduh, as well as a full list of his works. It carries great authority because Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Rāziq was one of 'Abduh's closest students and followers.

Al-Islām wa al-Naṣrānīyah has more of an apologetic tone. In it 'Abduh sets out to prove Islām's suitability for every age and the rationalism of its teachings.

In addition to the above, 'Abduh also edited the Nahj al-balāghah (IIS), Cairo, Maṭba'at 'Isā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1352 A.H./1933 A.D., the collection of moral maxims or "eloquent sayings" attributed to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. He also wrote a commentary on the Maḡamāt (Séances) of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadḥānī, (IIS), 968 A.D.-1007 A.D., and collaborated with 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyāḥkūtī in commenting on al-'Aqā'id al-'Adudīyah (IIS), of Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Ṣiddīqī known as al-Jalāl al-Dawwānī,

(1427 A.D. - 1501 A.D.), al-Maṭba'ah al-Khayriyah, 1322 A.H./1904 A.D.

Besides 'Abduh's own writings the following valuable works must be consulted:

- NYP                      Goldziher, I., Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung, Leyden, Brill, 1920, pp. 320-70
- NYP                      Michel, B. and 'Abd al-Rāziq, Muṣṭafā, "La religion musulmane d'après le Cheikh Mohammed Abdu", Bibliothèque universelle et revue de Genève, Genève, 1925, pp. 1860-79.
- IIS                      Adams, C.C., The Macdonald presentation volume, Princeton, Princeton university press, 1933, pp. 13-29.
- NYP                      al-Bahī (Bahay), Muḥammad, Muḥammad 'Abduh, eine Untersuchung seiner Erziehungs Methode zum Nationalbewusstsein und zur Nationalen Erhebung in Ägypten, Hamburg, 1936.
- IIS                      Amīn, 'Uthmān, Muḥammad 'Abduh, essai sur ses idées philosophiques et religieuses, Cairo, Imprimerie Miṣr, 1944.
- DH                      \_\_\_\_\_, "Muḥammad 'Abduh, the reformer", Moslem World, Vol. 36, 1946, pp. 153-55.

Goldziher's article discusses chiefly 'Abduh's commentary on the Qur'ān, but also gives a general summary of his theological ideas. Like all the works of that great Hungarian orientalist, the article is most penetrating.

Al-Bahī's work is a scholarly and profound study of 'Abduh and of

his influence on the modern movement in Islām in the Arab world. The review article by B. Michel and 'Abd al-Rāziq summarises 'Abduh's endeavours for the reform of Islām.

Adams' article deals with the "Transvaal fatwa" and is, probably, the only article on that subject in English. It relates the controversy which arose between the traditional 'ulamā' and 'Abduh over this fatwā, in which 'Abduh as Mufti of Egypt ruled that Muslims living as a small minority in a non-Muslim country might follow certain non-Muslim habits when circumstances made strict observance impracticable.

Amīn in his article in the Moslem World considers 'Abduh as a "moralist" and gives a lucid exposition of 'Abduh's views on reform, on pan-Islām and on the relations of Islām and Christianity. Amīn's most important contribution is, however, in his book on the philosophic ideas of 'Abduh. This was a thesis presented by the author to the Sorbonne University. The book is divided into five sections dealing with 'Abduh's life, his philosophical and theological ideas, his reforms and his influence on later writers, plus an appendix containing translations of some of the important shorter works and letters of 'Abduh. The most important section of the book is that dealing with him as a philosopher where an interesting aspect of 'Abduh's thought is systematically treated.

'Abduh's contribution to the development of Arabic journalism and modern Arabic literary style is discussed in various works, of which the following are outstanding:

PUL                    'Abduh, Ibrāhīm, A'lām al-ṣaḥāfah al-'Arabīyah, Cairo,  
al-Ādāb, 1944.



- IIS \_\_\_\_\_, Tārīkh al-waqā'i al-misriyah, 3rd ed.,  
Cairo, al-Ādāb, 1946.
- PUL \_\_\_\_\_, Jarīdat al-Ahrām: tārīkh Miṣr fī khams wa  
sab'īn sanah, Cairo, al-Ahrām, 1951.
- PUL Ḥamzah, 'Abd al-Latīf, Adab al-maqālāh al-ṣuḥufīyah fī  
Miṣr, 1st ed., Vol. II, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-  
i'timād, 1950, pp. 62-113 and 216-30.
- IIS al-Ṣawī, Aḥmad Ḥusayn, Muḥammad 'Abduh and al-Waqā'i al-  
Misriyah, a thesis presented to the Faculty  
of Graduate Studies and Research, McGill  
University, Montreal, August, 1954.

The thesis by al-Ṣawī deals almost entirely with the journalistic and literary aspect of Muḥammad 'Abduh's career. Ḥamzah and Ibrāhīm 'Abduh are concerned with the history of journalism in Egypt generally, and devote only part of their studies to Muḥammad 'Abduh's influence on it. Ḥamzah points out the characteristics of Muḥammad 'Abduh's style which distinguished it from that of his contemporaries. Ibrāhīm 'Abduh in his Jarīdat al-Ahrām relates what a favourable opinion Muḥammad 'Abduh had of al-Ahrām, which was the most advanced Egyptian daily newspaper at that time. In his two other books Ibrāhīm 'Abduh devotes long sections to Muḥammad 'Abduh's influence on journalism, with special reference to his career in al-Waqā'i al-Misriyah and al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā; he remarks that Muḥammad 'Abduh's contribution to journalism, was to give it "opinion and purpose".

Among the books on general developments in Egypt under the British occupation, the following throw light on 'Abduh's activities in that context:

- IIS Cromer (Evelyn Baring), 1st Earl of, Modern Egypt, 2 Vols.,  
London, Macmillan, 1908, see Vol. II,  
pp. 179-81.
- IIS Blunt, W.S., Secret history of the English occupation of  
Egypt, being a personal narrative of events,  
New York, Knoff, 1922, pp. 190-94 and passim
- IIS Colombe, M., L'évolution politique de l'Égypte 1924-1950,  
Paris, Maisonneuve, 1951, pp. 121-54.

Lord Cromer, who had frequent contact with 'Abduh, gives an estimate of his character and calls him "dreamy and unpractical". Blunt's book, besides giving valuable information on the history of the British occupation of Egypt, reproduces 'Abduh's arguments to disprove that 'Arabī Pāshā gave bribes to his officers to win their allegiance, and that his revolt was organized by the Turks. 'Abduh's comments on the "Circassian plot", and his views on slavery in Islām, are also included. The book as a whole is very good in pointing out 'Abduh's role in the 'Arabī revolt. Finally Colombe, in his survey of political events in Egypt from 1924 to 1950, penetratingly discusses the roles of Sayyid Jamāl and Muḥammad 'Abduh in that country's evolution.

In the religious field, 'Abduh's teachings were elaborated by his Syrian-born disciple Shaykh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā. It would be wrong, however, to regard Riḍā as a slavish follower of 'Abduh, for in many respects he was an independent thinker and in general showed himself more conservative than his master. He was the chief founder and champion of the Salṣīyah ("Back to the Forefathers") movement, which was largely inspired by 'Abduh's call for a return to the pure Islām of the days of

the Prophet and the first Caliphs. 'Abduh himself had been too busy with practical reforms to work out the theoretical implications of this principle, and it was Riḍā who published and commented on almost all 'Abduh's works, including his "Tafsīr" of the Qur'ān. For more than thirty-five years before his death in 1935, Riḍā worked continuously, producing an immense volume of literature, often apologetic in character. Reference has already been made to some of his works<sup>1</sup> and it will be enough here to add a mention of the following:

- PUL                      Riḍā, Muḥammad Rashīd, Al-khilāfah aw al-imāmah al-'uẓmā,  
Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Manār, 1922.
- X                        \_\_\_\_\_, Nida' ilā al-jins al-latīf, Cairo,  
Maṭba'at al-Manār, 1351 A.H./1932 A.D.
- IIS                      \_\_\_\_\_, Al-wahyu al-Muḥammadi, Cairo, Maṭba'at  
al-Manār, 1352 A.H./1933 A.D.

