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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

The Issue of Methodology Adopted by Muṣ ṭ afā □ Abdel-Rāziq and its effects

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Arab and Islamic Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

by Amina Mahmoud Abdel-Ghafar Abdallah

under the supervision of Dr. Mohammad Serag

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The issue of methodology adopted by

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq and its effects

Preface

This academic thesis deals with the issue of methodology as used by Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq (1885 - 1947). It is an issue that represents the essence of his academic philosophical thought. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq is considered one of the leading religious reformists, and he was the faithful disciple of Muḥammad ‘Abdū, the second founder of this trend with Jamāl al- Dīn al-Afghanī.

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel.Rāziq added a dimension of more breadth and accuracy by expanding on the contemporary range of general thought transforming it to an academic specialist thought. ‘Abdel-Rāziq is the founder of the current academic discipline. This foundation is based primarily on his new theory about the philosophical creativity in Islamic Civilization He considered *al manhaj al uṣūli* or the methodology of *uṣūl al fiqh* a science that was always subject to classification within the religious legitimate sciences which makes it the focus of this philosophical creativity.

This new approach was very fruitful in terms of its results and consequences. Therefore his theory became very popular among his disciples and students in the academic and philosophical community. The interest in Islamic logic

methodologies became the most important hallmarks of the School of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s philosophical academia. This thesis analyzes the theory itself rather than its effects and results, because Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel- Rāziq’s students lived the theory of their teacher and lived the idea itself and did not stop at the theoretical analysis.

This research looks at the theory itself to understand it from within and to explore and analyze its primary elements examining each element separately in its respective area of origin, through its researchers and investigators, who applied this novelty and innovation. It also and questions the theory’s effectiveness and ability to find a solution to the problems and philosophical challenges of civilization, while at the same time drawing on the analytical methodology. In addition, this thesis uses the historical method to search for the motives and incentives behind this theory, as well as explore the implicit motives underlying the establishment of the theory. This is achieved by linking Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s philosophical thought to his thoughts as a pioneer among the pioneers of religious reform. It also attempts to locate his intellectual position and his reformist trend on the map of the entire Arab intellectual thought Talk, and finally to link this theory to the rest of the renaissance reformist thought.

The thesis is divided into an introduction and four chapters and a conclusion. The introduction deals with the issue of methodology in Islamic civilization and the

emergence and development of *al manhaj al uṣūlī*. The first chapter deals with Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel- Rāziq’s life and focuses on how he developed intellectually. The second chapter is devoted to the issue of methodology in modern Arab thought through the pioneer of that discipline, namely Taḥṭāwī, then through both, Jamāl al- Dīn al-Afghanī and Muḥammad ‘Abdū, the founders of the reformist movement, to which Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel- Rāziq belongs. Moreover, it deals with this issue within the secular trend, which was the anti-reformist trend. The third chapter presents the issue of methodology as dealt with by Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel- Rāziq, through linking between his public reformist thought and his specialized philosophical thought, through which he presented his theory about *al manhaj al uṣūlī*. The fourth chapter presents the extension of the influence of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel -Rāziq's thought between acceptance and rejection. It starts with the developments in *al manhaj al uṣūlī* theory of ‘Alī Samī al-Nashār, followed by Hasan Hanafī, two students of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel -Rāziq. Finally it also displays the direction of rejecting the theory by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī and ‘Atif al-‘Iraqī, followed by the conclusion showing the results of the thesis.

Introduction

The present thesis addresses the issue of methodology, as proposed by Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel- Rāziq and how he elaborated on it in his famous theory based on *Uṣūl al fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) or *al-manhaj al uṣūl i* (methods related to the principles of jurisprudence). ‘Abdel- Rāziq perceived principles of jurisprudence as being an inclusive scientific method and a representation of the real philosophical creativity in Islamic civilization.

According to the history of science and methodologies, the empirical scientific method goes back to the seventh century AD when Francis Bacon (1561—1626) proposed some principles and laws for the empirical method in his book *The New Organon* (1620). Through both Bacon's and Port Royal's logic (1622), the idea of reformist methodology had been technically defined as the way to investigate the truth behind sciences through a set of general principles and procedures that dominate the mind's thought processes and determine the procedures which the mind passes through in order to conclude a certain outcome.¹

Bacon (1561-1626) formulated the final conclusion of efforts made by many who resisted the Aristotlian formalist logic, moving towards realism and experimentation. He published his masterpiece "*The New Organon*" in 1620. The title of the book is in itself significant, as it used to name Aristotle's logic and

¹ Badawi, ‘Abdel Rahman (1977). *Manāhij al Bahth al ‘Ilmi*. Third Edition. Kuwait: Wikalat Publishers, p 5

means an instrument of thought or knowledge. Hence, naming his book as *New Organon*, Bacon introduced a new method different from Aristotle logic. Bacon's approach an inductive in the scope of this method, Bacon criticized or rather corrected the concept of knowledge prevailing at his time. "His main interest was to reform knowledge in the light of his basic opposition to the mere contemplation and theories which scorned experimentation. In his view, knowledge that led to satisfaction or complacency is nothing but a wench fit for entertainment, but not for fruitful reproduction. To him, wisdom taken from the Greeks resembles a child who can talk, but can not reproduce, as it is rich in discussions, but sterile as it can not produce outputs."² This experimental method permeated all aspects of European civilization, where thinkers worked together with scholars to establish this new methodological spirit and utilize it in all aspects of life. The French philosopher Auguste Comte (1798-1857) developed a law for three phases in the human knowledge; the theological phase, metaphysical phase and positivist phase. The first explains the phenomena of nature the reasons for the highest and the second interprets while the modern approach is positive, The first approach explains natural phenomena through reasons beyond nature; the second interprets the forces inherent in the abstract or in the identities of the various objects or organisms, while the positivist method searches for the rules

² Qansouah, Salah (1981). *Falsafat al 'Ilm*. Cairo: Dar al Thiqafa p. 135

for phenomena, rather than the root causes, which are impossible for human knowledge to grasp.³ Comte was greatly influenced by the Modern Arab thinking of his time, particularly the secular trend, as will be explained in detail in a later section. In addition, David Émile Durkheim, French philosopher, borrowed the experimental method from the natural sciences and applied it to humanities in his book "*Rules of the Sociological Methods*" where he emphasized those social facts should be dealt with in the same way as objects.⁴ Mustafā `Abdel Raziq attended lectures by Durkheim in sociology in France 1909,⁵ which were a main source of `Abdel Raziq's learning of modern methodological developments.

Methodological efforts continued in Modern Europe. Claude Bernard (1813-1878) has greatly contributed to these efforts. He was a physician and a scholar. His famous statement reflects the new spirit of the age "there can be no real philosophers except from among the scientists and philosopher who is not a scientist is unproductive and arrogant. That kind of person imagines that all the discoveries are based on ideas taught though they are due to chance. Furthermore philosophy is the result of knowledge and knowledge is not a result

³Liklirk, R. (1990). *Al Manhaj al Tajribi, Tārikhahu wa Mustaqbalahu*. Translated by Hamed Tahir. Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Publishers. P149, 150

⁴ *Al Manhaj al Tajribi*. P215

⁵ *Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel Rāziq: Safahāt min Safr al Hayāt wa Muthakarāt Musāfer wa Muthakarāt Muqim wa Athār Ukhra fī al Adab wa al Islāh*. Produced with a selection on his life's history described by his brother 'Ali 'Abdel Rāziq. Egypt: Dar al Ma'aref. P 215

of the philosophy.⁶ *Claude Bernard also said that the only way to attain knowledge is through experiments, while the mind and or mental proof are the source of all our faults and mistakes.*⁷ He defines the function and aim of experimental method as being that "the experimenter wants to reach certainty; which means that he researches through reasoning that connects the given facts or the effects to the inference of their causes) and experiments to connect the natural phenomena to the conditions of their existence, in other words to their relative or direct causes. The experimenter through using this method then reaches the law that permits him to master the phenomena. *Bernard's thought, led to the fact that the significance of methodology extended to the mid twentieth century; and was adopyed by the philosophical professor Lalande who was one of the followers of Bernard's methodology. Lalande worked for a long time in the philosophy department at the Egyptian University, so he was Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq's colleague. He taught general methodology to the same students to whom Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq first announced his new theory in al-manhaj al-uṣūl (methodology based on the principles of jurisprudence). Lalande's great impact was on `Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī; one of Mustafā `Abdel- Raziq's students, which will be elaborated in chapter three. affirmed by Francis Bacon before, and was absorbed into the revived European civilization. Empirical methodology aims at*

⁶ *Al Manhaj al Tajribi. p 156*

⁷ *Al Manhaj al Tajribi .p 156*

predicting phenomena to control them; if this happens man can then control the world around him.

The main idea of Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq's theory in his *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* is that this methodology represents a scientific one that provides a series of scientific research methods that can be applied to different sciences in Islamic civilization.

Therefore, the approach in this thesis, is to look at Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq's basic theory which necessitates approaching the issue of methodology in Islamic civilization and how *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) address them, as a science which was attributed to the fundamentalist approach *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*.

The correct way to deal with the methodology issue in the Islamic civilization, must begin with mentioning the most important issue, namely that without Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq's thought, his instruction and the efforts of his students, especially Alī Samī al-Nashār, we could not study the existence of a methodological thought of the Islamic civilization, as Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq and his students made their greatest achievement in this field as will be demonstrated. Methodology issue is an essential issue in the Islamic civilization; it is no exaggeration to say that the prosperity of the Islamic civilization and its sciences are based on the different methodologies and their severe conflicts between the methodologies using philosophical or rational approaches, those using legal imitation, mystic taste, theological debate, and esoteric Gnosis (the

spiritual knowledge of a saint or mystically enlightened human being). This conflict endowed this great civilization with methodological features of productivity and exchange with other methodologies in the best cases, or helped to fraction it into sectarianism, intolerance, accusing people of heresy or attributing heresy to different methodologies in the worst of cases. This methodological conflict reached its climax between two poles; the Greek methodology represented in Aristotelian logic and the Islamic methodology represented in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* (principles of jurisprudence methodology) battling over the control of the branches of scientific research in various fields of science. On the other hand, there were also other methodologies like Sufism, Gnosis, receiving guidelines from infallible imams; however, these methodologies are irrational ones and have found their niche in the special communities. Thus, they did not have a great impact in the scientific communities, and many religious scholars confronted these methodologies as they were considered deviations of creed.

As for the Islamic methodology in research, it grew out of legislation. It is a well-known fact that was demonstrated by Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq and he made it into the corner stone of his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. The methodology of scientific research in the Islamic civilization emerged from *Ijtihad* (independent reasoning) of legislators and jurists. *Ijtihad* as a word is on the same meter of "*Ifta'al*" and

comes from *"juhd"* which means an effort or something that tires the person, in other words it means making an effort to achieve the target; according to jurists, *"Ijtihad"* means that a jurist does his maximum effort until he feels that he cannot do any more effort, and then he could have arrived at a valid ruling.⁸ According to *uṣūlī* scholars (scholars of the principles of jurisprudence), it means: a jurist's effort in deducing pragmatic rulings from detailed evidences.⁹ It is clear that *"Ijtihad"* should include a specific methodology, as it is necessary when talking about *"IjtihadIjtihad"* to talk about *manhaj* (methodology). *Al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* emerged and developed according to these phases:

1-Manhaj during the time of the Prophet and Saḥāba:

The seeds or the beginnings of this methodology were existent since the time of Prophet Muḥammad and his companions. There is a debate among the scholars about Prophet Muḥammad's *Ijtihad*; some, like Ibn Khaldūn, refused this idea with the pretext that the Prophet Muḥammad was just a messenger and was not in charge of doing any *Ijtihad* or using his opinion,¹⁰ others thought that the Prophet Muḥammad used *Ijtihad* and decided on some things that were not mentioned in the divine revelations. Most of the scholars who adopted this reasoning were contemporary researchers; amongst them is Ad-Dahlāwī,

⁸ Abu-al-Baqaa. *Al-kolyat*. P 25

⁹ Abu Zahra, Mohammed *Tārīkh al-madhāhib aal-Islāmīyah al- -Juz 2. Fī tārikh al-madhāhib al-fīqhīyah: Dār al-Fikr al-.Arabī*. p 101

¹⁰ Ibn Khaldoun (1986 / 1406 H.). *Muqaddamat Ibn Khaldoun*. Beirut: Dar al Qala. P 452, 453

whothought that the Prophet's Muḥammad *Ijtihad* is at par with the divine revelation, arguing that God protected the Prophet's Muḥammad opinion from being built on fault.¹¹ Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq allocated a big part of his theory to Prophet Muḥammad's *Ijtihad*. By doing so, he established a solid base for his theory in *al-manhaj al uṣūlī*, and cultivated these based on the history of Islam itself. Prophet Muḥammad's *Ijtihad* was based on causality, which means that he permitted the valid ruling due to specific 'illa (cause) that required this ruling. Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq's theory will be discussed in detail in a later section. The *ṣaḥāba* also exerted much effort in *Ijtihad* during the Prophet's era and with his encouragement. After the Prophet's death they increased their *Ijtihad* due to discontinuation of divine revelation and the appearance of some new needs that required legal rulings. Their *Ijtihad* was also based on the 'illa (cause), and they were following the guidance of Prophet Muḥammad then. There is no debate among researchers about the *ṣaḥāba*'s *Ijtihad*, which is contrary to the debate regarding Prophet Muḥammad's *Ijtihad*. There is an agreement that the *ṣaḥāba* gave rulings based on causes using *qiyās* (analogical reasoning) based on similar and equivalent circumstances to arrive at a valid ruling. They also realized that rulings were to be differentiated according to causes.¹² One of the *ṣaḥāba* who was famous for using *Ijtihad* based on *qiyās* is 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and

¹¹Al Dahlawi, Shah Wali Allah (1355 H.). *Hujjat Allah al Bāligha (Volume 1)*. Cairo: Dar al Turath. P 128,129

¹²Musa, Mohammed Youssef. 1958). *Tārikh al Fiqh al Islāmi: Da`wa Qawiya li Tajdidahu bil al Ruju' li Masādirihī al Ula*. Latest Edition. Dar al Kutub al Haditha. P 54, p 126

‘Abd Allāh ibn Mas‘ūd to whom most scholars attributed Iraqī's Fiqh that was based on opinion and *qiyās*. ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb also used *qiyās* in his capacity as the Muslims' Caliph as formulating rules and regulations was one of his duties.

2-The era after al- Saḥāba:

With the expansion and development of the Islamic state, the reality began to change and new problems arose that needed defining valid rulings. Muslims decided to face and solve these problems by two means: collecting the *Sunna* (Prophetic practice) and writing it down to assist them in answer practical questions, and expanding in *al-qiyās al-fiqhī* to reach pragmatic rulings in matters that were not covered in the scripture. These two aspects resulted in the emergence of two schools of *fiqh* in the early time which were the *ḥadīth* school established in Medina by Maḥmūd ibn Anās (died 179 AH), whose main pillar of judicial research then was extracting the valid ruling from the Qur'an and *Sunna*, and the *ra'y* (*opinion*) school established in Iraq by Abū Hanīfā (died 150 AH), whose methodology was based upon adding the new realities to the already existed valid rules in the Qur'an and *Sunna* by using *qiyās* and causes. Ibrāhīm al-Nakhī said about their methods "all what we said was not memorized, but we heard one thing and deduced one hundred things from it"¹³.