The first of these books is a work of considerable importance, written immediately after the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Büyük Millet Meclisi) had declared a purely spiritual Caliphate in 1922. It is divided into two main sections of unequal length and importance. In the first, Riḍā recapitulates the classical ideas about the Caliphate as they appeared in the writings of al-Ghazālī, al-Mawardī and al-Taftazānī. In the second, he presents his own solution to the problem of the Caliphate as it seemed to him at the time. He calls for a meeting between the liberal 'ulamā' and the secularists and modernists from the different Islamic countries to choose a future Caliph. In his own opinion the

---

<sup>1</sup>See above p. 23, 73, 81.



Muhammad 'Abduh (Supplement)

'Abd al-Rāziq, Muṣṭafā, "Athar al-mar'ah fī ḥayāt al-Shaykh

Muhammad 'Abduh", al-Shabāb (newspaper),

February 17, 1936.

, Al-iḥtifāl bi ihyā' dhikrā al-ustādh al-

Imām, Cairo, Dār al-Manār, 1922.

Abduh, Ibrāhīm, Tatawwur al-ṣaḥāfah al-Miṣriyah, 3rd ed.,

Cairo, Maktabat al-'ādāb, 1951.

, Tatawwur al ṣaḥāfah al-Miṣriyah wa atharuhā

fī al-naḥdah al-fikriyah wa al-ijtimā'iyah,

Cairo, Maṭba'at al-tawakkul, 1945.

al-Bahrāwī, al-Azhārī, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Kharmīsh, Irshād al-

ummah al-Islāmiyah ilā aqwāl al-a'immaḥ fī

al-fatwā al-transwālīyah, Cairo, 1322 A.H./

1903-4 A.D.

Bergsträsser, "Islam und Abendland", Auslandsstudien,

Vol. IV, Königsberg, 1929, pp. 15ff.

Ḥamādah, 'Abd al-Mun'im, "Jamāl al-Dīn wa Muḥammad 'Abduh",

al-Thaqāfah, Cairo, March 10, 1941.

Rif'at, Muḥammad, The awakening of modern Egypt, London,

Longmans, 1947.

Ṣabrī, M., La genèse de l'esprit national Egyptien,

Paris, Vrin, 1924.

## Chapter VI

### The Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwān al Muslimīn)

The history of the Ikhwān dates from 1929 when Ḥasan al-Bannā, a young man known since his adolescence for religious fervour and <sup>for</sup> an outstanding talent for organising societies, established the first center of the Muslim Brotherhood society in the town of Ismā'īlīyah. From then until his assassination in 1949, the history of the movement was closely associated with his career.

It was only in 1938, however, that the society formulated its aims and defined its rôle in the Muslim world in general and in Egypt in particular. The movement then became, in al-Bannā's own words, "a salafī movement, a sunnī ṭarīqah, a team, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company and a social idea. The comprehensiveness of Islām lent the programme [of the Ikhwān] a comprehensiveness which included all aspects of reform".<sup>1</sup>

It was thus roughly since the beginning of the Second World War that the Brotherhood's activities developed and its membership increased to include many of the Egyptian intelligentsia. At the same time, an era of political rivalries and persecution set in for the Ikhwān. First Sirrī Pasha as Prime Minister placed restrictions on their activities and forbade the Egyptian press to make any mention of them or their doctrines. Nabḥās Pasha, Aḥmad Mahir Pasha and Naqrāshī Pasha, though not as severe as Sirrī Pasha, did not allow full liberty of action to the Ikhwān.

---

1

Ḥusaynī, Ishaq Mūsā, Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Bayrūt, Dar al-tibā'ah wa al-nashr, 1952, p.25.

When the war ended, the Ikhwān were able to expand their activities with a view to winning mass support and eventually taking over the government of Egypt. They soon became the best prepared political party in Egypt with the greatest popular appeal, combining ultramodern techniques of publicity and propaganda with a cell-organisation which reminded one author (Heyworth-Dunne) of that of the medieval Ismā'īlīs; they made astonishing headway and claimed a membership of 500,000. Official fears of Ikhwān activity became even more pronounced and a new era of restrictions started. Hasan al-Banna was assassinated in February 1949.

The Ikhwān movement did not collapse with the assassination of its founder. In 1950, when the restrictions on them were relaxed, they resumed their activities under a new leader, Hasan al Hudaybī.

In the meantime activities of the Ikhwān outside Egypt, and especially in Syria where they had been working since 1936, continued under the vigorous leadership of Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī. Their success in Syria, however, has been small compared with what they were able to achieve in Egypt.

Under the leadership of Hudaybī, the Ikhwān set out to strengthen the bases of their ideology. They realized that a mere appeal to follow the Qur'ān and Sunnah was vague and needed a more concrete formulation. Copious literature was put out to prove the suitability of Islām for all aspects of modern life -- economic, political, social and spiritual -- and, at the same time, to clarify what was the Islāmic ideal in these fields.

After the military coup d'état in 1952, the Ikhwān at first received encouragement and support from the new régime. This phase lasted roughly

till the fall of General Muḥammad Naguib. Since then Col. Abd al-Nāṣir's government first restricted and then in 1954 formally dissolved the organisation.

The Ikhwān have six main principles:<sup>1</sup>

1. A scientific principle, which aims at understanding the Qur'ān and Sunnah in a manner which will make them conform with the spirit of our age and thereby defend them against the attacks and misinterpretations to which they have been subjected.
2. A practical principle which aims at unifying first the Egyptian nation in the whole valley of the Nile and later the whole Muslim nation into a single state, whose rules and organization will be based on the principles of the Qur'ān and Sunnah. This principle also provides for reviving religious fervour in the hearts of all Muslims and for the abolition of differences among the various Muslim sects.
3. An economic principle which provides for the development of the national wealth and its protection against foreign and monopolistic encroachments. This principle also urges a higher standard of living, social justice and equality.
4. A social principle which aims at establishing a social service to combat ignorance, want, disease and immorality and thereby help to create a healthy society in every respect.
5. A national principle which aims at freeing the Nile Valley from foreign domination, as well as help the other Arab and Muslim states to achieve such freedom and Muslim minorities to acquire their rights. The Ikhwān

---

1

The information that follows has been adapted from

Husaynī, I.M., op. cit., pp. 67-69.



proclaimed their full support of Arab unity as a first step towards a wider Muslim league. They also supported true international cooperation which would aim at helping the weak to rise and develop, and at checking the ambitions of the strong and aggressive. They insisted that the Muslim states must carry out the law and general injunctions of Islām and try to propagate them outside their own domains.

6. A humanitarian and international principle which provides for cooperation with all peace loving nations to secure an international peace based on the cooperation between the world of matter and that of the spirit. The Ikhwan saw in the Islamic principle of the equality of all nations a practical way to achieve such equality in a world which is desperately seeking an ideal.

The best two books in the Ikhwan's history and ideology are:-

IIS                      Dunne, J.H., Religious and political trends in modern Egypt, Washington, published by the author, 1950.

IIS                      al-Husaynī, Ishāq Mūsā, Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin, Bayrūt, Dār al-tibā'ah wa al-nashr, 1952.