13 Serag, Mohamed Ahmed(1990). *Natharāt ‘Amma fi Tarikh al Fiqh al Islāmi: Tatawaruhu, Ta'theerahu fi al Qawānin al Gharbiya, Qissa Tatbiqiya*. Dar al Thiqafa Publishers. P70

3-Al-Shāfiī and methodology formulation:

Al-Shāfiī lived from 150 to 204 AH. He geniously formulated the principles of jurisdiction as a genuine scientific methodology that has its own rules. He developed the science of *uṣūl alfiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) to a complete science. Thus, we can say that the phase before al-Shāfiī was just the precursors and underlying trends and practical applied directions that deduced the pragmatic *fiqhī* methodologies and results, while the phase after al-Shāfiī was the emergence of a clear science of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (science of jurisprudence) that has clearly defined specific rules and laws. At al-Shāfiī's time, the two major mature *fiqhī* methodologies were the Hanafī School and Malikī School. Al-Shāfiī became familiar with the Maliki school first due to being a student of its founder Mālīk ibn Anas¹⁴ in Medina for nine years. After that, *al-Shāfiī* was exposed to the Hanafi School in Iraq, and participated in scientific debates with supporters of this school, while he supported his mentor Mālīk and the Sunnah, to the extent that his surname became "supporter of Sunnah". Al-Shāfiī discovered that it is necessary for the Muslim *fiqhī* mind to get away from the minute *fiqhī* details towards a general complete image. He realized that there is pressing necessity to overcome the *fiqhī* disputes to establish organized comprehensive rules for

¹⁴ Abu Zahra, Mohammed (1948). *Al Shāfi'i: Hayātuhu WA 'Asruhu, Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu* Second Edition. Cairo: Dar al Fikr al 'Arabi. P 20

fiqhī research. His aim was not to eliminate these *fiqhī* disputes, but rather to establish general guiding principles for all to abide by in their disputes. These principles should be based on evidence and cause rather than on their own will or on hidden motives. Al-Shāfiī wrote his book *al-Risāla* (Treatise on the Foundations of Islamic Jurisprudence) in which he establishes the bases for the jurisprudence and defines the rules and bases of legislation, their causes and methodologies of deduction from them. The Qur'an comes at the first place for al-Shāfiī, as he defines rules of linguistic deduction through the rules of "the general and the specific"¹⁵ from it. He then defines the importance of the Sunnah in legislation, through defining its relation to the Qur'an. The Qur'an has completely clear sections that do not need any clarification,¹⁶ and it also has other sections which require the additional qualifying clarification statements of the Sunnah.¹⁷ Thus, the Sunnah and the Qur'an became the first sources of legislation. Al-Shāfiī established rules of abrogation¹⁸ in texts according to the issues where he found abrogation to be useful. He distanced himself from the rational debates of the Mu'tazila as well as of the Ash'arīs in this issue, and then also dealt with *ijmā'* (consensus)¹⁹ which is one of the methodologies. He argued

¹⁵ The previous reference, pp 194- 204

¹⁶ The previous reference. P 206

¹⁷ The previous reference . pp 234- 237

¹⁸ The previous reference. Pp 240- 254

¹⁹ the previous reference. Pp 255- 260

that *ijmā'* (consensus) could be used as another source for legislation, provided that it was the consensus of all Muslim scholars in all Muslim. Then Al-Shāfi'ī dealt with *qiyās*²⁰(analogical reasoning), which was the methodology used by the pragmatic Hanafi even if they had not theorized it as yet. Al-Shāfi'ī formulated an accurate theory and separated it from other kinds of application of opinion and deduction that he considered distorted. *Qiyās* to him was related to the text, as he prevented *Ijtihad* without a text that should be the basis for *qiyās*. For him the use and validity of *qiyās*²¹is based on the fact that Shari'a (Islamic law) in general governs all events.

4- Methodological Challenges:

Later, *al manhaj al uşūli* faced methodological challenges with Ibn Hazm and Al Ghazali who were affected with Aristotlian Logic.

-Ibn Hazm (384-456 AH):

He dedicated his entire research to the methodologies of science and knowledge, and therefore his thought represented a new and different trend from the known methodologies of research in the Islamic civilization. He followed the *zahirī* doctrine in his thought, which was different from the general trend, and which enabled his school to follow the critical methodology and to go back to the

²⁰ The previous reference p267

²¹ The previous reference p 268

roots of other major trends in Islamic thought and to accurately criticize them aiming at the discovery of their principles as well as irrational methodologies - according to his own vision. Whatever the results that Ibn Hazm achieved, we have one definite consequence, namely that the critical methodological thought of Ibn Hazm would not have emerged nor become clear without coming out from a general civilized thought that placed a great importance to research in the issue of methodology as a whole. The issue of methodology differs from Ibn Hazm to Al-Shāfiī as well as others, who will be dealt with in later sections. According to al-Shāfiī, it was a matter of searching for a methodology that provides standard rules to deduce pragmatic rulings from the available valid primary texts. As for Ibn Hazm, the matter was deeper due to its relation with the scientific methodologies and philosophy. Ibn Hazm wanted to base all sciences including the sciences of theology and jurisprudence on certainty rather than on possibility. This, however, will not be achieved without finding the methodologies that are based on rational thought and evidences that lead to certainty and by differentiating between these methodologies and other methodologies that are irrational and lead to doubt and uncertainty.

However the validness of *istidlal* does not depend only on the certainty of the premises, but the operation of *istidlal* itself should be organized in a valid way. According to Ibn Hazm, the valid *istidlal* is the Aristotelian logical *qiyās*, and he

totally refused *al qiyās al fiqhī*. Ibn Hazm's adoption of the Aristotelian *qiyās* is in line with his evidential methodology that says "we can say that the logical *qiyās* is similar to the text in that aspect, that the results of both are embodied under the premises of both of them, and that the actual way that the *zāhirī* (evidential) school deals with the text is the same as *qiyās*. This similarity seems to be the most important aspect in Ibn Hazm's acceptance of the logical *qiyās*"²², as text include details of Islamic law, and the results of the Aristotelian *qiyās* are included in the premises, while *al qiyās al fiqhī* is a leap out the text, and a leap away from the species and races. "Rational minds and Islamic law have never assigned the same rulings for the fig and the wheat, or given the same rulings regarding nuts and dates. This falls under the passing of rulings according to the non equivalent things. The same happens with regard to mental or rational matters, where a ruling for a thing according to a ruling for a body, or a ruling for man according to a ruling for a donkey, would be wrong."²³ This is a logical criticism of *al qiyās al fiqhī*; however, Ibn Hazm completely refused its application on the aspects of Islamic. He attributed this refusal to his opinion that the mind relates differently to Islamic law and to nature; as nature is based on a regular cause and effect relationship, but causality is not within the Islamic law, as

22 Dawoud, Mohammed Suleyman (1984). *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi, Dirāsa Muqārīna*. Alexandria, Egypt: Dar al Da`wa. P241

²³ The previous reference, p 240

Sharī'a is more devotional (suitable for worshipping) and not causal." It is not that all Islamic laws are based on causes, but there is no law for cause except those laws that exist and are mentioned in the text. Anything except for this is the will of Allah, who acts according to the way He wants. It cannot be said that this is right or this is forbidden, as we do not add or remove laws that are enacted by Allah and Prophet Muḥammad. Furthermore, we also do not violate or leave out any of these laws, as they form the complete religion in its entirety, which cannot be violated. Success is given by Allah, Who said in his verses:"He cannot be questioned for His acts, but they will be questioned." Allah mentions the difference between us and Him and that His acts cannot be questioned. If it is forbidden to ask about His laws and acts: why is this so? Hence all reasons have been invalidated and all causes have become void, except for those mentioned in the Qur'ān, for which Allah gave reasons, and hence, we also should not ask about their causes."²⁴ This text clarifies the details of Ibn Hazm's methodology regarding Islamic laws, and how he defined the relation between rational thinking and Islamic law. He completely refuses opinion and causality in Islamic laws, and thus he "closed the door of deduction through *qiyās*, *al istiḥsān* (preference), and the *maslaḥa* (interests); he also closed the door to pretexts as well as thinking about texts to extract the causes. Thus, he limited reasoning about causality, as

²⁴Abu Zahra, Mohammed. *Ibn Hazm: Hayātahu wa 'Asrhu, Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu*. Mukhaymern Publishers.p 395

reasoning is the basis of opinion. According to Ibn Hazm, all texts are devotional and do not deviate from the manifestations. He also does not recognize the concept of disagreement as well. Ibn Hazm only uses and follows the texts, specially the clear unambiguous texts."²⁵

-Al-Ghazālī (450-505 Hijri)

There is no disagreement that al-Ghazālī's intellectual discourse is the main discourse in Islamic thought till now. We have seen that Ibn Hazm was the first to introduce Aristotelian logic into religious thought, however, Ibn Taymīyyā opines, along with many others that al-Ghazālī was the first to introduce Aristotelian logic into religious thought and Islamic tradition. Thus, Ibn Taymīyyah having read Ibn Hazm as part of his overall absorption of the previous Islamic heritage was not ignorant of his thought and attempt. We suggest that Ibn Taymīyyā reached his opinion after researching the results and outcomes of both of Ibn Hazm's and al-Ghazālī's thoughts and contributions. Ibn Taymīyyā did not mention Ibn Hazm nor blame him for the adoption of Aristotelian logic, as Ibn Hazm's discourse was not welcomed nor widely spread in communities of Islamic thought. He, however, blamed al-Ghazālī due to the great impact his discourse had after that.²⁶

²⁵ The previous reference. P 382

²⁶ Ali, Mahmoud Mohammed (2000). *Al 'Alāqa bayn al Mantiq wa al Fiqh 'and Mufakkari al Islām: Qirā'a fī al Fikr al Ash'ari*. First Edition. 'Ayn for Research in the Human and Social Sciences. P 122

The motives of al-Ghazālī's adoption of Aristotelian logic are different from those of Ibn Hazm. If Ibn Hazm was searching for a scientific method to reach certainty and aiming to establish the religious sciences based on evidences, we will find the same trend in al-Ghazālī's thought, however, al-Ghazālī also had other different motives that did not exist in Ibn Hazm's thought; namely motives related to science policy and the usage of al-Ghazālī's intellectual discourse of in different political and intellectual communities.²⁷ From the beginning al-Ghazālī's discourse represented the official orthodox Islamic discourse, which other types of discourses with backgrounds in Zoroastrianism, Paganism and in other religions tried to weaken, in addition to discourses using Greek philosophy, Gnosis, mysticism and Sufism. Thus, al-Ghazālī used the different intellectual approaches offered by absorbing elements of these different and contradictory methodologies, and combined them in a comprehensive intellectual framework consistent with the fundamentals of Islam. Al-Ghazālī's discourse combined all different trends and methodologies of Islamic thought like verbal theological debate, mystical taste, *uṣūlī* logic, and Greek logic. The success of al-Ghazālī is represented by the sovereignty of his thought and its prevalence in Islamic thought till this age.. Al-Ghazālī's adoption of Aristotelian logic was based on its

²⁷Al Za'abi, Anwar Khaled (2000). *Masalat al Ma'arifa WA Manhaj al Bahth 'and al Ghazali*. First Edition. Damascus: The International Institute for Islamic Thought and Da' al Fikr.

reformulation injecting Arab Islamic features²⁸ into it using many methods and different tools. Al-Ghazālī started by differentiating between the sciences of philosophy and those of logic. Al-Ghazālī who considered philosophers to be infidels, extracted logic and thought that it is totally devoid of blasphemy or heresy and innovations. Furthermore, he thought that most of logic is based on right premises, while the wrong or forbidden element is rarely represented²⁹ and that it is a useful science that helps in differentiating between knowledge and ignorance of opinion, causes and between the valid and invalid in evidences. He also dealt with it as if it is the standard and measurement for all sciences. Furthermore, it is one of methods that helps in achieving happiness in the afterlife, as the soul through using logic can distinguish between right and evil in creed. Logic is a science that exists in all nations due to the logical method of *Istidlā*. Philosophers were not the only scientists who knew of and used the science of logic; they were, however, the only scientists who dealt with it under this term.³⁰ Logic is not unknown in the Islamic community, as it was existent in ‘ilm al-kalām (Islamic speculative dialectical theology) titled the book of research of debate or the book of minds’ perceptions.³¹

28 Al 'Ajam, Rafiq (1989). *Al Mantiq 'and al Ghazālī fī Abā'dihi al Arastūiya wa Khususiyatihi al Islāmiya*. First Edition. Beirut: Dar Al Mashreq, p 53

29 Al Ghazali (1961). *Maqāsid al Falāsifa*. Second Edition. Edited by Suleyman Duniya Cairo: Dar Al Ma'aref, p32

30 Al Jalind, Mohammed. *Al Imam al Ghazālī (450 – 505): Dirassat wa Buhouth...* pp 6- 8

31 Al Ghazali (1980). *Tahāfut al Falāsifa*. Sixth Edition. Edited by Suleyman Duniya. Cairo: Dar Al Ma'aref, p 85

As for *al qiyās al fiqhī* - according to al-Ghazālī - he is an *uṣūlī* (fundamentalist) in the first place following the al-Shāfiʿī school of jurisprudence. He contributed to the study of *al qiyās al fiqhī* and the methods of *illa* (cause). However, he described the Aristotelian *qiyās* as having certainty and firmness, whereas *al qiyās al fiqhī* according to him is a suppositional *qiyās*; which he defined by saying "to prove a certain ruling, a known ruling is based on another known one to prove their ruling or deny it through a correlation between both like an evidence for the ruling, or a description or denial for both. If the correlation between them needs to have one ruling for both of them, *al qiyās* becomes valid or invalid."³² The reason behind it being that *al qiyās al fiqhī* is a suppositional one that it is based on moving from one part to another; and these numerous parts do not result in any final conclusion, but each allows only an assumption or presumption which are not scientific and do not lead to certainty. On the other hand, the valid *qiyās* according to al-Ghazālī moves the ruling from the complete to its parts, and this is already existent in Aristotelian *qiyās*³³. However the supposition of *al qiyās al fiqhī* does not mean its negation, as there is a need for it practically to meet

³² Al Ghazali(1997). *Al Mustasfa min 'Ilm al Usul*. First Edition. Editing and commentary by Mohamed Suleyman al Ashqar. Beirut: Mu'assasat al Resala. Part 2, p 236

³³ Al Ghazali *Miyār al-ilm fī fann al-mantiq*. Second Edition. al-Maṭbaah al-Arabīyah, 1927. P 102

peoples' interests,³⁴, in addition to its validation through the precedent of al ṣaḥāba.³⁵

5- Ibn Taymīyyā (661-728 AH):

With Ibn Taymīyyā there is a return to the mono trend in the methodological systematic thought. The period between al-Ghazālī and Ibn Taymīyyā, and due to authoritative nature of al-Ghazālī's discourse, Aristotelian logic became stronger and penetrated the communities of the religious thought that were immune against it before al-Ghazālī's discourse. On the other hand, a fierce resistance movement emerged against Greek methodology, to the extent that it was forbidden on religious grounds; the fatwa (Islamic ruling) of Ibn al-ṣalāh (d. 643 AH) is the best example in this regard and says: "logic is the doorway into philosophy and the entry into evil is necessarily evil. Its learning or teaching is not permitted by Islamic law nor was it engaged in by any of the ṣaḥāba or their followers or by the diligent imāms or by any of the righteous predecessors or by any of those who tried to take those people as role-modelsexamples to be emulated."³⁶ A short time after the era of Ibn al-ṣalāh, Ibn Taymiyya came to present a critical comprehensive reading of Aristotelian logic, trying to destroy it

³⁴ Al Ghazali (1959). *Al Qistās al Mustaqim*. First Edition Presented, commented on and edited from the original Istakriyal manuscripts by Father Victor Shalhat the Jesuit Beirut: Catholic Publishers,p 88

³⁵ Al Ghazali *Al Mustasfa min 'Ilm al Usul*.part 1, pp 249-255

³⁶ 'Abdel Rāziq, Mustafa (1994). *Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya*. Cairo Lajnat al Ta'leef wa al Tarjama wa al Nashr.pp 85- 86

from its roots and pointing out that it is nonsense, showing its weakness and ineffectiveness, and that it did not benefit anybody either in old or current times. Thus Ibn Taymiyya wanted to destroy the duality of methodology established by al-Ghazālī, and to return to the Islamic *uṣūl*, namely *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* (methodology of principles of jurisprudence). Ibn Taymiyya followed the principle of *ḥadd* (literally limit or boundary, a term, i.e. word or combination of words, which by itself can be used as a subject or object of a logical proposition; also the definition of a term) or the principle of *taṣṣawur* (imagination), then he followed that of main issues or *istidlal* (the mode of reasoning in which we proceed from the given facts or effects to the inference of their causes) to criticize Aristotelian logic using four aspects; two positive and two negative ones:

Ibn Taymiyya refused the necessity of a complete issue in *al-qiyās*, and he thought that it can be validated through two partial issues. He also thought that sensual sciences cannot be built on certain parts, and that the completeness back to parts to prove its truth; the way to science began from parts due to its strong, and proving the truth to people by certain parts is stronger than proving it by completeness. As for *al-qiyās* according to logicians, it is invalid as it applies rulings of species and kinds on people and parts. As for the right way towards acquiring knowledge of the external things, it is to know the unknown or absent through evidence, and this methodology is that used by the jurists. Their

methodology is valid in the knowledge of nature and real objects. He concluded in his criticism that the Aristotelian *qiyās* has in it the rulings of the result to be proved and what applies to a part also applies to all parts, thus there is no need for *qiyās*.