Dunne's book, despite its title which suggests that it might be concerned with all the political parties in Egypt, deals in fact almost exclusively with the Ikhwan. "The reader may be irritated by the book's obvious lack of editing, and it is open to much more serious criticism in that many of its main conclusions are of questionable accuracy. Nevertheless, in spite of such blemishes, this book is exceedingly valuable for two reasons. First is the tremendous interest and significance of



- ILS Issawi, C. Ph., Egypt: an economic and social analysis, London and New York, Oxford University press, 1947, pp. 174-77.
- DH Rosenthal, Franz, "The Muslim Brethren in Egypt", Moslem World, Vol. XXXVII, 1947, pp.273-91.
- NYP Speiser, E.A., The United States and the Near East, Cambridge(Mass.), Harvard University press, 1947.
- DH Wynn, C.W., "The latest revival of Islamic nationalism", Moslem World, Vol. XXXVIII, 1948, pp.11-16.
- NYP (anonymous), "Dissolution de L'Association des Frères Musulmans", Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain, 11th year, Fascicule 29, 1954, pp. 39-42.
- also "Opposition de l'Association des Frères Musulmans à l'accord Anglo-Egyptien et attentat contre le Colonel 'Abd El-Nasser", 11th year, fascicule 30, 1954, pp. 158-66.
- NYP (anonymous), "Dissolution of the Muslim Brotherhood: statement of the Council of the Revolution Command", Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol. V, 1954, pp. 94-100

IIS                      Kaplinsky, Zvi,                      "The Muslim Brotherhood", Middle Eastern Affairs, Vol V, 1954, pp. 377-84.

Issawi and Speiser were among the first writers in the West to refer to the Ikhwan. Their accounts are short and show a weak grasp of the subject, though Issawi seems to be somewhat better informed than Speiser.

Rosenthal gives a detailed summary of a pamphlet issued by the Ikhwan entitled Da'watunā (Our aims) originally written by Hasan al-Bannā, and is important for the western reader who cannot read the Arabic original.

Wynn speaks of the rise and spread of the Ikhwan but has little of value to say about their doctrines. Kaplinsky surveys the history of the movement and deals with some aspects of their aims.

All these accounts by western writers show little sympathy for the Ikhwan and their basic principle of an Islamic state.

The Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain gives a French version of the decision of the Council of the Revolutionary Command in Egypt to dissolve the Ikhwan organisation, together with translations of excerpts from the Arabic daily press discussing this action and the attitude of the Ikhwan towards the recent Anglo-Egyptian accord on the Suez Canal base.

The source-literature on the Ikhwan is entirely in Arabic. The life of the founder, the internal organization of the movement, the different phases in its history and the various points of its ideology, are all covered at length in official and semi-official Ikhwan publications. As all these writings are in Arabic, a fair knowledge of this language is indispensable.

Al- Banna's life, personality, and opinions are described in:

PUL al-Hajjaji, Ahmad Anas, ...al-rajul alladhi ash'ala  
al-thawrah... Cairo, 1952.

PUL \_\_\_\_\_, Al-imam: 'ard wa taqdim li  
shakhsiyat al-imam al-shahid  
Hasan al-Banna, Cairo, Matba'at  
Wahbah, 1952.

PUL al-Khuli, 'Abd al-Kabir, Qa'id al-da 'wah al-Islamiyah  
Hasan al-Banna, Cairo, 1952.

PUL al-'Assal, Fathi, ...Hasan al Banna kama 'araftuhu...  
Cairo, 1953.

X al-Bajuri, 'Abd al-Majid Fath Allah,  
Hasan al-Banna, [Cairo], Matba'at  
Ahmad 'Ali Mukhaymir, n.d.

All these accounts have been written by Ikhwān members or sympathizers, and though informative must be read with an allowance for the exaggerations of the authors, who could not write dispassionately about their spiritual master.

A great deal of Ikhwān literature was written by al-Banna himself and published during his lifetime. The following books and pamphlets were accessible to the present writer:

PUL [al-Banna, Hasan], Dusturuna ? bi qalam al-murshid  
al-'am'li al-Ikhwān al-Muslimin,  
Cairo, Dar al-fikr al-'Arabi, n.d.

PUL \_\_\_\_\_, Mudhakkarat al-da 'wah wa al-da 'iyah,  
Cairo, n.d.

PUL	_____	<u>Al-'Aqa'id...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-fikr al-'Arabī, 1951.
PUL	_____	<u>...bayna al-ams wa al-yawm...</u> Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>... da 'watunā...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>Al-Iḥwān al-Muslimān tahta rayat</u> <u>al-Qur'an...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>Al-ma'thurāt...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>...mushkilatunā fī daw' al-nizām</u> <u>al-Islāmī...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>Nizām al-usar wa risālat al-ta'līm...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>...risālat al-jihād...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>...risālat al-mu'tamar al-khāmis...</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
X	_____	<u>Muqaddamah fī al-tafsīr, wa tafsīr,</u> <u>al-Fatīhah</u> , Cairo, al-Maṭba'at al- 'alamīyah, n.d.
PUL	_____	<u>Al-ras ā'il al-Thalāth</u> , Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.

- |   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| X | _____ | Da'watunā fī ṭawr jadīd, Cairo,<br>Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1952.            |
| X | _____ | Ilā al-Shabāb, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb<br>al 'Arabī, n.d.                       |
| X | _____ | Nizām al-usar wa risālat al-ta'ālīm,<br>Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d. |

Some Ikhwan members have reproduced and commented on works of al-Bannā's which they considered important. Of these, the following two may be noted:

- |   |
|---|
| Tu'aylib, 'Abd al-Mun'im Ahmad, (Commentator),<br>Al-bay'ah, sharḥ risālat al-ta'ālīm<br>li al-Imām Ḥasan al-Bannā, Cairo,<br>Dār al kitāb al-'Arabī, 1952. |
| Maḥmūd, Ahmad Filkrī, Qawḥun fasl, n.p., n.d.   |

The first of these two pamphlets discusses an essay on the ideology of the Ikhwan originally written by al-Bannā; the author tries to explain al-Bannā's views on the method of selection of the head of a state or movement (bay'ah). The second reproduces and comments on a note which Ḥasan al-Bannā wrote shortly before his assassination refuting one by one the arguments used by Nuḡrāshi Pasha's government to justify the dissolution of the Ikhwan organization.

Great numbers of pamphlets were issued officially by the Ikhwan and its sections at very frequent intervals dealing with almost every aspect of the party's activities and ideology: duties of sections and of members, refutation of hostile criticisms by the press and government etc. Some of these are addressed to the Ikhwan themselves, others to the students and others to public opinion in general. A few of these publications are listed hereunder:

- PUL Qism al-akhawāt al-Muslimāt, Al-risālah al-ūlā, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-‘Arabī, n.d.
- X Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Al-minhaj al-dirāsī al-Islāmī li Ikhwān al-usar, risālah No.1, 9,11 and 14, Cairo, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-minhaj al-dirāsī al-Islāmī li madrasat al-jum‘ah, risālah No.1, Cairo, Maṭba‘at dār al-jihād, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Min ādāb al-usrah wa al-katībah, Cairo, al-Maṭba‘ah al-‘alamīyah, 1954.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Nahwa jīl Muslim, Cairo, al-Maṭba‘ah al-‘alamīyah, 1954.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-risālah al-ūlā: 1-wajībāt al-ukht al-Muslimah, 2-mihāj al-tarbiyah al-rūḥānīyah, 3- al-lā‘īhah al-‘ammah, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-‘Arabī bi Miṣr, 1951.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Risālat al-anāshīd, Cairo, Maṭba‘at dār al-jihād, 1373 A.H./1953 A.D.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-lā‘īhah al-‘ammah li al-na-shaṭ al-rīyādī, Cairo, Maṭba‘at Madkur, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Qānūn al-nizām al-asāsī li hay‘at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn al-‘ammah, Cairo, al-Maṭba‘ah al-salafīyah, 1953.



- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-lā'ihah al-dākhiliyah al-  
'ammah li al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn,  
Cairo, al-Maṭba'ah al-salafiyyah, 1951.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-lā'ihah al-dākhiliyah li qism  
al-ittiṣāl bi al-markaz al-'ām  
li al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, Cairo,  
Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Nizām al-usar, nash'atuhu wa  
ahdāfuh, risālah No.1, Cairo, 1952.
- X Shaltūt, Sayyid Ḥasan, Musābaqat ikhtirāq al-dāhiyah,  
n.p., n.d.
- X al-Khulī, al-Bahī, Al-mar'ah bayna al-bayt wa al-  
mujtama', Cairo, 1953.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Hādhihi da'watunā, Maṭba'at jarīdat  
al-Ṣabāh, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Ilā al-Ikhwān No 6,7,8, and 9, n.p., n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Muslimūn bayna al-tabshīr wa  
al-isti'mār, Cairo, Dār al-ṭibā'ah  
al-Miṣriyyah, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Hattā ya'lama al-Ikhwān... al-qawl  
al-faṣl, Cairo, Maṭba'at jarīdat  
al-Ṣabāh, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-tashrī' al-Islāmī, silsilat  
hādhihi da'watuk, n.p., n.d.

- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-'ibadah jawharuha wa āfāquha,  
silsilat hādhihi da'watuk, n.p., n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-mujtama' al-Islāmī, silsilat  
hādhihi da'watuk, n.p., n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-aqalliyāt fī al-mujtama'  
al-Islāmī, dirāsah No.3, Cairo,  
Maṭba'at Fu'ad Hilmi, n.d.
- X Dār al-Fikr al-Islāmī, Qadāya al-Ikhwān, qadīyat, sayyārat  
al-jeeb, aqwāl kibār al-shuhād wa  
hawādith al-ta'dhīb, Cairo, Maṭba'at  
Aḥmad Mukhaymir, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Qadāya al-Ikhwān, qadīyat sayyārat  
al-jeeb, al-haythiyāt wa nass  
al-hukm, Cairo, Maṭba'at Aḥmad  
Mukhaymir, n.d.

Unofficial writings by members and sympathizers with the Ikhwān often give valuable pictures of the general attitude and serve to clarify and develop the official viewpoint, though minor differences can be detected here and there. Particular interest is attached to the books of Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh al-Samman and Sayyid Quṭb, all of whom were important members of the organization.

- X al-Ghazālī, Muḥammad, Al-Islām wa al-istibdād al-siyāsī,  
Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Al-ta'aṣṣub wa al-tasāmuh bayna  
al-Masīhiyah wa al-Islām, Cairo,  
Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.

- X \_\_\_\_\_, 'Aqīdat al-Muslim, 2nd ed., Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1952.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Islām wa al-awḍā' al-iqtisādīyah, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1952.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Min hunā na'lam, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1952.

Al-Ghazālī, an 'ālim from al-Azhar tries in all his books to prove the suitability of Islam as a foundation for a modern state. He sets out to explain what would be the political, economic, social and religious policies of an Islamic state, emphasizing Islam's opposition to political despotism, its socialist tendency and its religious tolerance. His book, Min hunā na'lam was written in answer to Khālīd Muḥammad Khālīd's book, Min hunā nabda'<sup>1</sup>. Both have been translated into English from the Arabic originals by Isma'īl R. el-Fārūqī, Washington, American Council of Learned Societies.

Sayyid Quṭb wrote one book which deserves special attention, namely:

- X Quṭb, Sayyid, Al-'adālah al-ijtimā'īyah fī al-Islām, Cairo, Maktabat, Miṣr, n.d.

This deserves special attention as representing the viewpoint of a learned member of the Ikhwān towards Islām and towards the West, particularly western education. The book has been criticized as being one-sided but this ~~does not~~ detracts but little from its importance. It has also been translated from the Arabic by John B. Hardie under the title of Social Justice in Islām (IIS), Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, 1953. The English version is, unfortunately, by no means satisfactory. George Makdisi detected more than twenty errors of translation--- some of which are quite significant.<sup>2</sup>

1

see below p. 125, 126.

2

See Makdisi, g., "Social Justice in Islam..." Middle East Journal, Vol.VIII, 1954, pp.226-27.

Al-Samman is among the more prolific of the Ikhwan; his most important works are:-

- X Al-Samman, Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, Al-Islām al-muṣaffā, Cairo, Maktabat Wahbah, n.d.
- PUL \_\_\_\_\_, Rasā'il al-fikrah al-Islāmiyah, Part I, al-tarbiyah fī al-Qur'ān, Part II, al-rasūl ustādh al-hayāt, Part III, al-ma'ānī al-hayyah fī al-Islām, Part IV, usus al-ḥukm fī al-Islām, Part V, arkan al-da'wah al-Islāmiyah, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1372 A.H./ 1953 A.D.

The works of the following writers are inspired by Ikhwan teachings and are of some interest:-

- X 'Allābah Pasha, Muhammad 'Alī, Al-Islām wa al-dīmuqrāṭīyah, Cairo, Maṭba'at Aḥmad Mukhaymir, 1950.
- X al-Alwā'ī, Muḥyi al-Dīn, Al-Islām wa taṭawwurāt al-'ālam, Cairo, Maṭba'at dār al-ta'līf, 1951.
- NYP al-Sharabāsī, Aḥmad, Mudhakkarat wa'idh asīr, Cairo, Maṭba'at dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1952.
- PUL al-Bannā, 'Abd al-Bāsīt, Tāj al-Islām wa malḥamat al-imām..., Cairo, n.d.
- X Ramaḍān, Sa'id, Fī ufuq al-'ālam al-Islāmī, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.

III

al-Sharīf, Kāmil Ismā'īl, Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī ḥarb  
Filistīn, Cairo, Maṭba'at Wah-  
bah, n.d.

As already mentioned the Ikhwān did not limit their activities to Egypt but tried to expand further afield; but although they were able to win many sympathizers in other Muslim countries, Syria was the only country in which was established an organization bearing their name, and even there the movement's influence on political life has not been as marked as in Egypt. The leader in Syria is Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, a young man holding a doctorate in law from France with great gifts as an orator. The following are publications by Sibā'ī which were accessible to the writer:-

- |   |                     |  |
|---|---------------------|--|
| X | al-Sibā'ī, Muṣṭafā, | <u>Nizām al-silm wa al-ḥarb fī</u><br><u>al-Islām</u> , from <u>Hādha huwa al-Islām</u><br>series, Bayrūt, Dār al-kashshāf, n.d. |
| X | _____               | <u>Al-dīn wa al-dawlah fī al-Islām</u> ,<br>series, Damascus, al-Maṭba'ah al-<br>hashimīyah, n.d.                                |
| X | _____               | <u>Ḥaylat al-isrā' wa al-mi'rāj</u> , from<br><u>Aḥādīth al-da'wah</u> series, Damascus,<br>1954.                                |
| X | _____               | <u>Ḥaylat al-nisf min Sha'bān</u> , from<br><u>Aḥādīth al-da'wah</u> series, Damascus,<br>1954.                                  |

Two articles in the Muslim World have discussed al-Sibā'ī's opinions on the Islamic state, namely:-

- |    |                     |  |
|----|---------------------|--|
| DH | Winder, R.B.,       | "The establishment of Islām as<br>the state religion in Syria",<br><u>Muslim World</u> , Vol.XLIV, 1954, pp. 217-26.       |
| DH | Sfeir(Sufayr),G.N., | "Islam as the state religion, a<br>secularist point of view in Syria",<br><u>Muslim World</u> , Vol. XLV, 1955, pp.242-49. |

Winder's article reproduces al-Siba'i's arguments in favour of an Islamic state in Syria, while Sfeir, in a carefully thought-out article, analyses Shaykh al-Siba'i's reasons for adopting this attitude and claims that he did so for the purpose of dispelling the fears of the Christian minorities.