Al qiyās al fiqhī according to Ibn Taymiyya: Ibn Taymiyya criticized and destroyed the Aristotelian *qiyās* for *al qiyās al fiqhī*. It was demonstrated that he considered *al qiyās al fiqhī* a suitable methodology for natural sciences. *Al qiyās al fiqhī* is based on text and *ijmā'* (consensus). It is a restricted textual *qiyās*, but ultimately it is a mental process even when it is restricted by textual premises. The pretext of *qiyās* according to Ibn Taymiyya is that there is no contradiction between the transmitted and the originally generated rational thought achieved by the mind. "I contemplated this within the significant issues of *al-ūṣūl* like issues of monotheism, attributes, anthropomorphism, issues of destiny, prophecies and *al-mu'ād* and other things. I found that there is no disagreement with whom known of what achieved by mind at all, and if there are disagreements they are either invalid *ḥadīth* or weak evidence..."³⁷ Thus, Ibn Taymiyya guaranteed the certainty of the Islamic law or translated things. The premises of *al qiyās al fiqhī* became certainties; *al qiyās al fiqhī* itself became a certain *qiyās* which is contrary to the thoughts of Ibn Hazm and al-Ghazālī. What has been done by Ibn Taymiyya

³⁷Abu Zahra, Mohammed (1958). *Ibn Taymiyya: Hayātahu WA 'Asrhu, Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu* Cairo: Dar al Fikr al 'Arabi. P 135

rehabilitated the Islamic *uṣūlī* logic again and restored its cause, and also proved its scientific validity after the impact of al-Ghazālī's opinions on his followers resulted in dangerous outcomes with regard to the opinions of al-Razī about *al-istidlāl* in *al-sama'iyāt* (acoustics). It was shown that Ibn Hazm said that *al-sama'iyāt* (acoustics) provides certainty; however he refused *al-qiyās al-fiqhī*. As for al-Ghazālī, he agreed that some of the *al-sama'iyāt* (acoustics) provide certainty but added also that its method via *al-tawātur* also proved its certainty. However, he mentioned that some kinds of *al-sama'iyāt* (acoustics) are only *maznūnāt* (assumptions/probable) like al-mashhūrāt (well known) and al-mahmūdāt. He also stated that *al-qiyās al-fiqhī* is a suppositional one due to its premises that have been extracted from these suppositional acoustic premises. It seems as if al-Ghazālī wanted to state implicitly that *al-qiyās al-fiqhī* became certain if it was based on the certain acoustic premises, but he did not announce this. And as for Fakhr al-dDīn al-Razī (d. 606 AH) who he is a fundamentalist Shafī'ī ash'arī scholar, he said that "al-*istidlāl* bi-l-*samā'eyāt* (acoustics) in *uṣūlī* (fundamental) issues is not possible at all, as it is related to suppositional premises."³⁸ Thus, Ibn Taymiyya realized the dangerous impacts of al-Ghazālī, as al-Razī concluded saying that it is possible to have rational evidence that contradicts with the Holy Qur'an. Thus, Ibn Taymiyya confirmed that what comes from the mind and intellect is like the transmitted, and he said that the Holy

³⁸ The previous reference, p 242

Qur'an includes evidences and information at the same time. These evidences enrich the creed as well as the premises, therefore he refuted some of the theologians and scientists who searched for rational evidences or said that Qur'anic evidences and proofs are comprehensive,³⁹ as if Ibn Taymiyya's defense of *al-qiyās al-fiqhī* – the core of al *uṣūlī* logic - led him to defend the reasonability of this *uṣūlī* logic as a whole within his sources: The Holy Qur'an, the Sunnah, *ijmā'* (consensus) and *al-qiyās al-fiqhī*. The valid *qiyās* is in Islamic law, which is combining between two equivalents, and it was named *qiyās al-ṭard* (direct *qiyās*) or the one using opposites and it was named *qiyās al-ʿaks* (reverse *qiyās*),⁴⁰ Islamic law, according to him, is in accordance with the valid *qiyās*, thus Ibn Taymiyya dealt with some contracts- that followers of Hanfi School declared they contradicted with *qiyās* – like sales contracts, lease contracts, speculation contracts, farming contracts and irrigation contracts. He proved in great details that all of them are in accordance with *qiyās* and do not contradict it. Ibn Taymiyya also refused the opinion of the *uṣūlīs* (fundamentalists) that the scientific rulings that are deduced *although* using *qiyās* as a method are suppositional; he proved the results of *al qiyās* in the same way as he did proving

³⁹ The previous reference, pp.:240- 242

⁴⁰ The previous reference, p 472

its certainty "confirming that certainty may be achieved through *Ijtihad* (diligence)."⁴¹

6-Al Shatiby (d. 790 AH):

The thought of Al Shatiby resulted in a major change in the Usul methodology by introducing the Maqasid, or "al Shari'a purposes" dimensions into the field. In order to describe how he connected Usul to Maqasid, we must view a step-by-step process. Firstly, al Shatiby treats judicial analogy (*al qiyās*) as one of the sources of Usul in the first section of his famous work, "Al Muwafaqat." This section includes his 13 introductory [legal] theories, the first of which is that all the references to Usul are epistemologically certain and not questionable, and that this certainty is based upon two issues: the first is that this certainty either pertains to logical [conclusions] which are certain or that they are scientifically derived from the general principles of Islamic Law, and that these general principles are always certain as opposed to secondary principles which are always questionable⁴². The second of Al Shatiby's theories is that the evidences of Islamic Law are always certain, based upon transfer [from God or the Prophet Mohammed] or logical⁴³. Logical evidences are not independent; rather they are built-upon the transferred evidences because logical evidences are not legally

⁴¹ Rahal, 'Ala al Din Hussein (2002). *Ma 'ālim wa Dawābit al Ijtihād and Sheikh al Islām Ibn Taymiya* First Edition. Jordan: Dar al Nafa'is. Pp 324- 325

⁴² Al Shatiby, Abu Ishaq. *Al Muwwāfaqāt fi Usul al Shari'a*. Written by Sheikh'Abdullah Diraz, Dar al Fikr al 'Arabi. Pp 29- 34

⁴³ The previous reference, pp34- 35

acceptable. The certainty of these evidences comes from the scientific derivation of all those evidences thought questionable until they are determined to be certain, a situation which most closely resembles corroboration.

This corroboration is the basis of the validity of judicial consensus (Ijma') and singular Traditions (Khabar al Wahid) and analogy (*qiyās*). The evidence of these three sources of Islamic Law are taken from numerous legal evidences, all different in their content but organized around one meaning. Therefore, the Usul meaning of *qiyās* is valid however it is not independent evidence, as he (al Shatiby) discussed in his second introductory theory, because it is not entirely from the exercise of logic. It is God Himself who directed us to this meaning, showing us that connecting those issues which do not have a given ruling to the Islamic texts is acceptable, and that the Prophet Mohammed ordered it and encouraged the use of it⁴⁴.

Al Shatiby then confirms the evidentiary nature and importance of *al-qiyās* again in the section "Intentions of the Lawgiver" in the fourth type of Maqasid entitled "The Maqasid of the Placement of Islamic Law towards Compliance." In the ninth example given he confirms that Islamic Law in terms of those who are required to follow it is over-arching and general, and that the commissioning statements are general, inclusive of all those required to follow the law. Proving this basis includes a number of great benefits in the proving of analogy to those who deny

⁴⁴ the previous refrence, V 1, pp 87- 91

it. The recognition that the Law is placed generally and without restriction causes us to realize that specific statements and rulings during the time of the Prophet Mohammed occurred frequently, but that these statements were not intended to be specific. We are guided to this conclusion that every specific occurrence can be attached to a general meaning, which is an exercise of analogy which is supported by the actions of the Companions⁴⁵.

However, proving the legal validity of analogy is not what al Shatiby provided to this field and that it is a concept accepted by the vast majority of scholars and only rejected by a few, and that the reliance of scholars on analogy as transferring logical evidence to the texts is something done since al Shafi'.

What al Shatiby contributed is his genius in the theory of intentions and its crystallization inside the Usul and connecting the Usul concept of analogy to Maqasid. Al Shatiby is the first scholar to place a complete theory of i Maqasid, a theory that was only partially discussed by previous scholars such as al Ghazali and al 'Izz ibn 'Abdel Salam and Ibn Taymiya. Al Shatiby divides i Maqasid into two major divisions. The first are those Maqasid of the Lawgiver which includes four different types: Maqasid placed by the law initially, to increase understanding, to commission, and compliance. The second division is the Maqasid s of those commissioned by the law.

⁴⁵ the previous refrence, V 2, pp247- 249

We find al Shatiby's discussion on the connection between Maqasid and the methodology of analogy in the section entitled "ijtihad" or judicial interpretation, the fifth and final section in "al Muwafaqat." In it, al Shatiby defines the characteristics that are necessary for an individual in order to achieve the ability to interpret the law. These are two: the understanding of the Maqasid of Islamic Law in their completeness and the ability to derive rulings built on this understanding of Maqasid . He states that if a person can determine Maqasid of the Lawgiver in each particular example as well as each category, then he has obtained the position of a representative of the Prophet Mohammed in the fields of teaching, independent rulings, and ruling by what he sees is in the sight of God⁴⁶.

He then differentiates between direct derivation of law from the Islamic texts and the derivation of the meanings of the texts. The first requires knowledge of the Arabic language, while the second involves an understanding of the fundamental concept of what is right and wrong without the texts, therefore not requiring similar knowledge of Arabic. This is because meanings are abstract and that the majority of scholars understand them regardless of their differences in language. Therefore, there is no difference between he who understands Maqasid of the Lawgiver in the placement of rulings who has obtained a level of knowledge and speaks a foreign language and he who understands these Maqasid by way of

46 The previous reference, V 4, pp 105- 108

Arabic. The religious interpreters based upon intentions derive rulings from stated reality and not from Arabic, and that interpretation through analogy does not require the trappings of language except in what is connected to that which the analogy is based upon which is the foundation or the cause referred to either directly in the text or indirectly. Otherwise, the situation returns to a logical discussion⁴⁷.

7. Characteristics of *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī*.

Within the framework of addressing the methodological conflict between the Greek methodology represented in the Aristotelian syllogism and the Islamic methodology represented in *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī*, we dealt with some of its characteristics. This chapter will present this type of *qiyās* in detail. *Al-qiyās al-uṣūlī* is an empirical methodology in the first place; its core aim is to find the *'illa* (cause). Thus it has the main characteristic of the scientific methodology that has been known since the seventeenth century and introduced by Francis Bacon. The traditional study of methodologies differentiates between the deductive methodologies that are based on reason and represented in *al-qiyās* by the comparison and other deductive methodologies that are based on experimentation or on reality and represented in *al-istiqrā'* (induction). Actually *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī* combines between the natures of both methodologies; as the

47 The previous reference, V 4, pp 162- 165

corner stone of *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī* is seeking the *illa* (cause) and accurately highlighting it and making it clear from among all the other possible reasons; which is the core of the empirical methodology as well. As for the aim of the empirical methodology, it is to arrive at the ruling related to the original in which the *illa* (cause) has been found to belong to another result that contains the same *illa* (cause); the comparison between the results and the main principles or deducing a ruling of the main principle to arrive at the the result is the main aim of the *uṣūl al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* (methodology based on the principles of jurisprudence). The methodology was named based on its aim; hence, it is defined in terms of *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī*. Thus *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī* is totally different from the reasoning of the Greek Aristotelian logic. Using the term of "*al-qiyās*" with both of them infers that they are the same or that there is a similarity between them. As the latter is an abstract methodology that concerns itself with the possibility of moving from premises into results, and does not only concern itself with the validity of premises, but has to ensure that these premises are complete and fit the partial results. As the premises have to include partial results; thus it is an abstract and unproductive *qiyās* that does not result in any new outcomes. On the other hand, *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī* is a scientific Islamic methodology that is based on research and experiment, as it researches the material's premises to identify the main *illa* (cause) present in them so that leads to the

valid accurate ruling separating all the other other causes. Thus, it is a productive *manhaj* (methodology), resulting in new and accurate knowledge. This methodology aims mainly to deduce valid practical rulings in the issues that have not textual rulinga. Thus it is functional and teleological methodology that has its practical aims. This *manhaj* - as mentioned- based on searching for *'illa*, this helped it to move to other sciences like natural sciences, and it became the scientific methodology of the Islamic civilization. *Al qiyās al uṣūlī* based on four main aspects: *aṣl* (the main principle), *far'* (the result), *'illa* (cause), *hukm* (the ruling). *Aṣl*⁴⁸ has many meanings according to jurists and theologists; it is the text that refers to the valid ruling like "the verse" about banning wine. It is also the valid ruling itself namely the action of "banning wine" or the object of the ruling like in this case the "wine". *Far'*⁴⁹ has a lot of contested meanings as well; it may be the object of the ruling like "selling rice expensively" or it may be the ruling itself that is required to be proven by causes like "prohibiting selling rice expensively". *'illa*⁵⁰ is the most important aspect in *al-qiyās*; and it can be included in the text or it can be deduced from it. It is searched for within the *furū'* by contemplating and looking for, if it is found in the *far'*, the ruling of the *aṣl* can be applied easily on the *far'*. Searching for the *'illa* is the core job of the *uṣūlīn* (scholars who follow the *uṣūlī* methodology) and the core of their

⁴⁸ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi*.pp 24- 25

⁴⁹ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi*. P25

⁵⁰ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi*.pp 25-26

methodology and the reason of their genius; hence there will be a detailed part on *illa*. Hukm⁵¹ means the valid ruling for the object to prove whether it is *ḥalāl* (permissible) or *ḥarām* (prohibited), or something between both, like for example *mustaḥab/mandūb* (recommended / commendable) or *makrūh* (repugnant / close to impermissibility). Fundamentalists have imposed some conditions on each aspect of *qiyās*. Their research in the conditions of the *illa* is one of the most important aspects that they emphasized in *qiyās*, which is due to the importance of the *illa* and it being the core of / *qiyās*. Some of these twelve conditions are:⁵² to have a clear disciplined description, to be clear and explicit, to have only one description, to have the same ruling of (the main principle) and to be significant to the ruling either by defining it or by affecting it, to be transitive if it is deduced. Fundamentalists permitted the exclusive stipulated *illa* (cause). Some of them permitted that the *illa* could be a valid ruling like: valid ablution leads to valid prayer. They researched in the methods of proving *illa* and concluded that the *illa* is extracted through three means, either the *nas* (text), *ijmā'* (consensus), or *istinbāt* (deduction). Their research in the third method is "the way of genuine Islamic thought, and the rational aptitude of the fundamentalists."⁵³ They developed methods of: *munasba* (appropriateness), *shabah* (similarity), *ṭard* (expulsion), *dawaran* (revolving around the cause), *sabar* (searching for

⁵¹ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi. P30*

⁵² *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi. Pp 74- 110*

⁵³ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi. P136*

similarities of cause), *taqsīm* (division), and *tanqīh al manat* (improving the stated causes). Fundamentalists also researched *the objections against* ‘illa, as it is a critical methodology *aiming to make sure that* ‘illa is valid; to keep if it is valid and to exclude it if it is invalid. "Objections are "defamation, *evils, prohibition, opposition*" to aid in knowing the truth about *proving the ruling of the aṣl (main principle), and its* ‘illa (cause), and of proving the ‘illa of the far^ḥ and moving the ruling to the far^ḥ. *Objections are* mainly the discussions between the people who seek for reasoning from facts and their opponents; they enrich *Islamic Jurisprudence, and open a way for ijtihad* (diligence) to avoid of imitation."⁵⁴

Thus, we see that "Muslim jurists and theologians made a theory from *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī*; a complete theory as they set out all the definitions, aspects, types, conditions, methods and objections for determining the *‘illa*. They researched all its issues extensively, accurately and precisely, which reflects the genuine Islamic thinking and the proficiency of the Islamic mentality, its creativity and innovation... *al qiyās al uṣūlī theory* is represented in the modern empirical methodologies which are the pride of current philosophers in Europe like Francis Bacon, John Stewart Mill. By developing this theory Muslim Fundamentalists aimed to solve urgent pragmatic issues in the Sharī‘a (Islamic law); based on

⁵⁴ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi. Pp227-228*

experience and practical experiments, in other words it was based on reality not only on rational thought."⁵⁵

⁵⁵ *Nathariyat al Qiyās al Usuli: Manhaj Tajribi Islāmi. Pp 228-229*

Chapter One

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq: the philosopher Sheikh

(1885–1947)

This chapter aims mainly to introduce basic and significant information about Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq as an approach to help understand his methodological thought. The author does not wish to reduce a thinker’s output to mere historical events, rather I will introduce this chapter in a methodological way as it can easily help us to understand the philosophy of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq and explain the motivations that he deduced in this thought. The information introduced in this chapter aims to formulate a clear and complete image on the formation of his thought; it aims to introduce significant clarifications about. Integrity between his practical reform thought and his academic thought. This chapter is based on the fundamental realization that the thought of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq represents a critical turning point in modern Arab thought. We can say that thought before Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq is totally different from what followed after him. Thus it is important to focus on the historical circumstances that were witness to this intrinsic change.

A. Family background and the impact of secularism:

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was born in 1885 in the governorate of al-Minyā to an aristocratic family with deep roots.⁵⁶ His family was cultured and wealthy; they inherited the position of judge for three successive generations⁵⁷- in addition to political activity. His father Ḥasan Pasha ‘Abdel- Rāziq⁵⁸ (1844–1907) was elected to the Shūrā council, a legislative body, several times over eighteen years. In 1907, before his death, he participated in establishing the Umma party, which lasted only till 1915, and yet its impact was deeper than its brief existence would suggest. We can say that the Umma party and *al-Jarīda* newspaper, which spoke in its name, formed a political and intellectual school in Egyptian life. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel- Rāziq’s upbringing and his nationalist and humanistic awareness was influenced by the shadow of this school. The party was established on the principles of Muḥammad ‘Abduh, who was a friend of Ḥasan Pasha ‘Abdel-Rāziq and a colleague from the Shūrā council and who had died two years before. This party included most of Muḥammad ‘Abduh’s students like Aḥmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid, Aḥmad Fathī Zaghlūl, Qāsim Amīn and ‘Alī ‘Abdel- Rāziq, Muṣṭafā’s brother. This party reflected the thought of the Egyptian elite with its roots in genuine wealth and reason; it also reflected their social and intellectual conditions and the principles of their mentor Muḥammad ‘Abduh. They called for the gradual reform

⁵⁶ *Min Athār Mustafa ‘Abdel Rāziq* . p 15

⁵⁷ *Min Athār Mustafa ‘Abdel Rāziq*. Pp 5-9

⁵⁸ *Min Athār Mustafa ‘Abdel Rāziq*. Pp 10-13

of society and avoiding clash with the British occupation, as they recognized that conditions were not suitable for rebellion against the occupation, especially with the memory of the failed 'Urābī revolt in their minds. Later in 1925, 'Alī 'Abdel-Rāziq focused his hatred and rejection of the Ottomans' power in a book in which he totally rejected "The Islamic Caliphate"; this was his most famous book *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*. In this book, he explains that Islam is just a spiritual system and does not have articles that prescribe rules for life, and that the prophet Muḥammad was not a political leader. Some people consider this book the most influential intellectual work that paved the way for secular sovereignty in Islamic countries as 'Abdel -Rāziq was the first scholar from al-Azhar to say the core of what secularists had been calling for.⁵⁹ As we said, the Umma Party ended in 1915, but it was reborn with a new name: "Liberal Constitutionalist Party" in 1922 and had the same Egyptian Bourgeois outlook and had the same figures of the old party; Aḥmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid, who was the party's sponsor, and there were 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāziq, Muṣṭafā 'Abdel Rāziq, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī, Mansūr Fahmī, and Taha Hussein, and others. After the publication of 'Alī 'Abdel-Rāziq's aforementioned book, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal took the lead of defense of its thoughts, calling for the separation of

⁵⁹ Amara, Mohammed (1986). *Al 'Almāniya wa Nahdatina al Haditha* First Edition. Dar al Shorouk, pp 160, 161

religion and government through the party newspaper, *as-Siyāsa*⁶⁰. Aḥmad Luṭfī as-Sayyid (1872–1963) also believed in secular thought. Although he was one of Sheikh Muḥammad Abduh's students, reading his articles gives the impression of "surprise due to the small role of Islam in the thought of a student of Muḥammad Abduh"⁶¹. His thought downplayed the Arabic-Islamic origins of Egypt and he called for a Pharaonically inspired Egyptian nationalism⁶². Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was a longtime friend of Luṭfī as-Sayyid. We will see that Luṭfī as-Sayyid accompanied him on his trip to France in 1909 in order to arrange his residence there for study. The friendship between Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq and Taha Hussein (1889–1973) lasted for decades. Taha Hussein choked Egyptian society with his book *On Pre- Islamic Poetry* in 1926⁶³. In this book he repeated ideas of Marglyouth- one of the orientitsts- and he- acclaimed that he applied the skeptical DiCartesian methodology Then his famous call in his book *The Future of Culture in Egypt* in 1938 was for Egypt to be, in the aftermath of independence after the 1936 convention, a part of Europe as this was her affiliation throughout history: Ancient Egypt participated in the establishment of the Mediterranean city. If Europe is Christian and Egypt is an Islamic, it is not a problem as the European

⁶⁰ The previous refrence, p165

⁶¹ Hourani, Albert (2001). *Al Fikr al ‘Arabi fi ‘Asr al Nahda 1798 – 1939*. First Edition. Translated by Karim ‘Azqoul and edited by Adib al Qantar. Beriut. P 180

⁶². The previous refrence. P184

⁶³ :Ghali, Shukry (1983). *Al Nahda wa al Suqut fi al Fikr al Masri al Hadith*. Latest Edition. Al Dar al ‘Arabiya lil Kitab. Pp 247: 258

secularism separated between religion and civilization; thus Egyptians can abide by the same principle⁶⁴. Taha Hussein established within his role in the Egyptian university an academic trend that adopted secular thought. These were the shades of secularism which surrounded Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s upbringing in the ‘Abdel-Rāziq family and the Umma party milieu. The use of "shades" refers to many factors: first, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was raised in a conservative religious atmosphere; second, thinkers in the Umma party and its successor the "Liberal Constitutionalist Party" were students of Muḥammad Abduh – the founder of the reformist trend- and its secular trend was due to the continued achievements of European secularism, which echoed in the Islamic east. Some people in the new generations were affected by these thoughts, especially those who studied in Europe. Most of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s friends’ effects were symptom effect, which eliminated within their mental and age growth. For example, his brother ‘Alī ‘Abdel-Rāziq totally refused to republish his book *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, as if he wanted to hide his shameful act. Also Ḥusayn Haikal recanted his call for the Pharaonic and relied on the Islamic reference, which he frankly announced in the introduction to his book *Fī manzil al-waḥī* (at the place of inspiration) in 1937⁶⁵. These shades would play a significant role as anti-factors in the formation of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s thought, and especially in defining his priorities as an

⁶⁴ Al Fikr al ‘Arabi fi ‘Asr al Nahda 1798 – 1939, pp 332:338

⁶⁵ Al ‘Almāniya wa Nahdatina al Haditha . pp 165:168

intellectual concerned in the problems of his country and nation, and it performed its role as a contrary factor in defining the characteristics and priorities of his thought as a member of the religious reform trend, which was the counter trend to secularism. It was necessary to tackle shades of secularism, as it was related to the general life in which Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was brought up naturally due to his family's membership in the Umma party and then the Liberal Constitutionalist Party.

B .Between traditional and modern education:

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq had a traditional education; he obtained his Al-Aalim'ya degree in 1908 after thirteen years of studies in Al-Azhar ⁶⁶ Al-Azhar was the traditional stronghold of knowledge, and the oldest university on Islamic world level. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq studied *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and its principles, *Tafsīr* (exegesis), *Hadith* (Prophet Sayings), Arabic grammar, Rhetoric, Prosody, Literature, Logic, Philosophy, Theology, mathematics, Algebra, Geometry and Geography at al-Azhar. A few years before Muṣṭafā's graduation, he began to feel a bit disturbed, as if al-Azhar did not give him anything but imaginary ideas and illusions. He stated this clearly in his letter to Muḥammad Abdū in 1905 writing: "after contemplating my situation having spent much time in al-Azhar, I found that I haven't received a reward fr my efforts, except receiving some

⁶⁶ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq .pp 15:41

images and imaginations that do not enlighten nor increase any enthusiasm and do not provide any happiness in this life or in the afterlife."⁶⁷ It was neither a kind of rebellion against religious education nor a refusal to study traditional sciences, but it was a rejection of the study methods. Muṣṭafā recognized - especially after his contact with his mentor Muḥammad Abdū in 1903 - that the method of education in al-Azhar, is a failure as it based on memorizing information and boring, unhelpful repetition. In addition it is based on reading books of explanation and commentary while ignoring the heritage of books in Islamic sciences. Many years after his graduation, Muṣṭafā gave numerous examples that expose the obstructive method which had been used by scholars of al-Azhar. In an article entitled "3rd of May 1905", he illustrated an example of the explanations that waste the time of students Shaykh M. B reads for his the students from the book of "*El Manār fi Uṣūl fiqh al-Hanafiya*". The sheikh began by explaining the introduction to the text "Thanks for Allah firstly and secondly", he explained this four word statement in the time between *al'aṣr* prayers till *al-maghreb* prayer.⁶⁸ In another article entitled "our love for reading and issues of printing", he said "our nation is at the tail nations with regard to reading; our illiterates and scholars are the same in this aspect. Our scholars do not taste the pleasure of new knowledge; some of them suffer from the disease of patience to

⁶⁷ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. P 26, p 92

⁶⁸ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel -Rāziq. Pp 111, 112

study just one boring book more than thirty times. A trustworthy source told us that one of al-Azhar's scholars spent about thirty years studying one book "Sharḥ al-Kafrāwy 'ala al-agrūmiya".⁶⁹ He also criticized the relationship between students and their mentors; for in this situation it was not a good relationship, and students became hypocrites flattering their mentors, which was considered the normal action in the context of an educational system did not respect the students' mentality and affected them negatively to mere listening to lessons, memorizing them and regurgitating information. Muṣṭafā refused this way and said: "by the time that class ended, students would crowd around the instructor to kiss his hands in the same way they did before the beginning the class. Mercy on this group; they don't cease to kiss hands that are not soft hands of women which people always kiss as a way of thanking God upon his blessings of beauty and love; neither are they charitable hands to be kissed in thanks for their kindness. Much harm is to be found in this bad tradition. Woe to those who extend their hands longing to get kisses while spreading the diseases and germs by cultivating humility and indignity in people's kind and innocent souls."⁷⁰

This negative approach towards methods of traditional education was one of factors that led Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq to establish the first academic modern school in order to revive the Islamic tradition and its different rational aspects

⁶⁹ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. P202

⁷⁰ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel -Rāziq .p 113

based on methodologies and systems that were totally different from those of al-Azhar. After his education at al-Azhar, there was a journey of learning in another place within another new life, as Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq travelled to France for study in mid 1909⁷¹. The objective was to learn the French language and attend some classes of philosophy in the Sorbonne for a year. Muṣṭafā traveled in mid 1909 However, the plan developed and Muṣṭafā's sojourn in Paris lasted for five years, until 1914. His attendance of philosophy classes developed to becoming a project of gaining a doctorate degree in arts. Through these years, he attended "classes by Prof. Drokheim in sociology and classes of arts and its history. In 1911 he went to Lyon city to work with Prof. Edouard Lamber i studying Sharī'a (Islamic law) principles. At the University of Lyon, he attended the class by Prof. Goblo in history of philosophy as well as classes in the history of French literature. Furthermore, he taught Arabic language at Lyon College replacing the Arabic language teacher of the college who was delegated to teach at an Egyptian University."⁷² Thus Muṣṭafā lived years in Paris to familiarize himself with western scholarship and to study humanities with its most recent development using the most recent scientific methodologies. He studied Philosophy, sociology, literature and Sharī'a (Islamic law). A stroke of genius

71 Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. Pp 49:50, p 55

72 Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq.p 50

made him choose a very significant topic for his doctoral dissertation, namely *al-Imām al-Shāfiī* (the greatest of legislators of Islam). This dissertation was a kind of formulation and crystallization of the thoughts of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq, which would become more prominent and visible to his students at the Egyptian University later. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq began formulating his ambitious project in an academic, accurate, and scientific study of the Islamic intellectual traditions and how to introduce them as a scientific alternative to the old Azharite study of traditional sciences.

Tahā Ḥusayn wrote in the introduction of this doctoral dissertation by his friend Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq "he was loyal to al-Shāfiī – God’s mercy upon him – as he was following his methodology in *fiqh*, and thought that he owes loyalty to him. Thus he translated his *risāla* (message) and was interested in studying it for a long time. This loyalty to al-Shāfiī affected Muṣṭafā's mental life itself and had a great effect on his philosophic methodology and opened new gates of scientific thought to him, that weren't open to other Muslim scholars before him. His study of al-Shāfiī's thought in *al-uṣūl* formed his opinions which have yet to be used by his students, and I hope some of them will get the chance to study it deeply and induce from it its great impacts of the history of intellectual life for Muslims. He thought that al-Shāfiī had a philosophy in *Uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) and the different related problems of religion, language and

deduction of rulings from texts. With this opinion Muṣṭafā elevated the pre- Shafiī Muslim thinkers who argued not only about *Uṣūl al fiqh* but also about what constituted the principles of religion as well. This was before their knowledge of the Greek philosophy and Christianity and Jewish theology. This also means that Muslims formulated their first philosophical thoughts by themselves. This resulted in an easy and tolerant philosophy, as tolerant as Islam. Then it mixed with the Greek philosophy, which was difficult and complicated. His loyalty to al-Shāfiī also led him to discover a new methodology within the Islamic philosophy that would have a great impact if his students deepened it and reached to its aim"⁷³. Tahaā Husseīn stated that unfortunately his students failed in arriving at the intention of their mentor and hence did not benefit from their mentor's academic achievements. The great success that has been achieved by Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq as an academic suggesting a scientific supposition to his students and how his students transferred this scientific supposition into a great scientific trend concerned with studying the intellectual tradition in Islam in the modern age will be presented.

C.Pioneer of the religious reform trend:

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq adopted the religious fundamental beliefs and invested and applied these in establishing a scientific trend in Arab universities towards an

73 Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. Introduction by Taha Hussein

organized scientific study of the Islamic tradition especially the intellectual and methodological aspects. Muṣṭafā studied and taught this and belonged to it as a result of being a student of Muḥammad Abdū in a short time from 1903 to 1905 – the year of his mentor Muḥammad Abdū death. His love for his mentor led Muṣṭafā to identify with the thoughts of Muḥammad Abdū's mentor, Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī. This chapter will deal with how Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq identified with the thoughts of al-Afghānī and Muḥammad Abdū, and how he was affected by them. As for their thought, in other words, the religious reform thought, the second chapter will deal with it.

His relationship with al-Afghānī: Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq intended to connect with al-Afghānī due to his profound admiration for Muḥammad Abdū. His scientific saturation with the thoughts of Abdū led him to search for the thoughts of his mentor's mentor. He obtained for himself a complete collection of the magazine "al-'Urwa al-wuthqa," that had been published by both Muḥammad Abdū and Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī.⁷⁴ His brother Ali added "an impact of his love for the Imām Muḥammad Abdū and his admiration of him and his concern to follow in his footsteps and its impact is that he immersed himself in the history of Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī the mentor of Sheikh Muḥammad Abdū. In Muṣṭafā's slips of papers and notes there was a manuscript entitled "Sheikh Jamāl al-Din al-

⁷⁴ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. P 30

Afghānī and the intents of His Imperial Majesty Sultan Abdūl Hamīd II" by the Egyptian George Kochi, most of it was written by my brother Muṣṭafā. It is a summarized treatise that includes many secrets of Sheikh Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī's life. I also found a copy of an Arabic article written by Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī for the editor of "al-dībā" newspaper and my brother Muṣṭafā wrote at the end of the article the following: Mr. Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī's article has been published by "al-dībā " newspaper some weeks after the lecture of Renan". This article covers about fifteen pages that are followed by a manuscript of an article entitled: reply by Ernest Renan, in five pages, at the end of it he wrote: this was written on 18th May 1883".⁷⁵

These texts clarify that the greatest effect of al-Afghānī on Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq was through his reply to Ernest Renan, the French Philosopher, who promoted the theory of Semitic and Aryan supremacy and inferiority; a theory based on racism which ascribes a certain supremacy to the Aryan Europeans and their thought and an inferiority of Semitic peoples of whom some are Arab.. Al-Afghānī confronted this ideology with his reply to Renan, after which Muḥammad Abdū adopted the same struggle and he replied to Renan and Hanoteau – as will be shown subsequently - Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq continued with a comprehensive critical thought for all western racial theories, and proved that these theories are

⁷⁵ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. P 31

neither real nor scientific. This was apparent in his lectures at the university and was also published in "tamhīd li tarīkh al-falsafa al-islamiyya" (Introduction to the History of Islamic Philosophy)

His relationship with Muḥammad Abdū: Due to his appointment in the Shura Council in 1899, Muḥammad Abdū met Ḥasan Pasha ‘Abdel-Rāziq, Muṣṭafā’s father, who was an elected member of this council. The beginning of their relationship was cold⁷⁶; Alī ‘Abdel-Rāziq suggested that this could have been due to his father's lack of knowledge of Sheikh Muḥammad Abdū, who had a lot of enemies then, either political or religious. Ḥasan Pasha ‘Abdel-Rāziq, had a friendly relation with most of Muḥammad Abdū's enemies, however, both of them became close friends in a short time after examining each other. In spite of this, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was not in contact with Muḥammad Abdū until a later time, and after he completed a long phase of his study at al-Azhar; this was when he was eighteen years old in 1903. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq began attending the Imām's classes in reading the book "Dalā'il al-‘ajāz" (proofs of miracles) by al-Jorjānī three times a week, and was also attending classes of Qur'an interpretation two more times, in addition to meeting the Imām when he was visiting his home with other students.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. Pp :18- 19

⁷⁷ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel -Rāziq.p 220

To show some of his appreciation for his mentor, Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq wrote ten lines of poetry praising his mentor after coming home from Europe, some of these say:

You encompass the hope of a nation which was played with to distract its young and waste serious time

You are the wrath to straying and the ignorant but a pleasure for God and Islam⁷⁸

His mentor replied to his poetry by a message saying” "Our poetic son: The best speech is one that is true to the situation and contains examples from it. Those ten lines of poetry saw me - thank God - sitting cross-legged in seven of them, like the planets inhabited by angels and what remains are like meteors bringing light for loved ones and a stoning for those who stray. What I am pleased with the most is that you felt something coming from the knowledge of your youth, something not felt by the elders of your folk. You are to God and to God is your father. If it is permitted to a father to praise his son, I would shower you with all kinds of praise to fill space with them, but I content myself with sincerity in prayers that God might indulge me to see you successfully complete what you cleverly began and to grant you honesty and the ability to guide to him and to

⁷⁸ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. Pp :230- 240

activate your ability to rally your people to His satisfaction. Greetings in peace "⁷⁹. It was as if he could predict the future. These words came true as his student's love to him and his deep awareness and his thought led him to establish an intellectual trend in Islamic Philosophy. His mentor's prediction became real and the student's name became permanently included in the intellectual history alongside his mentor's name.