The Ikhwan in Egypt have shown special interest in the views of Islamic revivalists outside Egypt, especially in Pakistan. Translations into Arabic have been published under the auspices either of the Ikhwan organization itself or of an affiliated body called the hajnāt al-Shabāb al-Muslimīn. Of these the following deserve mention:-

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| X | al-Mawdūdī, Abu al-'Alā', <u>Mu'dilāt al-iqtisād wa hallihā fī</u><br><u>al-Islām</u> , Cairo, Maktabat Naj-<br>nat al-Shabāb al-Muslim, n.d. |
| X | _____, <u>Nazarīyat al-Islām al-siyāsīyah</u> ,<br>Cairo, Maṭba'at dār al-Kitāb al-<br>'Arabī, n.d.   |
| X | _____, <u>Al-Islām wa al-jāhiliyah</u> , Cairo,<br>al-Maṭba'ah al-salafiyyah, n.d.  |

- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-dīn al-qayyim, Cairo, Maṭba'at  
dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Naḥwa al-dustūr al-Islāmī, Cairo  
al-Maṭba'ah al-salafīyah, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Minḥaj al-ingilāb al-Islāmī, Cairo,  
al-kitāb  
Maṭba'ah dār al-'Arabī, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh, Cairo,  
al-Maṭba'ah al-salafīyah, n.d.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Al-mas'alah al-Qādiyānīyah, Cairo,  
Maṭba'ah jarīdat al-Ṣabāh, 1953.
- X al-Nadawī, al-Sayyid Abu al-Ḥasan, Urīdu an atahaddath ilā  
al-Ikhwān...al-Islam wa al-ḥukm,  
2nd ed., Cairo, Maṭabī' Fu'ād, 1372 A.H./  
1952 A.D.
- X \_\_\_\_\_, Sha'ir al-Islām al-duktūr Muḥammad  
Iqbāl, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī,  
1951.
- X al-Nadawī, al-Sayyid Sulaymān, Al-risālah al-Muḥammadīyah,  
wa hiya thamānī muḥādarāt fī al-sīrah  
al-nabawīyah wa risālat al-Islām,  
Cairo, al-Maṭba'ah al-salafīyah,  
1372 A.H./ 1952 A.D.
- X al-Nadawī, Mas'ūd, Nazrah ijmālīyah fī tarīkh al-da'wah  
al-Islāmīyah fī al-Hind wa al-Pākistān,  
Cairo, Maktabat Majnat al-Shabāb  
al-Muslim, n.d.

Literature hostile to the Ikhwan has been very scanty and did not appear till the 1950's:-

- |   |                        |   |
|---|------------------------|---|
| X | (anonymous),           | <u>Maḥkamat al-sha'b</u> , Vols.I--, n.p., 1954.  |
| X | _____                  | <u>Maḥkamat al-sha'b, muḥakamat al-Hudaybī wa a'dā' maktab al-irshād</u> , 2 vols., Cairo, Sharikat al-Nīl li al-ṭibā'ah wa al-tawzī', n.d. |
| X | _____                  | <u>Al-Ikhwan wa al-irhāb</u> , n.p., n.d.   |
| X | Aḥmad, Muḥammad Ḥasan, | <u>Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimān fī al-mīzan</u> , Cairo, Maṭba'at al-ikhā', n.d.   |

Maḥkamat al-sha'b, muḥakamat al-Hudaybī... is an account of the history and activities of the Ikhwan, written to maintain that their dissolution was a wise and necessary measure, and to support the government's action in imprisoning al-Hudaybī who became leader of the movement after the death of al-Banna'.

Maḥkamat al-sha'b is to consist of five volumes of which the first appeared in 1954. It gives the account of the trials that have been going on since 1954 of the more active members of the Ikhwan.

Al-Ikhwan wa al-irhāb, a pamphlet, also maintains that the Ikhwan constituted a threat to law and order in Egypt.

Muḥammad Ḥasan Aḥmad analyzes the Ikhwan movement and attempts to prove that their organization and aims were "fascistic". This thesis has been disproved by impartial writers such as Ishaq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī in his Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimān.



The Muslim Brotherhood  
(Supplement)

- 'Awdah, 'Abd al-Qādir, Al-Islām bayna jahli abnā'ih wa  
'ajz 'ulamā'ih, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb  
al-'Arabī, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Al-māl wa al-ḥukm fī al-Islām,  
Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī, 1951.
- al-Dardīrī, Yahya Aḥmad, Arkan al-Islām al-khamsah wa atharuhā  
fī ḥayāt al-afrād wa al-jamā'  
'āt, Cairo, al-Matba'ah al-salafīyah,  
1950.
- al-Khawlī, al-Bahī, Tadhkirat al-du'āt ilā Allāh,  
2nd ed., Cairo, Dār al-kitāb al-'Arabī,  
19(?).
- al-Sa'idī, 'Abd al-Mut'āl, Tarīkh al-jamā'ah al-ūlā li al-  
shubbān al-Muslimīn bi-ri'āsat al-  
Bannā, Tanṭā, n.d.
- al-Samman, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, Da'wah ilā al-jihād fī sabīl  
nashr al-Islām, Cairo, Dār al-kitāb  
al-'Arabī, 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Al-Islām wajhan li wajh, Cairo ,  
Maktabat Wahbah, 1951.

## Chapter VII

### The Modernists

If the Nineteenth century was the era of nationalism in Europe, the Twentieth has been that of modern Arab nationalism. It would seem superfluous to argue with those who claim that Arab nationalism dates back to Ibrāhīm Pasha's conquest of Syria in 1831 or to even earlier dates, because the term "Nationalism", with the connotation and implications which it acquired during and after the French Revolution of 1789, cannot be applied to any trend which appeared in the Ottoman Empire during the Nineteenth century. All that can be admitted is that the social and political movements which appeared in the Ottoman empire, especially in the latter part of the Nineteenth century, prepared the way for the development of the nationalism known today.

Especially noteworthy is the important contribution to the development of Arab nationalism made by the Islamic reform movement started by Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and followed up by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh. Islām is one of the essential pillars upon which Arab nationalism rests, and this fact has been recognized by realistic Arab nationalists (including Christian Arab nationalists), who are in general agreement that Arab nationalism, although an essentially secular movement, cannot afford to overlook the importance of Islām for the Arabs both as a culture and as a religion.

The first stirrings of Arab nationalism were voiced by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849-1903)<sup>1</sup> when he challenged the right of the Ottomans to the Caliphate and insisted that the Caliph should be an Arab.

---

<sup>1</sup>

The two most important books of al-Kawākibī are: Umm al-Qurā, published in 1898 and, Tabā'i' al-istibdād.

Later Najīb 'Āzūrī<sup>1</sup> "called for an Arab Catholic Church in order to nationalize the life of the Christians. 'Āzūrī also wanted a unified Arab State composed of the lands which later came to be known as Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, as well as an independent Hijāz as a center of an Arab Caliphate."<sup>2</sup> It was with these aims in mind that he established a political organization in Paris in 1904 known as the Ligue de la patrie Arabe.

In the first decade of the Twentieth century, there arose a number of political organizations, some of them secret, whose professed aims ranged from decentralization to complete independence for the Arab territories of the Ottoman Empire. The most outstanding of these parties were, Hizb al-'Ahd, Hizb al-'Arabīyah al-Fatāt, Hizb al-Ikhā' al-'Arabī al-'Uthmānī and Hizb al-Lamarkaziyyah al-'Uthmānī; the first two were secret and demanded full independence.

With the success of the 1908 coup d'état at Istambul and the seizure of power by the Committee of Union and Progress, Arab-Turkish relations entered a new phase. The Arabs saw in the Young Turk movement a sign of progress, the overthrow of absolutism and the establishment of constitutionalism-- a régime under which they hoped to see realized their political aspirations for decentralization and internal autonomy.

The C.U.P., however advocated a centralized administration for the Empire, and in 1911 embarked on a Turkification policy which gave force to the demands of the more extreme Arab separatists. Some of these demands found expression at the First Arab Conference held in Paris

---

<sup>1</sup>  
The most important work of Najīb 'Āzūrī is in French entitled, Le réveil de la nation Arabe, Paris, 1905.

<sup>2</sup>  
Ziadeh, N.A., "Recent Arabic literature on Arabism", Middle East Journal, Vol.VI, 1952, p.468.

June 18-23, 1913. From that date on Arab nationalism has been acquiring further impetus and is now an essential element in Arab public opinion. The creation of a number of small states within the Arab world, while stimulating the development of local nationalisms which the former mandatory powers also encouraged, helped, at the same time, to convince many Arabs of the need for Arab unity.