Alī 'Abdel-Rāziq justifies his brother's devotion to his mentor Muḥammad Abdū saying that Muṣṭafā was suffering then from a psychological disturbance due to many reasons, He was about to end his study at al-Azhar when he realized that it was in vain, in addition to the fact that the religious systems promoted by the scholars of al-Azharas well as the firm traditional way of life in conservative homes cannot fulfill the strong trends of youth and also meet the happiness and beauty of life⁸⁰. This opinion confirmed what had been written by Muṣṭafā to his mentor who had to leave teaching in al-Azhar in 1905 after many conflicts. "Al-Manār" magazine published a letter of Muṣṭafā anonymously to ensure his safety in which he wrote "I looked at my situation after I spent what I spent of time at Al-Azhar mosque and lost some of my health and youth seeking knowledge, but I did not find the price I paid of value, for what I gained is only a collection of

⁷⁹ Amara, Mohammed (2006). Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou Second edition. Cairo: Dar al Shorouk. Part 2, p 378

⁸⁰ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq . p24

images and fantasies not even illuminatingly visionary or insightfully encouraging nor giving any determination or facilitating happiness in this life nor in the Hereafter. *I wish events had sold me back the things it took knowingly from my and experience. I sought a way to perfection and useful knowledge but I did not find guidance and I didn't know the way.* How can I request goodness from people of "God protect you!" Who are all evil! I came to you at the end of my search to ask you to teach me from your knowledge which God blessed you with and not to leave me to my opinion. Here I am extending my hand in hope, to you and no one else. I am voicing my hope to you in this life and placing it at your door",⁸¹ because the likes of you never disappoint But Muḥammad Abdū did not come back to al-Azhar. He died a few months later in 1905. However, before his death he predicted the success of his calling saying: "they think that by me leaving al-Azhar, it will become a fertile pasture for their desires, to do as they please; I left a flame in this place that will not die, and if it will not ignite today or tomorrow, it will in thirty years, and it will be a fierce one"⁸². Muḥammad Abdū's sudden death after a short time of leaving al-Azhar had a catastrophic effect on his students; and an even deeper effect on the young man who was not yet twenty years old yet, and who had just about three years time with his mentor. However, he had found in him his source of scientific and humanitarian

⁸¹ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. P 26, p 106

⁸² Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq .p32

enlightenment; after he discovered that he did not find anything but a mirage and illusions at al-Azhar. Thus the student lived on devoted to his mentor's thought throughout his life; his devotion coupled with his own special genius led him to convey principles of religious reform from the public thought to the academic one. Then he started the greatest academic trend in the Arab modern universities in fields of reviving the Islamic intellectual tradition within all its aspects of philosophy, logic, *Sufism* (Mysticism), *Kalām* (is the Islamic philosophy of seeking Islamic theological principles through dialectic), *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence). This revival aims at renewal and at creating the hoped for renaissance for the Islamic East.

D. Between public and academic thought:

During the the time of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziqin the first decades of the twentieth century, the press was of great significance and authority, and it was in its golden age then in the entire world. Press held a significant position in the Arab renaissance thought; especially opinion pieces that introduced opinions of renaissance thinkers and reflected their ideologies most spread at this time. The trend of religious reform used the weapon of press; it is enough to refer to what had been achieved by "Urwa al-wuthqa", a newspaper that spread the thoughts and principles of Muḥammad Abdū and Jamāl al-Din al-Afghānī. The secular trend also used the same weapon of the press more than others, possibly due to

a lack of other significant means available to the religious establishment, namely the academic relationship between pioneers of this reform and their students in al-Azhar and the religious institutes. Articles by Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq began to be published in newspapers starting in 1914 before his return from France. He began with a series of articles under the title of "Pages from Life's Book" published in "al Jarīda" newspaper that was speaking in the name of Umma party.⁸³ Some of his articles included memories of his late mentor Muḥammad Abdū, where he referred to him as "*the mufti Sheikh*" without mentioning his name. In some articles he criticized some other Sheikhs of al-Azhar and their futile explanation methods referring to them by initials rather than names. Then "al Jarīda"'s publication was stopped after efforts of Muṣṭafā and other young men of the Umma party to save it. However, they issued another newspaper entitled "Al-Sufūr" (unveiling) after that, and it also lasted only for short time from May 1915 till December 1917. In spite of that, it made a great impact on Egyptian society. "No doubt that the magazine shook Egypt at this time, as it surprised the public by its name "Al-Sufūr" and irritated a lot of the religious preachers and clerics, both the honest or hypocritical of them; who thought that the group behind "Al-Sufūr" promoted atheism and they thought there was a strong possibility of missionary hands behind it who incited and supported their work"⁸⁴.

⁸³ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq .p54

⁸⁴ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq .p56

Muṣṭafā devoted the fourth issue of this paper to confront and refute these thoughts saying "some revered people say that "Al-Sufūr" lets people imagine that this newspaper is yet another call to freedom of women (removal of the veil from women's faces), and think that the statement published in the first issue of the newspaper by its owner was not enough to dispel this illusion. The publishers of this newspaper want people to understand the more comprehensive meaning of "Al-Sufūr" which transcends the meaning that swiftly comes to mind the moment this word is heard, namely about the issue of the modern woman. The publishers want people to understand that this newspaper endeavors to be a sign of the intellectual progress in this country, and a place for every righteous call to freedom ... it is a socially critical literary newspaper that calls for a comprehensive Sufūr (unveiling) of every aspect of progress and reform. But despite the initial judgment, we do not spare any effort in making Sufūr a place for the intellectual scrutiny of results and a detailed presentation of the observations of thinkers as our nation needs a comprehensive view of intellectual sophistication with all its meanings *Sufūr*."⁸⁵

Muṣṭafā's articles discussing *Sufūr* were very diverse showing his reformist view and covered every aspects of society. He wrote about social problems like divorce, family system, and harassment of women in streets by young men, in

⁸⁵ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. pp 156: 157

addition to Egyptian women going out with foreigners. He also tackled religious issues like the prophet's birthday, *'id al-adḥa*, the Islamic New Year commemorating the Prophet's *hijra*, and the month of Ramadān. He also dealt with educational issues like the religious institutes and the faculty of Dār al-ʿulūm, to which he devoted a lot of concern, as well as to the Egyptian University, and the school of sharīʿa, in addition to the period of exams. He also wrote about literary issues such as the commemoration of Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarī and poetry such as a diwan by al-Barūdī. Furthermore, he engaged in criticizing poetry, erotic poetry, Arab pre-Islamic literature, the Arabic Language Academy, reform of the Arabic Language, in addition to some personal and psychologically intuitive thoughts that had a tinge of sweetness and nostalgia to people he had loved when he had a pure passion and sympathy for human beings and their suffering in life. One can find in most of his articles some feelings of an inherent sadness and and while it was unusual for religious scholars or people who were educated in al-Azhar to write about love and reminisce about a first romantic attachment, the respected Sheikh did so.⁸⁶ Perhaps his deep thorough study of Islamic traditions and heritage led him to the idea that it is not Islamic to deny emotions. He studied traditional works by great scholars about love and lovers like Ibn Hazm; thus Ibn Hazm receives a portion in Muṣṭafā ʿAbdel-Rāziq's

⁸⁶ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. Pp 97: 99, pp 153:155 and pp: 363:364

thought, as he mentioned him and referred to his opinions many times as will be demonstrated.

Muṣṭafā ʿAbdel-Rāziq began writing for "al-Siyāsa" newspaper from 1924 to 1927. He wrote a series of articles entitled "Memoirs of a traveler" about his travels to France, and then he wrote "Memoirs of resident" in which he details his concern about certain the social issues. According to the book "mīn Āthār Muṣṭafā ʿAbdel-Rāziq", his last published article was dated 20th March 1927, the most important issue mentioned in this article was that there was an accusation leveled at "al Siyāsa" newspaper when it was first published that it calls to atheism and heresy and aims at leading its readers astray, but he was sure that such accusations will not become popular. He wrote that "minds understood that religion is not a restriction on hearts and thoughts, instead - as was mentioned by Sheikh Muḥammad Abdū - religion guarantees two significant matters to man of which he was deprived for a long time; independence of will and independence of opinion and thought; for through these two aspects a human being becomes complete, and is prepared to receive the amount of happiness that God made him instinctively need."⁸⁷

The year of 1927 represents the beginning of a new phase in Muṣṭafā ʿAbdel-Rāziq's life, as he became an assistant professor of philosophy at Fouad I

⁸⁷ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. Pp 501, 502

University (Cairo University now) as. His brother said "No doubt that his enthusiasm to accept teaching at the University was a great risk on his part, concerning its consequences on him and on his health, though I have no doubt now that he was inspired by this decision and guided to the right way, as he quickly and successfully began to find his way in the field of teaching at University. His talents as an exemplary professor and role model began to become visible and prominent; these talents were hidden in other fields except the field of university education."⁸⁸ Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq achieved a great success and he was able to form a huge school of thought from which successive generations moved to join various philosophy departments in Egyptian and Arab Universities. This will be referred to in chapter 4; however, here we will quickly refer to his virtues that enabled him - in addition to his scientific genius - to establish this school of thought. The criticism leveled at the students' relationship with their mentors that was mainly based on hypocrisy and which resulted from methods of education based on memorization and dictation, has already been touch upon earlier. Thus, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's relationship to his students at Fouad I University was based on two important issues, namely developing the student's minds through provocation to think and to give them a chance to discuss, to disagree and to express their opinions, while caring for them as a father with compassion and mercy towards the new generations. Tahā

⁸⁸ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel -Rāziq. p 65

Husseīn attests to that saying "I have not seen a kinder heart or a quicker generous hand to help the needy than Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq."⁸⁹

E .Between theory and practice:

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was like other Arab renaissance thinkers who combined thought and practice. He also merged between diagnosing the Islamic East's problems and suggesting solutions to them as well as working on the implementation of thoughts. He was like Rifā‘a al-Tahtāwī, al-Afghānī and Muḥammad Abdū, and others who tried to apply their reformist thoughts to society through their executive positions. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's thought will be dealt with in the next chapters of this thesis, while this part of the thesis will be dealing with his scientific contributes to avoid repetition.

Throughout his life, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was one of public figures, who had his own vision and influence on the events of society. His upbringing in a family deeply rooted in politics with its own thought and political party affiliation facilitated Muṣṭafā having his own visions. In this framework, he became Minister of awqāf seven times from 1938 to 1945, and a member of the Academy of Arabic Language in 1940.⁹⁰ He had a vision about the development of Arabic language according to the needs of the age, but his greatest concern was to

⁸⁹ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. p ص ٤٠، ل

⁹⁰ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel -Rāziq. P 70, p 73 and p 115

reform al-Azhar following in the footsteps of his mentor Muḥammad Abdū, which was a very difficult task due to the fierce internal confrontation by the Azharites. Muṣṭafā headed the Azhar Association after the death of his mentor, but it rapidly adjourned, after which some of the al-Azhar scholars established another one for scholars' solidarity that aimed at providing support by some enlightened Azhari scholars to al-Azhar students protesting the cancellation of the law of the Sharī'a judges' school. This law instated advantages for students of this school at the expense of al-Azhar students. These events happened in 1908, and Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq lost his position as a teacher at the Sharī'a judges' school as a result of his support of the al-Azhar students.⁹¹ In 1915 he worked at Al-Azhar's Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, and then he was promoted by Sultan Husayn to become the secretary of the council in the same year. This was not an easy matter due to the opposition by the Azharites which may have been as a result of Muṣṭafā's position in the Sufūr group, and his writings in the group's magazine that had been labeled by the opponents as extravagant and leading people astray. It could also have been a result of another phenomenon in his life, namely his contact with European friends of either gender (men or women), a contacting well as with his friends from among the Azharite Sheikhs. He was not embarrassed to attend private parties unlike other conservatives who even

⁹¹ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq, pp 37: 38 and pp 41: 48

prohibited enjoying the beauty created by God."⁹² Muṣṭafā - through his polite and humane character – managed to achieve a position, where he earned the hearts and trust of most Azharites. His sons' homes became the place where he received the Azharite delegations,"⁹³ but was this a real success or a fake one that did not change what was really in the hearts?!!

In 1945, after thirty years, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq became the head of al-Azhar. Two years later, on the 15th February 1974, he came home from the meeting of Al-Azhar’s Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs and went to bed, then he woke up to perform his ablutions and prayed, after which he passed away within few minutes.⁹⁴ What had happened during the meeting? Was Muṣṭafā’s death a result of this meeting? Could we consider him one of the martyrs of intellectual thoughts? The events and the situation seem to point in that direction; his brother ‘Alī described the last events of his life as that "he may have found a way for himself despite the Azharite intrigues, and he planned for methods of reform that he wished for al-Azhar and for Azharites. However, the Azharites did not wish for the good nor for reform for themselves, thus they sabotaged any way to reform, and they lay in ambush for anyone thinking of reform. Perhaps it was the God's

⁹² Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel Rāziq.p 58

⁹³ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel Rāziq.p 59

⁹⁴ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel Rāziq .p 76

judgment- that cannot be changed- for al-Azhar and Azharites not to be reformed."⁹⁵

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq loved his mentor Muḥammad Abdū and devoted a lot to his thoughts and memory - more than any love and devotion from a student to his mentor. It was destiny that both of them had similar ends in 1905 and in 1947 respectively, and both of them died disillusioned, disappointed and feeling beaten by the Azharites due to their rebellion and their reformist thoughts. The dire question now is: what remained of both Muḥammad Abdū and Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's thoughts?

⁹⁵ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq .p76

Chapter Two

Issue of Methodology in Modern Arab Thought

The chapter will deal with the issue of methodology in modern Arab thought in general. It can be considered an introductory part for the next chapter. This will achieve many aims, as it will help us to identify the features of the reality and the atmosphere in which Mustafa 'Abdel-Raziq introduced his theory, and then relate his theory to its reality. After that we will seek to identify the place of Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq's thought in the general map of modern Arab thought with regard to the fact that these steps help to achieve the greater aim namely the understanding, explanation, and evaluation of Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq's theory. If we are researching in methodology, we will not necessarily find clear titles that identify this topic within the thoughts of the pioneers of modern Arab thought, as their thoughts in general were encyclopedic, wide-ranging and broad and not specified or restricted. Most forms of their thoughts were related to how to purge backwardness and cope with civilization, thus we will find that their thoughts on methodology are not direct and just came in form of a large framework combining intellect, science and civilization; and the relationship between them and Islam , and comparison between the traditional sciences and modern western sciences, researching the importance of science and knowledge and their role in societal development and finally the relationship to the colonial western powers and their

sciences and modern philosophies. It will be shown how modern Arab thought was divided into different trends, and how this in turn was reflected on the concept of every individual trend science, scientific methodology, and how science was used along with other methods to achieve the desired renaissance.

Renaissance Arab thought began in the middle of the Nineteenth Century. This time coincidences with the establishment of the first Arab Country based on the modern European style in Egypt by Muhammad Alī, who ruled Egypt from 1805 to 1848. Before that the whole of the Arab East was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. The rhythm of life in the political, economic, and social spheres was traditional and conventional; which was also reflected in the different disciplines of science, education as well as culture. The flow of benefits from the Islamic civilization stopped, and its fountains of creativity in science and culture died up as well. However, it is worth drawing an important comparison between the European Renaissance and the modern Arab one; simply because just saying "the modern Arab Renaissance" may imply that there is a similarity between both, though they are totally different. "The historical period that began with the start of nineteenth century is – as far as the Arab countries are concerned- a phase of confrontation between them and the colonial western powers. Under the western influence, the Arabs began discovering a world that they did not know existed, but it was a world that seemed to be equated to technical progress and

nationalistic tendencies. At first, these discoveries were strong and unsettling, as while the west was passing through these changes in successive phases and without formal deconstruction through these shocks of nationalistic tendencies, the industrial revolution, separation between church and state and democracy, Islam had to face these shocks suddenly, without preparation and all at once."⁹⁶ This difference between deconstruction and sudden change between the ways of the European and Arab Renaissance emerged due to the European Renaissance happening on a purely internal local basis that led to a great success, while it was different for the Arab Renaissance that was based on external factors that represented a confrontation by the colonial powers of Europe.