Two excellent articles have appeared in the Middle East Journal on the general subject of modern Arabic literature on Arab nationalism and the modern interpretation of Islām:

Ziadeh(Ziyādah), N.A., "Recent books on the interpretation of Islām", Middle East Journal, Vol. V, 1951, pp.505-10.

\_\_\_\_\_, "Recent Arabic literature on Arabism", Middle East Journal, Vol. VI, 1952, pp.468-72.

The main sources in Western languages dealing with the rise and development of Arab nationalism are:

- |     |                                |  |
|-----|--------------------------------|--|
| IIS | Jung, E.,                      | <u>Les puissances devant la révolte Arabe</u> , Paris, Hachette, 1906.                               |
| IIS | Hurgronje, C. Snouck,          | <u>The revolt in Arabia</u> , New York, Putman's, 1917.  |
| IIS | Khairallah(Khayr Allāh), K.T., | <u>Le problème du Levant, les régions Arabes libérées, Syrie, Iraq, Liban</u> , Paris, Leroux, 1919. |
| NYP | Kohn, H.,                      | <u>A history of nationalism in the East</u> , London, 1929.  |

- IIS                      Jovelet, L.,                      "L'évolution sociale et politique des pays Arabes-1930-1933", Revue des Etudes Islamiques, Book IV, Vol. VII, 1933, pp.425-644 but especially pp.464-504.
- IIS                      Antonius, G.,                      The Arab awakening, the story of the Arab national movement, London, Hamilton, 1938.
- IIS                      Rossi, E.,                      Documenti sull'origine e gli sviluppi della questione Araba (1875-1944), Rome, Istituto per l'Orient, 1944.
- IIS                      Lugol, J.,                      Le Panarabisme, Cairo, Scribe Egyptien, 1946.
- IIS                      Keller, P.,                      La question Arabe, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1948.
- IIS                      Laissy, M.,                      Du Panarabisme à la Ligue Arabe, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1948.

Jung discusses the rise of Arab nationalism and the important role that it will play in shaping the future of the Arab world. He also draws the attention of the western powers to the importance of this nationalist movement and urges France to develop a friendly attitude towards it. Writing in 1906 when the Arab nationalist movement was just beginning, Jung's analysis is authoritative and his judgement sound. His book is divided into three main divisions dealing with the political and economic situation in the Arab world, and <sup>is</sup> devoted the last section to a discussion of the attitude of the Western powers towards the Arab nationalist movement.

Hurgronje sets out to give an analysis of the situation that led the Sharīf of Makkah, Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, to revolt in 1916 against Turkish overlordship. The information included is valuable and shows the attitude of the Sharīf towards Arab nationalism and the Caliphate. Hurgronje tries to prove that it was only during the war that the Sharīf developed the ambition of becoming a Caliph. This, he supports by <sup>the</sup> Sharīf's proclamation of 1916, which is reproduced in English at the end of the book.

Khayr Allāh's book also discusses <sup>the</sup> beginnings of the Arab nationalist movement and its development until 1919. As a historical survey the book is excellent. The purpose of the book, however, is, a vindication of Arab nationalism written at a time when the future of a large part of the Arab world was under discussion at the League of Nations.

Kohn's book is an informative survey of the Arab world in modern times and shows good understanding of Arab nationalism.

Jovelet's article in the Revue des études... contains a good history of the Arab nationalist movement until 1933 and its relation with other movements in the Arab world, and deals thoroughly with the motives and problems of Arab nationalism.

In the <sup>forward</sup> ~~forward~~ to his book, George Antonius says that it "aims at giving, not the final or even a detailed history of the Arab Movement, but an account in outline of its origins, its development and the main problems it has had to face, in the form of a continuous narrative interspersed with such analysis as seemed necessary to elucidate the problems."<sup>1</sup> When it first appeared, it was the only book giving ~~the~~ a

---

<sup>1</sup>

Antonius, op. cit., p.IX.

fullest account of Arab nationalism from its first stirrings until 1938, and it remains an indispensable source of information on the subject. Later historians, however, have criticized Antonius for stressing some aspect of the Arab nationalist movement more than others, and for overlooking certain facts. The conclusions reached by Antonius must therefore be considered critically in the light of later research.

One of the best recent accounts on the history of Arab nationalism is that of Ettore Rossi, who shows excellent judgement and gives a very lucid analysis.

Lugol, who is chief editor of the Cairo newspaper Bourse Egyptienne, gives an account of pan-Islamism rather than of pan-Arabism, and follows it by a good survey of the present situation in the Arab world with special reference to the obstacles standing in the way of unity.

Keller and Laissy, both writing in 1948, after the formation of the Arab League, try to analyze the Arab nationalist movement, drawing their information from its general history and particularly from the developments in the period after the Second World War. The new problems with which Arab nationalism is faced are also mentioned and discussed.

Since the First World War and more especially since the Second World War, literature on Arab nationalism has flowed forth in increasing volume. In the following section mention will be made of the more important works of this period and especially of those which deal with all aspects of Arab nationalism, including the important role of Islām as one of its chief factors.

- X                      Zurayq, Qusṭanṭīn,                      Al-wa'y al-qawmī, Bayrūt, 1938.
- X                      Ziadeh(Ziyādah), Nicola A., Al-qawmīyah wa al-'urūbah,  
Jerusalem, 1943; 2nd revised edition  
appeared under the title, Al-'urūbah  
fī mayzān al-qawmīyah, Bayrūt, 1950.
- X                      Farrūkh, 'Umar,                      Nahwa al-ta'āwun al-'Arabī, Bayrūt,  
1946.
- X                      Fāris, Nabīh Amīn,                      Al-'Arab al-ahya', Bayrūt, 1947.
- X                      \_\_\_\_\_,                      Hādha al-'ālam al-'Arabī, Bayrūt, 1953.
- X                      al-Ḥusarī, Sāti',                      Abādīth wa 'arā' fī al-qawmīyah  
al-'Arabīyah, Cairo, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_,                      Muhādarāt fī mushū' al-fikrah  
al-qawmīyah, Cairo, 1952.
- X                      \_\_\_\_\_,                      Al-'urūbah bayna du 'ātiha wa mu-  
'aridīha, Bayrūt, 1952.
- X                      al-Ḥusaynī, Ishāq Mūsā,                      Azmat al-fikr al-'Arabī, Bayrūt, 1953.

Zurayq was among the first to make a deep study of Arab nationalism and to observe its relation to Islām. Himself a convinced Arab nationalist, he states that "nationalism... is a spiritual movement which aims at the resurrection of the inner forces of the nation and the realization of its intellectual and psychological potentialities... It must, of course, meet with religion and take from it force and life....What nationalism opposes is fanaticism and sectarianism."(pp. 112-13).<sup>1</sup> Ziadeh supports this

<sup>1</sup>

Quoted from Ziadeh, "Recent Arabic literature..."op. cit., p.470.



opinion in his book al-'Urūbah... . Zurayq, Ziadeh and Fāris (who are Christian Arabs) and al-Ḥusaynī and al-Ḥuṣarī (who are Muslims) all advocate a complete separation between state and religion in constitutional, administrative and religious affairs; and at the same time they all agree that Islām is an essential factor in Arab nationalism and that there is nothing in that religion which is opposed to it.

Al-Ḥuṣarī's books devote large sections to the relationship of Islām to nationalism and to the philosophy of pan-Islamism. On this latter issue he holds that such schemes for the political unity of the Islamic world must be abandoned as impracticable. He also believes that a revival of the Caliphate would be harmful.

Farrūkh, on the other hand, is a pan-Islamist, and he supports Arab unity but not Arab nationalism. He holds that the unity of the Arab world must be achieved as a first step towards a larger Islamic unity.