1- Rifa'ā al-Ṭaḥṭawī (1801- 1873):

Al-Ṭaḥṭawī is the first pioneer of the Renaissance of Arab Thought that resulted in different Renaissance trends after that. Some believed that al-Ṭaḥṭawī was the prophet⁹⁷ of renaissance who first announced it. Al-Ṭaḥṭawī lived in the era of Muḥammad Alī who established a strong state that encompassed Egypt, the Levant and Hijaz and that became a threat to Europe. The European ambitions in the East were still in their early beginnings, thus they were not a direct threat to al-Ṭaḥṭawī's visions and dreams. But everything changed with the subsequent

⁹⁶ Al Nahda wa al Suqut fi al Fikr al Masri al Hadith. P 40

⁹⁷ Al Nahda wa al Suqut fi al Fikr al Masri al Hadith p 146, p 156

generations, as the newborn empire destroyed by the European intrigues, and the new east collapsed gradually and entered in a new dark phase of European colonialism and occupation of most of its countries. Visions of al-Ṭaḥṭawī turned out to be real nightmares. Right from the beginning al-Ṭaḥṭawī was dealing with issues related to science, education and knowledge and their functional practical role in renaissance and revival. This was through diagnosing the ills of reality and searching for solutions for them in the political, economic, and social aspects of society, in addition to the framework of comparison between the traditional and the modern. Renaissance thought was basically a scientific teleological thought that emerged from a certain reality to confront problems of that reality, and it didn't emerge to merely contemplate ideal thoughts. Therefore most renaissance thinkers were encyclopedic due to their attention to providing solutions and answers to all aspects of their reality. What has been said in the following statement about al-Ṭaḥṭawī that "knowledge to him was not an individual luxury and pure intellectual pleasure; instead it was a task and a mission. As for his work, it was like his mission related to two main elements, namely the encyclopedic thought output and examining a theory by application,"⁹⁸. This can be said of all the pioneers of the Renaissance thought in general. This thought emerged as a binary thought, as its trend sought to create a successful merge between the extended Islamic tradition and European modernism. Al-Ṭaḥṭawī

⁹⁸ Al Nahda wa al Suqut fi al Fikr al Masri al Hadith .P152

was always referring to the fact that the Islamic civilization in its climax was scientific, civilized and open to other civilizations, while the modern western renaissance was based on absorbing Islamic Arab traditions then adding to it. Thus, our history enables us to take from this modern European civilization.⁹⁹ Al-Ṭaḥṭawī had some discerning and insightful methodological visions through his comparison between the history of western science and that of science in the Islamic East. The history of western science was based upon new methodologies in research and study that depended on text analysis, narration scrutiny, and after that deducing results and criticizing them; while the history of science in the Islamic East is still based on recitation of realities, and is mixed with exaggerations, myths and superstitions. Al-Ṭaḥṭawī applied this new methodology on his writings of history.¹⁰⁰ He also looked philosophically into the newest developments in western methodologies, which were the trends that were deep-rooted in positive empirical sensual methodology and destroyed the traditional Aristotelian logic through reading the logic of Port- Royal and the

99 Al Nahda wa al Suqut fi al Fikr al Masri al Hadith. Pp 158: 159

100 Ziyada, Ma'an. (1987). Ma'ālim 'ala Tariq Tahdith al Fikr al 'Arabi. Kuwait. 'Alim al Ma'arifa, a monthly series of books published by the National Council for Culture, Arts, and Literature. Pp 176: 177.

Another reference: The Second Arab Philosophy Conference organized by the Jordanian University (1988). Conference Title: Al Falsafa al 'Arabiya al Mu'asera: Mawāqif wa Dirāssāt. First Edition. Beirut: The Center for Arab Unity Studies. P34

doctrine of "Kondliak"; who was a French logician and one of early followers of the sensual empirical logic and was affected by the experimental philosopher John Locke and Newton's concept of scientific knowledge. He was also against Aristotelian logic and the mental philosophy of Descartes.¹⁰¹ Through using the method of comparison, Al-Ṭaḥṭawī realized that *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) provide a mental bases for deduction. This happened through his comparison between the principles of legislation in Europe and in Islam." The one who practiced the science of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and the jurisprudence that included rules and regulations, can say that all rational deductions that reached the minds of civilized nations were used to create the basis to enact their civilizational rules and regulations, and rarely turned away from these principles on which *fiqh* branches based. These branches are the basics of the principles of behaviors; as what we call *uṣūl al fiqh*, they called the natural rights or natural codes. They are mental principles that identify what is right or forbidden on which they build their civilian rules."¹⁰²

After al-Ṭaḥṭawī, there were more efforts by renaissance thinkers to provide answers and solutions to the reality of the Islamic East. Their answers and solutions were different, thus there were different trends in modern Arab thought.

¹⁰¹ Ma'ālim 'ala Tariq Tahdith al Fikr al 'Arabi. P179.

¹⁰² Amara, Mohammed(1984). Rifā' al Tahtāwi Rā'id al Tanwir fi al 'Asr al Hadith. First Edition Cairo: Dar al Mustaqbal al Arabi .P 257

The strongest conflict was between the religious reformist trend and the secular one; as both of them are totally different. The religious reformist trend thought that reform could just happen through the revival of religion and using it to develop the nation, while the secular trend thought that renaissance and civilization could not be achieved without severing the relation to the past with all its aspects. Both trends provided their thoughts on intellect, science, philosophy and tradition, the relation between religion and science, the objective of science and its relation to practice and application. Within the folds of both trends, the scientific methodology is dealt with and many of these factors affected the formation of Mustafā `Abd ar Raziq's thought.

2. The Religious Reform Trend:

a. Al-Afghānī: (1839-1897):

Al-Afghānī's whole thought was based on one main idea which was that the revival of the Islamic religion and its renewal as being the only way for Eastern peoples to wake up from their backwardness and reach modern civilization and to free themselves from European colonization; which are both related synonyms that cannot be separated. In the framework of his intellectual struggle, he dealt with many issues concerning rational thought, ijtihad in Islam and the relationship between Islam, science and modernism, the scientific and philosophic innovation in Islamic civilization. Al-Afghānī dealt

with these issues within the framework of resisting the expansion of the effect of secularism and the European worldly philosophy to the East, and also resisting the European "intellectual submission", which was represented in the ideological usage of colonialist European science and modern thought just for colonizing the East. Al-Afghānī thought that the calls of Arab secularism were based on a wrong idea, which compares and likens Islam to Western Christianity which objected to science and modernism for long centuries. As for Islam, it is totally different, for it is the religion of intellect, science and causality. Titled "Man and Universal Facts", Al-Afghānī wrote about the fact that the world is based on necessary cause and effect relationships; for "all the incidents must be accompanied, at the time of its happening, with a cause, and people differ in their recognition of that cause, as well as in their knowledge of the causes and stimuli, and knowing each incident and its cause."¹⁰³ At this time, Western science was totally based on the concept of causality, which was systemized in the form of the law of "determinism", which means that the whole universe is based on a firm and accurate causality. Al-Afghānī defines science, saying that "knowing and tracking the causes of these incidents is spread between people,"¹⁰⁴ and the scientific facts agree with the Holy Qur'an; for there are many examples, such

¹⁰³ Amara, Mohammed. *Al 'Amāl al Kāmila li Jamāl al Din al Afghāni ma' Dirāsa 'an al Afghāni al Haqiqa al Kuliya*. Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization and Dar al Kitāb al Arabi.p 262

¹⁰⁴ The previous reference .p 263

as the sphericity of the earth, the stability of the sun, and that the sun and earth were one orb. Yet, if the scientific fact oppose the Holy Qur'an, interpretation of the verses will be attempted in a way that it will conform to the scientific facts and not to oppose each other."¹⁰⁵ An explanation of Al-Afghānī's ever changing stance regarding Darwin's theory of evolution will be presented here. In 1859, Al-Afghānī criticized it strongly for it implicitly included the concept of atheism, and then later he changed his mind and accepted some of its principles, and included it within the Arab Islamic tradition.¹⁰⁶ Islam is the greatest of all religions, due to many reasons related to the intellect; for Islam enriched the intellects with monotheism and freed the minds from all illusions that are inherent in most of the other religions.¹⁰⁷ Islam compares people's value based on their intellect and morals. Finally, Islamic beliefs are based on right proofs and valid evidences.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the believer's faith must be intellectualized and not just be blind imitation of previous beliefs. "Islam is almost exclusive among the other religions in opposing those believers who have no evidence and vituperate the followers of wrong superstitions and myths. Islam demands from the true believers to follow evidences and proofs and use their minds and intellect in all their

¹⁰⁵ The previous reference . p 269

¹⁰⁶ The previous reference pp 249: 253

¹⁰⁷ The previous reference pp 173-174

¹⁰⁸ The previous reference. Pp 175: 176

matters; for the Islamic scriptures say that happiness is the result of using the intellect and that the depression and misguidances are the result of ignorance, and the absence of insight and intellect.¹⁰⁹ Yet, the fact that there is an agreement between Islam and the intellect and that Islam takes the intellectual concepts into consideration, is not enough to achieve al-Afghānī's revival project. There are many elements had to face which were in opposition to his project and are represented by the European political and military subjugation of the East, with an intellectual one represented in the racial theories based on claiming that the Aryan was superior to the Semitic one. Those theories appeared in the scientific and thus the Western world owned all the new scientific facts. Ernest Renan, a French philosopher, was one of the most prominent thinkers who spread the theory of the Aryan and Semitic races. He gave a lecture on Islam and Arabs during the times when al-Afghānī was in Paris. In this lecture he was mistaken saying that Arab philosophy, arts, modernism and all their innovations are not theirs, and that Islam does not encourage science, philosophy, nor free research, but it hinders all these matters, because it approves and promotes the belief in the unseen an hidden, the extraordinaries, as well as fate and destiny. He also said that Muslims' innovations within philosophy are just distorted images of Greek philosophy. Renan concluded his lecture affirming the importance of

¹⁰⁹ The previous refrence .p 177

science and called all nations to appreciate science and follow it. Al-Afghānī replied to Renan's¹¹⁰ lecture saying that Arab efforts on science are amazing; for they were able in one century to adapt the Greek and Persian sciences, and then they expanded on and coordinated them. In addition, they perfected these sciences. As for the saying that most of the scientists were not Arabs, Al-Afghānī did not deny the role of the Persians, the Andalusians, nor that of the Christians and the people of the Levant (ḥarān) raising the level of sciences. Yet, fact is that all these people were Arabs. This intellectual debate between Al-Afghānī and Renan will form an example repeated later in the Reformist Trend. The confrontation of the Western opinions and theories that disdain Islam and its civilization will always be of a priority of that reformist trend as will be demonstrated with Muḥammad Abdū. Later, this confrontation changed to a comprehensive criticism of the orientalist's theories on Islam and its civilization with Mustafā `Abdel-Rāziq. When al-Afghānī came to Egypt, he – through his lectures - planted the seeds of the intellectual and classical sciences that were ignored in al-Azhar and the religious institutes. "Many of the scholars went to him and asked him to teach the books. Thus he read from the classical universal books on the arts of speech and discourse, natural and rational theoretical wisdom, astronomy, mysticism and the

¹¹⁰ Amin, Ahmed (1965). *Zu'amā' al Islāh fi al 'Asr al Hadīth*. Maktabat al Nahda al Misriya. PP 86: 93

science of the Islamic Jurisprudence”,¹¹¹, which will have a great benefit on his student Muḥammad Abdū, and then the more important development by his student Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq; who will later on revive those sciences academically and establish a great developmental trend in the Arab academia, in order to study the aspects of the rational and scientific innovation in the Islamic tradition.

b. Muḥammad Abdū: (1849-1905):

Muḥammad Abdū provides firm answers to the renaissance's problems; topped by the delay of the political reform. The nation is very backward, and its people lack the proper upbringing and awareness. In addition they cannot resist nor fight the British occupation, and will not be able to have their independence before many centuries. Yet, the only means to achieve the renaissance of the nation and revitalize it from its civilizational death is the Islamic reform, the revival of the religion that is inside the people's souls, and the gradual grooming of them. It is accepted in such a general frame that depends on the religious upbringing and reform to find a vast space to the issues on science, knowledge, education and scientific methodology.

¹¹¹ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 2, p 343 and part 1 p 26

Muḥammad Abdū established his project of the reformist trend on important bases; focusing his all on the religion, the intellect, the causality and the base of the modernism:

- Islam is built on an intellectual basis: the Islamic call for believing in the existence of Allah, the only God, is based on "informing the human minds of and leading them to contemplate the whole universe, the usage of the correct measurements, and the return to the components of the universe such as the system, arrangements, and causes and stimuli, in order to reach the fact that the whole universe has only one creator, whose existence is a must and who is all knowing, all able and wise, and this Creator is only one, because the universal system is unified."¹¹² Believing in Allah through the intellect is the base of Islam, and precedes the belief in Messengers and the message of Prophet Muḥammad, peace be upon Him.¹¹³

-Islam is the religion of the balance of the mind, the friend of science and the foundation of civil society: Religion, for Muḥammad Abdū, is about the balance of the human mind that was created by Allah to keep man from being lost and misguided, and thus Allah preserves the system of the world completely. In such a way, Islam is considered to be a friend of science and encouraging for the

¹¹² Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3, p 298

¹¹³ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3, p 299

search for the universe's secrets, and calls for respecting the unmutable facts.”¹¹⁴

The human mind cannot preserve the universe's system and cannot eliminate religion in this issue; for religion preserves the human minds from deviation and misguidance. Muḥammad Abdū joined many intellectual debates with secularism, in which he clarifies the position of the mind and science in Islam, as well as Islam's ability to establish the real modernism. Thus, Muḥammad Abdū had to compare between Islam and Christianity, in order to clarify his main idea that is if the European Modernism was based on the debris of the Western church, on the other hand the Islamic Modernism is based on the Islamic Religion, and that the modernism he, his companions and scholars sought is the one based on Islam. In this topic, Abdu discussed and refuted some of the thoughts of Renan, the French and atheist philosopher, whom al-Afghānī criticized earlier about his thoughts on Islam and the Islamic civilization, especially his claim that the new modernism will discard of Islam, because it does not accept religions which may hinder it.¹¹⁵ Moreover, Abdū refuted the opinions of Hanutu, the French Christian thinker, who disdained Islam, because -according to him – it was the result of the social, intellectual, scientific and Semitic mentality.¹¹⁶ If the new modernism is based on science, then Islam has already adopted science. Abdū joined in an

¹¹⁴ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 2, p 312

¹¹⁵ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou .part 3, pp :337- 357

¹¹⁶ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3 pp: 219-226

intellectual debate with Faraḥ Anṭūn in 1902, which attracted the attention of the Egyptian society at that time. Anṭūn was one of the pioneers of the Arabic secularism, and wrote in his magazine "Al-Jāmi'a" many articles about the philosophy of Ibn Rushd, trying to prove that he was a worldly philosopher. Moreover, he tackled the thought of the theologians saying that they negated the causality of the universe, and compared between Islam and Christianity saying that Christianity is more tolerant with science than Islam. Abdū confronted all the criticism of Antun's articles from two sides: the one related to Ibn Rushd's thought and that of the theologians', which will be clarified in a later section, as well as the relationships of Islam and Christianity with science. In this respect,¹¹⁷ 'Abdū's defense turns to a harsh attack, for he presented a logical yet rhetorical, asking about the religion that needs to attack science, wondering about whether it is Islam or Christianity, the religion of rational thought and intellect or an illogical religion? Christianity is based on six principles such as the paranormal and the belief in the illogical, with the result that the Church resisted science and persecuted the scientists through the Christian eras. 'Abdū quoted many examples such as the Inquisition that sentenced 340.000 to burning, of which 200.000 were burnt alive. As for the relationship between science and Islam, it comes back to eight Islamic principles such as the use of the mind in order to arrive at faith, and favoring the mind over Islamic legislation in case of opposition

¹¹⁷ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3, pp 257: 376

between both, the commitment to Allah's rules in the whole universe and the mix between the interests of life and afterlife. These principles lead Muslims to being scientifically oriented and to ask for knowledge everywhere and from anyone. The results of this seeking of knowledge and science is that Muslims established the human and moral sciences after twenty years of the death of Prophet Muḥammad, then they established the mental sciences before the end of the first century of the Islamic calendar, and then the universal sciences at the beginning of the second century AH.