Shorter studies of the same subject of Islam and nationalism in the Arab world include:

- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| IIS | Hartmann, R. and Scheel, H., (eds), <u>Beiträge zur Arabistik, Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft,</u><br>Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1944,<br>pp. 425-513. |
| IIS | Gibb, H.A.R., <u>Whither Islam? a survey of modern movements in the moslem world,</u><br>London, Gollancz, 1932, pp. 101-170,<br>315-379.            |
| RL: | _____,<br>"Social change in the Near East",<br>and, "The future of Arab unity",  |

- The Near East, problems and prospects,  
edited by Philip W. Ireland, Chicago,  
University of Chicago press, 1952.
- IIS Hartmann, R., Islam und nasionalismus, Berlin,  
Deutsche Akademie der Wissen-  
schaft, 1948.
- IIS Mādī, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, Al-nahḍat al-ḥadīthah fī  
jazīrat al-'Arab, Vol.I, Cairo,  
Dār ihyā' al-kutub al-'Arabīyah,  
1951, pp.1-26.
- X al-Bazzāz, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Al-qawmīyah al-'Arabīyah wa  
al-Islām, Baghdād, 1952, translated  
into English, "Islam and Arab  
nationalism", Welt des Islam,  
new series, Vol.III, pp.202-218.
- X [no editor], Mustaqbal al-'ālam al-'Arabī,  
Bayrūt, Dār al-kitāb, 1952.

Al-Bazzāz's work is a most illuminating analysis. The author represents the views of the realistic Arab nationalists who do not belittle the importance of Islām as a factor in their nationalism. He points out that there is no conflict between Islam and Arab nationalism and that "a religious belief must by nature reinforce a national feeling."<sup>1</sup>

Mādī points out the important role that religion has played in the Arab renaissance and asserts that the nature of nationalism in the East differs widely from its Western counterpart.

---

<sup>1</sup>

ibid, p.472.

Mustaqbal al-'ālam al-'Arabī is a collection of lectures delivered at the Second Arabic Studies Conference at the American University of Beirut in April 1952. The most interesting lecture is that of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūrī who forecast that the Arab and Islamic trends which are now noticeable will merge at some future date and that the influence of the West will always be felt.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Gibb's two lectures reproduced in "The Near East Problems and Prospects," show the depth and understanding characteristic of all his writings. He analyses the social and political problems of the Arab world and predicts that Arab nationalism will play a great role in shaping the future of that area. He draws a distinction between the Arab nationalist and the pan-Arab viewpoints and contrasts the constructive nature of the former with the destructive nature of the latter.

The book edited by Hartmann and Scheel devotes the last section to three essays on Islam and nationalism in the Arab world. The information included in these essays has often been quoted, and <sup>they</sup> are necessary reading on this subject.

Whither Islām?... is a collection of essays by eminent orientalists dealing with the movements in the Muslim world. The relevant essays ~~to are~~ by G. Kampffmeyer and H.A.R. Gibb ~~this chapter are:~~ G. Kampffmeyer ~~who~~ discusses the modern developments in "Egypt and Western Asia". He describes the different trends in Islam in the Arab world and makes a deep and thorough analysis of the Muslim reform movement pointing out its main objectives and the obstacles that stand in the way of their achievement. Professor Gibb's essay deals with

---

1

For a review of the lectures that were delivered at that conference see the Middle East Journal, Vol.VII, 1953, pp.245-47.

Islām generally but touches on the modern movements in the Arab world and particularly in Egypt after Muḥammad 'Abduh. He brings out the dangers that may result from the westernist tendency among modern Muslims but says that "there are several factors which may intervene to prevent the Moslem world from following too closely the disastrous precedent of the Reformation in Europe." (p.374).

Hartmann's work on Islam and nationalism <sup>being</sup> ~~is~~ a very useful survey of the relation of politics and religion in Islamic history. He then discusses the modern nationalist movement in the Arab world and throws light on many aspects of the history of the movement. He, however, makes no mention of the later Arab nationalists such as Zurayq and Ḥuṣarī. Hartmann's work is also important for the good bibliographical material included in his footnotes.

Parallel with the growth of nationalism, a new movement arose in the Arab world aiming to reinterpret Islam in the light of modern political, social and cultural needs. The chief exponents of this movement were: Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, Ṭahā Ḥusayn, Khālīd Muḥammad Khālīd. For the sake of convenience 'Abd al-Rāziq and Khālīd will be discussed in the next section. Ḥusayn and Khalaf Allāh published studies of Arabic literature, the Qur'ān and Sunnah which were not acceptable to the conservative Muslims. These works were:

- |     |                               |   |
|-----|-------------------------------|---|
| X   | Ḥusayn, Ṭahā,                 | <u>Al-adab al-jahilī</u> , 2nd ed.,<br>Cairo, 1345 A.H./ 1927 A.D.  |
| IIS | Khalaf Allāh, Muḥammad Aḥmad, | <u>Al-fann al-qashaī fī al-Qur'ān</u><br><u>al-karīm</u> , 1st ed., Maktabat al-nahḍah<br>al-misriyah, 1950-1951. |

The first edition of Ṭahā Ḥusayn's book appeared under the title of Al-shi'r al-jāhili in 1926 and contained a great many sections which the conservative 'ulama' found objectionable. In the second edition, however, the text was revised by the omission of many objectionable sections and the addition of others. The gist of Ṭahā Ḥusayn's argument, in which he followed Prof. Margoliouth of Oxford, is that the Arabic poetry of the jāhiliyah (pre-Islamic) period was produced later and attributed to that earlier period for linguistic, political and social purposes. This argument, which has not been generally accepted by scholars, may seem to have no bearing on Islām whatever; but the opinion that this poetry dates from Pre-Islamic times lay at the basis of the traditional solutions of many linguistic problems which appeared in the Qur'ān and later literature, and the facts mentioned in many verses of the Qur'ān would scarcely be intelligible except in the context of the pre-Islamic life described in the poems. It was for this reason that Ṭahā Ḥusayn's book was subjected to such criticism and that the first edition was confiscated and destroyed.

Khalaf Allāh, on the other hand, studied the Qur'ān itself. He tried to prove that the stories which it contains are not, of necessity, historically accurate, their purpose<sup>is</sup> to give examples rather than to provide historical truths. This thesis was equally opposed by the conservative 'ulama', as being disrespectful to the Book and as detracting from the truths comprised in it. Khalaf Allāh first presented the results of his research on this subject to the University of Cairo as a doctoral dissertation and it appears that no widespread controversy would have arisen but for the particular circumstances under which the book

appeared. Khalaf Allāh in his introductory chapter discusses the views taken about his thesis and mentions that personal rivalries among the staff of Cairo University added much to the bitterness of the disputes which it occasioned.

Of wider consequence were the following two books by 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāziq, a highly respected 'ālim (graduate of al-Azhar) and scholar.<sup>1</sup>

- |     |                      |   |
|-----|----------------------|---|
| IIS | 'Abd al-Rāziq, 'Alī, | <u>Al-Islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm</u> , Cairo, Matba'at Miṣr, 1344 A.H./1925 A.D.       |
| IIS | _____                | <u>Al-ijmā' fī al-sharī'ah al-Islāmīyah</u> , Cairo, Dār al-fikr al-'Arabī, 1947. |

The first of these books is the more important of the two. The second does not live up to the standard expected from such a creative and independent thinker, doing no more than reproducing the traditional opinions on ijmā' (consensus of Muslim opinion) without adding any new interpretations or conclusions. Al-Islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm, on the other hand, presented a most challenging thesis, and all the more so because it appeared soon after the abolition of the Caliphate, an action which was not regarded favourably by Muslims outside Turkey. After carefully examining the basis of political power in Islām, 'Abd al-Rāziq maintained that the Caliphate is not an essential part of Islām and that its establishment or abolition is to be judged by the Muslims themselves.

A good translation into French of 'Abd al-Rāziq's work is to be found in,

---

<sup>1</sup>  
For a short biography of 'Abd al-Rāziq see Khemiri, Tāhir and Kampffmeyer, G., Leaders in contemporary Arabic Literature, a book of reference, Berlin-Dahlem, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, 1930, pp.9-10.