-The universal system is based on the causality principle: The commitment to Allah's rules in the universe is the fourth principle of Islam. The Holy Qur'an told us that the universe where we live is based on coordination, connections, a system and causality. Moreover, it informs us that "Allah's rules in the nations are universal and not changeable, and that the fixed rules and methods on which all the matters are based and which have results, are called the legislations and laws. Whenever the thinkers search, think and decide, they will extract many rules, for searching and thinking is part of the religion that cannot be separated; so why shouldn't the religion be tolerant with science?"¹¹⁸ In addition, the creation of the whole universe that is based on causation made the Holy Qur'an guide people towards using their minds and uses the measurement methodology that is

¹¹⁸ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou . part 3, p 305

based on the search for the reasons of contemplating and studying the universe, and concluding that this universe has only one Creator. Moreover, this creation of the universe leads people to know the rules of nature, in order that man will be able to use them; for Islam "allowed the human mind to go forward without any restrictions, for it informed the human mind about the creation of the earth and skies, the sequencing of the night and day, and the blowing of the wind in a way that man can use to move ships for his benefit.."119 Yet, what Darwin decided about the conflict between creatures and the survival of the fittest is one of Allah's rules in the universe. The Holy Qur'an tackled some of these social rules, of which the most important is Allah's words in the Holy Qur'an [2.251] so they put them to flight by Allah's permission. And Dawood slew Jalut, and Allah gave him kingdom and wisdom, and taught him of what He pleased. And were it not for Allah's repelling some men with others, the earth would certainly be in a state of disorder;"120 In such a way, Abdū continues what al-Afghānī started about the "Islamization" of Darwin's theory, the theory that many atheists and seculars spread. As for his reply to the claims of Anṭūn, concerning Ibn Rushd and claiming that he was earthly worldly philosopher and that Muslim theologians denied causation, 'Abdū said that Ibn Rushd was "a Muslim philosopher, and

¹¹⁹ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3, p 298

¹²⁰ Adams, Charles (1935). *Al Islām wa al Tajdid fi Misr*. Translated by Abbas Mahmoud. Lajnat Tarjamat Da'irat al Ma'aref al Islamiya. Pp 132: 134

theologian, who depended mainly on science, for it stated that the soul and its happiness or miseries, and its curse or pleasure are eternal."¹²¹ As for the Muslim theologians, they all believe in causality, for they are divided into groups; the Fatalists or the Mu'tazila (nonconformists) who said that Allah set a universal system that extends to Man, whom Allah empowers and this power has many results that are from generating causality or from will and choice,¹²² and the Ash'arites about whom Anṭūn talked, calling them "the other group" who were mentioned in the Jami'a, they believe in returning all effects and manifestations to Allah directly, for they did not separate between the apparent causes and their inducements. Moreover they said that Allah creates the stimulus when there is a cause."¹²³ 'Abdū continues his great defense about the belief of the Ash'arites in causality, and in this matter, he is defending the general trend of Islamic thought, which is governed by the Ash'arī theology. He said that they proved the characteristic of Allah's knowing of the system in the universe; for they could not do so, if they did not approve of the relationship between causes and their stimuli. 'Abdū asks the question of how can the theologians of that group such as Fakhr al-Dīnal-Razī, Abī Bakr and Maḥmūd al-Razī, and al-Baqillānī who all excelled and innovated in sciences and arts like medicine, veterinary medicine,

¹²¹ Abu Hamdān, Samir (1992 / 1413 H.). Farah Antoun: S'aoud al Khitāb al 'Almāni Beirut: Al Sharika al 'Alimiya lil Kitāb wa Dar al Kitāb al 'Alami. P 157

¹²² The previous refrence, p 144

¹²³ The previous refrence. P145

botany and mining, deny causality when a;; these sciences are based on the connection between the effects and their sources and causes.¹²⁴ Then, ‘Abdū intensifies his defense to the extent of criticism supported by proofs, and using tradition to talk about religion. For the Islamic religion is the religion of causality, while Christianity is not" and claims that there is no relation between causes and their stimuli. It is worth mentioning that in the Book, it was said that belief alone empowers the believer; for it can allow the believer to ask the mountain to move, and then it will. Moreover, the faithful prayers that Man performs can empower him to change the planets' circulation and the world's system."¹²⁵ ‘Abdū ended his defense saying that "it is impossible for a Muslim to rise and reflect on the events in the universe, their order, causes and effects unless he rejects his religion before he rejects his own rational mind."¹²⁶

Of the results of the eight Islamic pillars is that Muslims are the first people to use the empirical methodology, while Europe did not use it except in the seventeenth century. "It is said that Bacon was the one who made experiment and observation as the basis modern sciences and a reference to the others. This is true in Europe, yet as for the Arabs, this basis was set to them in order to establish science in the late second century AH. The first thing that distinguishes the Arab philosophers is establishing their knowledge and experiences on

¹²⁴ The previous refrence. P146

¹²⁵ The previous refrence. P 147

¹²⁶ The previous refrence. P 148

observation and experiments, and not stop at the mental introductions to the sciences, as long as they are not supported by experiment. Lobon quoted one of the European philosophers that the basis the Arabs used is to "have the experiment, observe, and notice, to know". While the basis for the European philosopher even after the tenth century of the Christian history is "read books and repeat what your teacher says, so you will be known."¹²⁷ He then quoted another European philosopher about the Arab scientific methodology saying that "the Europeans have nothing to do with studying neither history nor wisdom, and then he denies that Muslims and their arts and knowledge were the reason behind Europe emerging out of its darkness and ignorance to the light of science and knowledge, in teaching them how to think and observe, and that experiments and observations are the basis of science. Muslim art and knowledge travelled to Europe from Spain and southern Italy and France."¹²⁸ These theoretical principles lead 'Abdū to be practically concerned with the process of reviving Islamic intellectual sciences, specially theology and logic, through teaching them in al-Azhar, because they have a great methodological value. Aristotelian sciences have been established to correct evidences, and they provide guidance

¹²⁷ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3, p 326

¹²⁸ Al 'Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed 'Abdou. Part 3, pp 328: 329

to all the sciences,¹²⁹ while theological sciences have been supporting the religious rules through firm intellectual evidences.¹³⁰

3. Arab Secularism:

In following up to the history of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq, we referred to the shadows of secularism in which he grew; up and by that we meant the secular ideas of the fellows of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq, such as his brother Alī, Aḥmad Lutfī al-Sayidd, and Muḥammād Husayn Haykāl. Yet, some of them came back to add the Islamic reference later on. As for the secularism we are tackling, it is the anti-Islamic civilization trend, which introduced many deviated opinions and calls to completely abandon the civilizational and religious roots. This trend had many harsh and intellectual debates with the reformist one. This was natural, for the two trends were heading towards the opposite ends. The Arab secularist presented the latest European scientific and philosophical trends in their magazines and books, believing that they are the golden scientific facts that cannot be criticized or refuted. Their concept of science was based on unifying it with its latest results and theories, and they ignored its methodological side. Shibli Shmayil (1850-1917), the first pioneer of Arab secularism, translated Bochner’s book on Darwin’s theory in 1884, and wrote an introduction to this book in which he clarified his thoughts and worldly methodology. For him, all

¹²⁹ Al ‘Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed ‘Abdou. Part 3, p 15

¹³⁰ Al ‘Amāl Al Kamila lil Imām al Sheikh Mohammed ‘Abdou. Part 3, p 15

religions are mere illusions and are the result of Man's love to exist, and that religions are the reason and cause of the decline of nations. Shmayil affirmed the great benefits that man gets out of modern natural sciences and worldly philosophy. Then he finishes his introduction threatening the politicians in the East, who control the people through religion, saying that the West is more evolved than the East and it intends to control it.¹³¹ Then, we meet with the voice of Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922), who was affected by many European philosophers and thinkers, of whom the most important is Renan.¹³² Anṭūn believed that science is the way towards modernism and progress and that it will replace Religion. Religion played a very important role in the childhood of all humanity, yet science is the thing that must guide the world from now on, and that organizing all its issues will not happen without reform and piety, moreover there should be the scientific morals that are based on many different sciences. He gave an example of the pagan Japanese nation whose modernism rose because they adopted the path of the science and the natural rules and principles.¹³³ Anṭūn then joined in an intellectual debate with Muḥammad 'Abdū in 1902, which attracted the whole Egyptian society. We have already discussed 'Abdū's most important ideas in his reply to Anṭūn in the part dedicated to him earlier. In

¹³¹ Shamil, Shalabi (1884). Ta'arib li Sharh Bakhnar 'ala Madhhab Darāwin fi Intiqal al Anwa' wa Thuhur al 'Alim al 'Adawi wa Itlāq thālik 'ala al Insān. Alexandria: al Mahrousa Newspaper. The translator's introduction

¹³² Farah Antoun: S'aoud al Khitāb al 'Almāni. Pp 22: 23

¹³³ Farah Antoun: S'aoud al Khitāb al 'Almāni. Pp 112: 113

addition, we will present Anṭūn's most important ideas regarding the philosophy of the theologians and Ibn Rushd's philosophy. As for the first, they are based on two issues; the first being that the existence of the materials in the universe were through the hands of a creator, the second is that Creator can do all what He wants in this universe, "so do not ask about the reason of anything that happened in the universe, because the Creator himself can do whatever He wants in his universe."¹³⁴ As for Ibn Rushd's philosophy, which is Anṭūn's main aim in his articles, Anṭūn said that it is worldly and based on two issues; the first being his belief in that the materials and the worldly matters are ancient, and the second is the matter of intellects and minds and their belief in one God."¹³⁵ This direction towards the Islamic tradition; to meet with the reformist trend, was an unusual matter; as the secular trend abandoned tradition. Here is one of their own pioneers moving closer towards tradition, and his main goal was to anchor the secular and worldly ideas in this tradition, through claiming that Ibn Rushd was a worldly philosopher. He had another dangerous aim, namely the negation of the causality or the mentality of Islamic tradition; that appeared in his criticism of the Ash'arī theology dominant in this tradition. Anṭūn's writings about Ibn Rushd "were not haphazard, but emerged from a well based plan aiming at confronting the dominant Islamic ideology; yet this time, not through John Simon,

¹³⁴ Antun, Farah. Falsafat Ibn Rushd. General Egyptian Book Organization. Pp 3: 4

¹³⁵ The previous reference. P 13

John Roxin, nor Renan, but through the prominent Islamic thinker Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad Ibn Rushd. We may add to this another thing, which Anṭūn wanted through using Ibn Rushd, namely to reach the opponents from their side using their argumentation, trying in this way to reduce the tension towards all the foreign matters."¹³⁶ In my opinion, this intellectual fight and all of Muḥammad ʿAbdū's ideas on causality and mentality in Islam, had greatly impacted the formation of Mustafā ʿAbd ar-Raziq's thought and beliefs. They were the main reasons that pushed him towards Muḥammad ʿAbdū, in order to be one of his students in 1903. Ismāʿīl Mazhar (1891-1962) represents the secular trend towards completely adopting Western ideas, without any contemplation or criticism or even treating them as scientific facts. He believed in the Aryan and Semitic theory and applied it in the field of the Arabic poetry, for he believed that the reason why Mehyar al-Daylamī and Ibn al-Rūmī, the poets, did not receive a distinguished position in Arabic poetry was because they were not Arabs but Aryans¹³⁷. Mazhar also believed in Auguste Comte's thought and his laws of the three stages of the human intellect; which are the theological, metaphysical, and the posed development." We continue by explaining this law as it is the main

¹³⁶ Farah Antoun: S'aoud al Khitāb al 'Almāni. Pp 126: 127

¹³⁷ Mathar, Ismail (1928). Tārikh al Fikr al 'Arabi fi Nashu'ihī wa Tatāwurihi bil Tarjama wa al Naql 'an al Hadāra al Yunāniya wa Maqālāt Ukhra. Egypt: Dar al 'Usur . p 153

core around which the whole researches revolve."¹³⁸ He believed that the Arab intellectual tradition belonged to the first two phases the theological and metaphysical ones; where the metaphysical thought was prominent and included nothing what may be part of the affirmative methodology. Mazhar criticized al-Afghānī and his school, because it continued the same unscientific and metaphysical way of thought.¹³⁹ Thus, the secular trend unifies between the concept of science and its results, and explaining theories, while it completely ignores the new concept of science that links between science and methodology. Moreover, it ignored that the results of the social sciences are less than trustworthy than those of the natural sciences, because they are changeable. What Isma'il Mazhar thought of as the "scientific law" of Auguste Comte is just mere intellectual contemplations of a social philosopher. There are two definitions of science; a static one concentrating on knowledge, and a dynamic one focusing on the methodology. The static definition considers science as "the current connected group of rules, laws and theories, and the massive group of coordinated information; as if science then is considered to be an explaining presentation of the universe where we live or of some of its parts. Those who approved of this theory admired the current human knowledge level. Moreover, if we participated in this admiration and considered science as a tissue of

¹³⁸ The previous reference. P 95

¹³⁹ The previous reference. Pp 95: 99

knowledge only, our world will have to keep all the intellectual and scientific benefits of the modern science, even if the laboratories were to all close tomorrow,"¹⁴⁰ This definition is not only wrong, but also dangerous; for it will turn the principles and theories into creeds, as it threatens the vanishing of science itself." By this concept, science will disappear completely if the laboratories are closed; as the theories, principles and laws that are kept in the main books and references will become unquestionable creeds."¹⁴¹ There is no need to say that the secular trend adopted this static theory of science, and changed Darwin's, Auguste's, and Renan's thoughts to dogmatic creeds. As for the dynamic definition of science that "it is a connected series that leads to more observation and experiments,"¹⁴². This definition focuses on the methodological side of science, as the methodology is the cornerstone of the new concept of science in Europe, the thing that the secular trend ignored. Although the secular trend assumes that it calls for science, while the concern about "methodology" is at the top of the achievements of the religious reformist trend, in its academic and scientific form for Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq.

¹⁴⁰ Falsafat al 'Ilm. pp 44: 45

¹⁴¹ Falsafat al 'Ilm .P 45

¹⁴² Falsafat al 'Ilm. P 45

Chapter Three

Issue of Methodology in Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq's Thought

This chapter represents the core of the thesis, as it attempts to understand, explain and evaluate Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq's thought that is represented in his famous theory of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* by relating this theory with its practice. The genius of Mustafā is apparent in that he started from a specific situation and he wanted to develop it to fit more with the reality. If *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* is a tradition, the tradition in our society is not just historical; but instead it is a live reality. If it is deep-rooted in the old ages, then he innovated with his thought and introduced it as a teleological and practical tool from within belonging to the age, place and civilization - seeking through this thought to change and develop reality. When `Abdel-Raziq first announced his theory of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* to his students in the Egyptian University in the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century, he was not an academician flying in sky of abstract thought, and he was not a philosophy professor taking his young students' minds to the horizons of good examples, paradoxical minds and abstract images. He did not dazzle his students by playing with their minds, and did not teach them that thinking is separate from reality, and did not cultivate in them that virtue is the concern of great intellectual matters and far removed from the simple matters of life. He was not at all like that. The academian Mustafā `Abdel-Raziq introduced his theory in

al-manhaj al-uṣūlī first among his students as he was himself a reformist thinker. Between life and academia, he was the same person, throughout, with the same general spirit of intellectual thoughts in all his intellectual history; a scientific methodological spirit. Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq created his thought from reality and for reality. Therefore, this chapter will be presented in two parts: first one will be about the methodology issue in his general thought. It will be an introduction for the second part which will be about his theory of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*.

A. The Issue of Methodology in Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq’s General Thought

With his first articles, Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq seems to be a realistic practical reformist thinker who seeks to change reality practically by expressing the reforming thought which emerged from that same reality. He also tried to reform reality by realism; for isn't heritage a part of reality? We have seen how Muḥammad ‘Abdū combined the interests of the world and that of the Hereafter and the eighth principle of the principles of Islam. In addition, he paid attention to the minute details of life, as he did with the important issues of thought. ‘Abdel-Raziq, the practical reformist thinker, tackles many problems found in the Egyptian society from different perspectives. His thought is a functional one, very close to reality, society and its people; a thought which seeks solutions and answers and aims to change and develop; one which faces the problems of life and the demands of reality. "Thought and work in his life merged to become as

two sides of the same coin; which cannot be separated."¹⁴³ 'Abdel-Raziq rejects thought for merely the purpose of thinking. He also rejects the idealistic thought which is separated from life. His thought has no place for abstraction and confusion; and he does not mind having many ideas, hovering in the sky of abstraction, or having abstract beliefs, or even engaging in dull controversies, but the most important point is to harmonize between ideas and action in a way that makes the ideas lead and guide action as if we are repeating Ibn Malik's saying "I seek Allah's protection from a saying not supported by action."¹⁴⁴ 'Abdel-Raziq rejects the thought which suggests questions with no crucial answers. One of the readers asked him about why we were created? He replied that question is so old and that the two religions and the rationalists answered it differently. Then he gave his own point of view as: "If the search in this topic had practical benefits, we would find it easy to tackle it as a debate between reason and religion, but such a controversy is useless and we do not think we can harmonize between the beliefs of the people of religion and that of those of philosophy in this regard"¹⁴⁵. Such fundamental answer given by him early in 1915 shows that he has acquired his unique spirit early on and that he represents a practical thought with realistic aims. In this phase which continued up to 1927, we find some of his

¹⁴³ Al Maghrabi, 'Ali 'Abdel Fattah (1985). Al mufakkir al Islami al Mua'aser Mustafa Abdel Raziq. Dar Al Ma'aref. P15

¹⁴⁴ The previous reference. P 32

¹⁴⁵ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq . p174

reasonable critical ideas which will be developed later in the academic phase and in his theory of methodology. Such ideas criticize some issues confused with reality and based on intellectual background and heritage. In these works we find the seeds that were developed later on by 'Abdel-Raziq in the philosophical thought stage. He rejects a matter in which Muslims have believed for centuries about the miracles of Prophet Muḥammad's (PBUH) birth in an article about Prophet Muḥammad's (PBUH) birthday. He wrote this article logically, as it consists of an introduction from which an essential result is deduced. His introductions state that historians differ in determining the year, the month and the day in which Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) was born. They also cannot determine whether he was born in the morning or at night. In addition, they differed in determining his place of birth. Depending on all these introductions, he concludes that Prophet Muḥammad's (PBUH) birthday was a normal day on which the Arabs felt nothing different: "Thus, what is mentioned by historians about the heavenly and earthly extraordinary incidents which took place on His birthday is a kind of exaggeration which cannot be verified historically."¹⁴⁶ The disciple follows his mentor's way in proving that Islam is based on reason and freedom from bizarre habits. The development of this view will be found in his theory of al-uṣūl al-manhaj al-uṣūlī and in the evidence he provides for the existence of the rational view in Islam since the first moment of the Revelation.