IIS Bercher, L. (translator), "L'Islam et les bases du pouvoir,"  
Revue des études Islamiques, Book III,  
Vol.VII, 1933, pp. 353-90 and  
Book II, Vol. VIII, 1934, pp.162-222.

In 1924 a book about the Caliphate was published by the Büyük Millet  
Meclisi in Turkey, and was translated into Arabic by 'Abd al-Ghanī Sanī Bey  
under the title of al-khilāfah wa sultat al-umamah(X), Cairo, Maṭba'at  
al-Hilāl, 1924. 'Abd al-Rāziq mentions this book among his sources.<sup>1</sup>

A number of books have been written to refute 'Abd al-Rāziq's  
thesis and defend more conservative viewpoints. None of them, however,  
suggested a new approach to the question of the Caliphate and most were  
mere denunciations of 'Abd al-Rāziq, directed to the layman rather than  
to the balanced scholar. Among such books the following are relatively  
sober:

- X Bakhit, Shaykh Muḥammad, Haqīqat al-Islām wa uṣūl  
al-ḥukm, Cairo, al-Maṭba'at  
al-salafiyyah, 1344 A.H./1926 A.D.
- X Husayn, Muḥammad al-Khudr, Naqd kitāb al-Islām wa uṣūl  
al-ḥukm, Cairo, al-Maṭba'ah  
al-salafiyyah, 19??.
- X Ibn 'Ashūr, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Tāhir, Naqd 'ilmī li-kitāb  
al-Islām wa uṣūl al-ḥukm, Cairo,  
al-Maṭba'ah al-salafiyyah, 19??.

---

<sup>1</sup>

See 'Abd al-Rāziq, Ali, al-Islām wa uṣūl al ḥukm, op.cit., p.11.

The conservative view on the book is officially expressed in the following pamphlet,

X (anonymous), Hukm hay'at al-'ulama' fi kitāb al-Islām wa uṣūl al-hukm, Cairo, 1344 A.H./1926 A.D.

This is the text of the sentence of the 'ulama'' of al-Azhar on Abd al-Rāziq's book. It has been studied and analyzed by Léon Bercher in an article which appeared in the Revue des études Islamiques(IIS), cahier I, Vol.IX, 1935, pp.75-86, under the title of "Analyse de la brochure intitulée 'Sentence des Grand Ulémas(d'Al-Azhar) sur le livre L'Islam et les bases des pouvoirs'."

'Abd al-Rāziq's views on the Caliphate are discussed in the following important works:-

- |     |               |  |
|-----|---------------|--|
| IIS | Sanhūrī, A.,  | <u>Le Califat, son evolution vers une société des nations Orientales</u> , Paris, Geuthner, 1926, especially pp.37-50. |
| IIS | De Vries, L., | <u>Een hypermodern geluid in de wereld van de Islam...</u> , Leyden, Brill, 1926, pp.38-83.                            |
| IIS | Adams, C.C.,  | <u>Islam and modernism in Egypt</u> , London, Oxford University press, 1933, pp.259-68.                                |

Sanhūrī, in a very scientific treatment, analyses Abd al-Rāziq's arguments and points out their weaknesses. He states, for example,



that 'Abd al-Rāziq confused two distinct issues, the institution of the Caliphate and the designation of the Caliph, and against 'Abd al-Rāziq's view, maintains that although a consensus of opinion (ijmā') may never have been reached on the question who was the most suitable person to become Caliph, it would be wrong to conclude that there has never been a consensus on the necessity of the institution of the Caliphate itself. This and similar points make Sanhūrī's work most worthy of attention.

De Vries makes a general survey of the modern movements in Islam and devotes a good part of his work to the views of 'Abd al-Rāziq on the Caliphate.

Adams considers 'Abd al-Rāziq as a student of Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh and gives a clear and accurate summary of his ideas.

In 1950 also a graduate of al-Azhar, Khālīd Muḥammad Khālīd, produced another important work on the still unresolved issue of the relation between state and religion in Islām. His works until the date of composition of this thesis are:-

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| IIS | Khālīd, Khālīd Muḥammad, <u>Min hunā nabda'</u> , Cairo, Khānjī and Wahbah, 1950.     |
| IIS | _____, <u>Muwātinūn lā ra'āyā</u> , 1st ed., Cairo, Maktabat Wahbah, 1951.            |
| X   | _____, <u>Al-dīmuqrāṭīyah abadan</u> , 1st ed., Cairo, Maktabat Wahbah, 1953.         |
| X   | _____, <u>Al-dīn fī khidmat al-sha'b</u> , 1st ed., Cairo, Maṭba'at al-risālah, 1953. |

By far the most important of Khālīd's books is Min hunā nabda', which best represents his views on government, religion, education, and the social and economic system in Muslim states. This book was attacked by al-Ghazālī in a book bearing the title Min hunā na'lam<sup>1</sup>. Both Khālīd's and al-Ghazālī's books have been translated by Ismā'īl R. el-Fārūqī under the respective titles of From here we start and Our beginning in wisdom (Washington, American Council of learned societies, 1953).

Khālīd believes that separation between state and religion is an absolute necessity and that the idea of a theocratic state must once and for all be dropped, not only because it has thus far proved a failure but also because it would result in the creation of an autocracy which would be detrimental to religion itself. Religion, on the other hand, must be purged of "witchcraft," and a sound understanding of the spirit of religion must be worked out by enlightened 'ulama'. Religion does not need the support of the state to reform men's hearts.

In the economic field, socialism must be the guiding principle of government for only through it, Khālīd believes, can feudalism be abolished in Egypt and a higher standard of living for all Egyptians achieved. He criticizes the accepted Islamic principle of sadaqāt (alms) on the grounds that while it may be a means for providing occasional relief, it is inadequate for a country suffering from serious economic ills.

Khālīd deals primarily with the situation in Egypt but to varying extents his analysis is applicable to most, if not all, Muslim countries.

---

1

see above p. 103.

Khālīd's book was considered insulting to Islām, especially when he demanded the abandonment of the idea of a theocratic state and the cessation of religious punishments; the authorities therefore confiscated it, but when Khālīd was later acquitted by a court of law, it was put back into circulation.

Khālīd's remaining books elaborate the views stated in Min humā nabda, but add little of importance. All of his writings, however, are distinguished by a vigorous style which lends power to his arguments.

The periodical literature dealing with the more recent movements in the Arab world has increased voluminously of late years, making the task of selection an arduous one.

A good summary of the opinions of modern writers on the subject of the Islamic state, and especially those of 'Abd al-Rāziq and Khālīd, has been written by Majīd Fakhri and published in the journal International Affairs (IIS), (Vol. XXX, 1954, pp. 450-62.) under the title, "The theocratic idea of the Islamic state in recent controversies".

The Modernists (Supplement)

- [ 'Abd al-Rāziq, 'Alī], Amālī 'Abd al-Rāziq fī 'ilm  
al-bayān wa tarīkhīh, Cairo,  
Arslān Shakīb, Limādha ta'akhkhara al-Muslimūn,  
Cataluccio, F., Storia del nazionalismo arabo,  
Darwazah, Muḥammad 'Izzat, Hawl al-harakah al-'Arabīyah,  
6 vols, Sidon, 1950.  
al-Ghamrāwī, Al-naqd al-tahlīlī,  
Jum'ah, M.L., Al-shihāb al-rāsid,  
Huseyn, Muḥammad al-Khudr, Naqd kitāb fī al-shi'r al-jāhilī,  
Khālīd, Khālīd Muḥammad, Likey lā tabriṭhū fī al-bahr,  
Cairo, 1954.  
al-Nusūlī, Anīs, 'Ushtu wa shāhadt, Bayrūt, 1951.  
al-Qusaymī, Hādhihi al-aghālīl, 1937.  
Rabbath(Rabbāt), E., Unité Syrienne et devenir Arabe,  
Paris, 1937.  
Wilson, S.G., Modern movements among Moslems,  
New York, Revell, 1916.