¹⁴⁶ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq. pp 211: 214

‘Abdel-Raziq strongly discards the practices of Sufism in his era,¹⁴⁷ and Muḥammad Abdū precedes him in such criticism, which was not easy at that time, because the Sufi Methods and its practices dominated the minds of a large portion of the Egyptians. In the second phase of his thought, ‘he continues to tackle the same issue but from a different aspect, which is writing the history of Islamic Sufism. But what is the relation between his practical thought and his methodical thought -? It is a very strong relation and when we look carefully we will find a similarity between the thoughts of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq and the essence of his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* (methodology related to the principles of jurisprudence) as follows: He initiated his intellectual history as a practical reforming thinker who writes on the issues of reality and the different issues of life in all its aspects. He then became an academic thinker whose main concern was the general methodical spirit of Islamic civilization.

In his theory concerning *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* we find the same development evolution of this methodology. For example, the Arabs started using practical thinking before Islam, which encouraged this kind of thinking leading to the emergence of *manhaj al-ijtihād* and *al-qiyās al-uṣūlī* (deduction based on the principles of jurisprudence). Thus, Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq's practical thought led him to re-read the intellectual history of the Arab Muslims to discover that the

¹⁴⁷ Min Athār Mustafa 'Abdel- Rāziq.pp 85: 87

best and most important achievement in their civilization was the scientific methodology resulting from their practical thought. By the beginning of the academic phase in 1927, Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq gave up writing articles and it seems that, in this new phase, he was directing his intellectual activity according to a specific plan. For example, concerning his writing, he had very few writings, as his books were not more than seven, however, after reading them, we can find that they have partial aims connected together for the major target, which is reviving the Islamic heritage in all its rational, methodical and spiritual aspects. Such reduction in written output also resulted from his desire to shape his university students' scientific and intellectual thought through his lectures and his permanent fatherly care for them. According to the testimony of his students and contemporaries, he was a great teacher and educator at the same time. With regard to what is best related to his methodical thought, we find in his book "Religion, Revelation and Islam" two important issues which are expounded in his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. In the part related to revelation, Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq tackles the concept of revelation from the viewpoint of those who study Islamic speculative dialectical theology and the Muslim philosophers especially Ibn Sīna. By the end of the research, we implicitly understand that he adopts the concept of revelation taken from the Muslim philosophers, which is the one adopted by Muḥammad ‘Abdū but reflecting a speculative dialectical view.

‘Abdel-Raziq says that the philosophical concept of revelation dominated in the eras of prosperity, but the speculative dialectical one dominated in the eras of decay, because the latter is a dull materialistic concept focusing on the materialistic way of revelation and the embodiment of the angels, while the philosophical concept gives the lion’s share to the intellect and soul of the Prophet Muḥammad who received the revelation. The prophet who receives revelation has his own intellectual and spiritual influence in receiving such revelation, as he is not just a passive receiver as in the speculative dialectical concept.¹⁴⁸

Later on, in his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*, ‘Abdel-Raziq confirms that the impact of Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) surpassed receiving and implementing the revelation’s principles to legislating using his own mind and rational reasoning. This shows that reason is there along with The Qur’an and the Sunna since the beginnings of Islam, but this view is not the dominant one among Muslim scholars. Most of them believe that the Prophet is just an informer of the revelation and there was no need for the Prophet’s *ijtihad* under the shadow of the permanent and renewable revelation. In the same book, another important idea is mentioned which is ‘Abdel-Raziq’s total rejection for the concept of the word (Islam) used by the Orientalists, because it is a passive one based on

¹⁴⁸ ‘Abdel Rāziq, Mustafa(1997). *Al Deen wa al Wahi wa al Islām*. Second Edition. Al Hay'a al 'Ammā li Qusour al Thaḳāfa. Pp 62: 82

Muslims' unconscious submission to Allah. On the contrary, his concept is a new elegant one, which is the legislative concept given by the Holy Qur'an to the literal word "Islam": monotheism and self-dedication to Allah alone where no other partner is worshiped or called God. It is a concept which implies freedom and Muslim's subconscious intention of self-dedication to Allah's worship.¹⁴⁹ The reforming trend worked on emphasizing humans' free will and Muḥammad 'Abdū sought to free Muslims from the harmful shadows of determinism and al-Qadar doctrine (fate and destiny). 'Abdel-Raziq makes use of this view in formulating his famous theory. He states that since the beginning of revelation, Muslims have never been passive receivers, but they did have a role in legislation as they have their own intellectual view points and they were encouraged by the Holy Qura'n and Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH). It is worth mentioning that Muḥammad 'Abdū's monotheism message, which implied doctrine reform represented in the victory of human's will and freedom, is the only record of Muḥammad Abdū to which his disciple, Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq paid extensive as he translated it into French with his friend Michael Bernard. With regard to his book "Islam and Sufism", when we look at it within the framework of his methodical practical thought, we will find that it is very important. Moreover, we have seen before his total rejection of the Sufi practices which were widely spread among a large portion of the Egyptians during his era. Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq considered the Sufi *Halaqat Al-Zikr* (Devine

¹⁴⁹ The previous refrence. P 87 and PP 97: 98

Remembrance meetings) a deviation from the nature of the religion, nonsensical for souls and exhaustive for bodies.¹⁵⁰ In fact, such practices are against the rational reform which the reforming trend aimed at as a whole. However, Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq, with his broad methodical wisdom, looked at the earlier Sufi heritage and considered it as an integral part of the rational and spiritual Islamic heritage and considered it a spiritual methodology which leads to moral elegance. "Sufism emerged expressing the high religious ideal and it kept reflecting this ideal in all its roles contradicting the public, reciters, *jurists*, Sunnis, theologians and philosophers, shedding light on their antagonism and oppression without moving away from love and tolerance."¹⁵¹ It is also an Islamic methodology and the foreign influences did not change its dominant Islamic feature.¹⁵² With his practical reforming thought, he aims to spread this methodology again instead of the Sufism contemporary to his time. "We must admit that we intentionally overlooked the role of the decay of Sufism in its late ages; the role which we still witness and which transformed the methodology of sincerity, gratitude and goodness into a tool for deceit, greed, ignorance and corruption."¹⁵³ Thus, ‘Abdel-Raziq's view is a broad one harmonizing

¹⁵⁰ Min Athār Mustafa ‘Abdel Rāziq. Pp 86: 87

¹⁵¹ ‘Abdel Rāziq, Mustafa and Lewis Masinon (1979). Al Islām wa al Tasawwuf. Prepared by Ibrahim Zaky Khourshid, ‘Abdel Hamid Yunis, and Hassan ‘Othman. Dar al Sha‘ab. P 48

¹⁵² The previous reference. P 44

¹⁵³ The previous reference.p 49

methodologies. His call for rationality and the essence of his academic thesis in favor of Muslims' scientific methodology did not lead him to reject other methodologies found in the Islamic civilization. He calls for the elegant Sufism with the scientific methodology. This book is also a development of his concern about women issues on the intellectual level, as he did not deny woman's mandate or even her prophecy. He believes that "Muslims did not have controversies with regard to the appropriateness of a woman's prophecy and mandate and nothing hampers it religiously or rationally. This is evidence that women and men are equal with regard to revelation and inspiration. There is no obstacle that impedes a woman's spirit to transcend to the maximum sublimity allowed for humans."¹⁵⁴ Here Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq seems to continue his and his mentor's efforts in liberating the human mind from the restrictions of tradition, but he is increasing the focus on spiritual liberation. He wants to liberate minds and souls from tradition and monotony and this includes man as well as woman, because she is man's partner in life. This issue is merged with others within the framework of his practical methodical project, which aims to develop reality by reviving minds and souls within Islamic teachings. With regard to the issue of woman's mandate, he adopted the view point of Ibn Hazm whose views best appreciated woman. Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq continued his theoretical research

¹⁵⁴ The previous reference. Pp 62: 63

with a practical one about Rab'ā al-ʿAdawiya, the founder of Divine love in Sufi poetry.

This is regarded as one of the main features of Mustafā ʿAbdel-Raziq's writings; namely that he defines the used methodology then applies it to deduct results. The best manifestation of this methodology is what we find in his most essential book "An Introduction to the History of Islamic Philosophy". In his book "The Arab Philosopher and the Second Teacher", Abdel-Raziq presents five Arab figures and when we look into his discussion of each one, we will find that it moves according to the general spirit of ʿAbdel-Raziq's thoughts, a practical methodical spirit. Al-Kindī (d. 252 AH) according to him, is the first Arab philosopher in Islam and before him philosophy was "extraneous imported sciences arabized by people who were neither Muslims nor Arabs and if a Muslim comes to study science, he does not find the trust granted to a non-Muslim."¹⁵⁵. ʿAbdel-Raziq desired to write the history of this Arab philosopher as one of the tools he used to respond to the Orientalists, who denied the Arabs all rational creativity. He also wanted to do justice to a man who has been unfairly wronged in al-Jahiz's writings. ʿAbdel-Raziq considers al-Kindī "the greatest man humanity has ever known with regard to his manners and mind."¹⁵⁶ Then he sheds light on the philosophy of the second teacher, al-Farabyīwho according to him contributed

¹⁵⁵ ʿAbdel Rāziq, Mustafa Failasuf al 'Arab wa al Mu'allem al Thāni. Al Hay'a al 'Amma li Qusour al Thaqāfa. P 26

¹⁵⁶ The previous reference. p 49

enormously to the introduction of the philosophical renaissance in Islam.¹⁵⁷ Writing the history of both these philosophers is relevant to our investigation of 'Abdel-Raziq's methodology. We referred before to the fact that he encouraged the elegant Sufi methodology and here he speaks about the Muslim philosophers' authenticity and rejects the Orientalists' view which described them as imitators of Greek philosophy. 'Abdel-Raziq, the writer of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* theory who considers this methodology the real expression of Muslim philosophy, does not refuse the methodology adopted by Muslim philosophers in studying philosophy according to the Greek pattern; although they are two different methodologies and conflict arose between them. Later on 'Abdel-Raziq's disciple Sami al-Nashar will reject his teacher's methodical tolerance and exclude the Muslim philosophers from the general trend of Islamic civilization considering them isolated outcast circles. 'Abdel-Raziq also tackles the biography of the wise poet al-Mutanabbī, Ptolemae of the Arabs Ibn al-Haytham and Sheikh of al-Mujadidīn, the philosopher Ibn Taymiyya. In summary, he tries to prove that these three: the poet, the scholar and the jurist were all philosophers regarding one aspect. He also believes that al-Mutanabbī contributed to philosophy "as he inserted it into his poetry when she was simply trying to find an outlet to touch the minds and hearts"¹⁵⁸. Concerning Ibn al-Haytham, some sources state that he

¹⁵⁷ The previous reference. P 95

¹⁵⁸ The previous reference. p 127

has philosophical writings that are not extant.¹⁵⁹ Then, ‘Abdel-Raziq presents Ibn Taymiyya as a philosopher who fought philosophy and he gives reasons for that as he read a lot about the philosophical doctrines. Here many of ‘Abdel-Raziq's writing features are shown, like his good conceptualization, organization, division, clarification, his respect of minds, avoidance of imitation and his rejection to reveal the Sufi mysticism.¹⁶⁰ His philosophy is also manifested in his reply to philosophers, *theologians* and Sufis. Moreover, if the logical studies have run according to his criticizing methodology, we would have reached great achievements.¹⁶¹ Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq's trend of investigating the philosophy of those who were not considered philosophers is closely related to his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*, because in his theory, he considered *uṣūl al fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) a part of Islamic philosophy according to his vision of the meaning of philosophy, which is a clear vision especially in considering Ibn Taymiyya a philosopher. Philosophy has been defined and identified in two ways: first, by its topics and second by its dealing with ideas. Philosophy comes from the verb "philosophizing" even in non-philosophical topics such as the poetry of al-Mutanabbī and Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of other doctrines. We will discuss this matter in more details while discussing his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*, which will be one of the important approaches to understand his theory. In addition, his

¹⁵⁹ The previous reference. P 136

¹⁶⁰ The previous reference. P 161

¹⁶¹ The previous reference. Pp 164: 167

other books were highlighted as functional parts in his methodology. He writes about Imām Al-Shāfiī, but we do not know if this book is the Arabic translation of the French version of his doctoral dissertation in Paris in 1914. ‘Abdel-Raziq’s study of Al-Shāfiī was the biggest factor which led ‘Abdel-Raziq to all his later intellectual developments. It is like a dazzling lamp which led him to the greatness of the Islamic scientific heritage and the establishment of a scientific study of this heritage in the contemporary Arab academy. The ideas in this book are the cornerstone which will crystallize ‘Abdel-Raziq’s thought about the philosophical creativity of Muslims represented in al-manhaj al-uṣūlī, because Al-Shāfiī was the founder of Uṣūl al fiqh.¹⁶² His book about Muḥammad ‘Abdū is considered a return to the principals of his thought. Muḥammad ‘Abdū led his excellent student to the great Islamic heritage in which he found the essence of his thought.

A contemporary researcher said that Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq’s school was "the first school in the history of modern Arab thought to combine philosophical and enlightened nature in one hand and the continuity, cooperation and faithfulness of its leaders to each other on the other hand."¹⁶³ The researcher felt that the

¹⁶² Abdel Rāziq, Mustafa. Al Imām al Shāfiī. Lajnat Tarjama Da’irat al Ma’arif al Islamiya p 3

¹⁶³ Nassar, ‘Essmat (2007). Al Fikr al Masri al Hadith bayn al Naqd wa al Naqd. First Edition. Egypt: Nahdat Masr Publishers. P 175

essential reason for the success of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq in establishing a great academic school is the cooperation and faithfulness of its leaders to each other. The matter is more than loyalty and faithfulness, but is also based on mature scientific thought. He believes that the existence of ideas continues with the presence of disciples who are able to develop it. He also believes that the development of disciples should be parallel to the continuation of the revival of thought within the professors themselves. This matter is overlooked by some people who believe that the continuation of the teachers' thought through their disciples' thought is enough and there is no need to evoke the thought of the ancients. Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq took the responsibility to complete, develop and apply the task of his mentor Muḥammad ‘Abdū in the academic field. However, he did not forget to revive the memory and thought of his master among the younger generations in all occasions through giving speeches, writing newspaper articles and publishing books, including a book discussing the idea of religious reform.¹⁶⁴ His book about "*Al-bahā’ Zuhayr*" fits into the framework of his linguistic reform emanating from the idea of his methodological pragmatic thinking, as language contains content and meanings. Moreover, reality and thought can not be reformed unless the Arabic language expunges impurities of pronunciation, exaggeration, empty figures of speech, and redundancy and make

¹⁶⁴ al Sheikh Mohammed ‘Abdou wa jehateh fi al- Iisalah al- Dini. P 97. This book is buplished with Al Imām al Shāfi’I in one volume

it simple and direct. *Al-bahā' Zuhayr* was an Egyptian poet who lived in the Ayyubid period and made fundamental changes in the language of poetry and correspondences of his time. He was brief and did not like redundancy and used very few figures of speech. Furthermore, he tended to be clear and simple and did not accept the density of metonymy and metaphor. He was against rigidity in versification which according to him kills the talents of creativity.¹⁶⁵ He developed an everyday language and made it subject to the rules of grammar and syntax and used it in his poetry.¹⁶⁶ This is what Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq wanted to develop as well, an everyday language of his era. He wanted to control it and to make it suitable for literary and scientific use in all its aspects.

B. Al-Manhaj Al-Uṣūlī Theory:

We will tackle the issue of methodology adopted by Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq through his famous theory in al-manhaj al-uṣūlī. He presented this theory for the first time to his disciples at the Egyptian University in the twenties and 30s of the 20th century. The proposal of his theory was associated with his work in the Egyptian University since 1927 and was also associated with his success in the establishment of Islamic philosophy studies according to the modern academic standards. Therefore, we will begin with the circumstances which surrounded the

¹⁶⁵ Abdel Rāziq, Mustafa1(935). *Al bahā' Zuheir*. Second Edition. Lajnat al Ta'leef wa al Tarjama wa al Nashr. The introduction

¹⁶⁶ The previous refrence. Pp 27: 28

introduction of his theory in terms of this academic foundation and then, we will tackle his theory on its own.

*** Academic Founding of Islamic Philosophy Studies:**

Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq moved to teach at the Philosophy Department at the Egyptian University in 1927 till 1939. In this short time, not exceeding 12 years, he achieved unprecedented success in establishing a huge academic school whose successive generations of students still continue their efforts in the development of Islamic philosophy.

His contemporaries, his disciples and those who came after him acknowledge his success. Ibrāhīm Bayūmi Madkūr, one of his contemporaries, and a person espousing a different methodology in the study of Islamic Philosophy said that" Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq is Chairman of the school and as I mentioned before he is eligible for this leadership. He was a leading person in his research and paid special attention to philosophical thinking and prepared its methodology. His book "tamhīd li tarīkh al-falsafa al-islamiyya" (Introduction to the History of Islamic Philosophy) was the best witness to this. In this book, the shaykh has presented comprehensive summary of the Islamic culture including: language and literature, interpretation, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, knowledge and philosophy. He also learned from Western culture, combined Arabic and French cultures, and united the old and

new."¹⁶⁷. He continues saying" Mustafā āAbdel-Raziq's school is known for its men and their productivity, and they are all faithful to their shaykh and leader... their role is not confined to Egypt alone, but rather extended to the entire Arab world as they led an active scientific Movement."¹⁶⁸

Hamed Taher, a Contemporary Islamic philosophy professor, compares between three methodologies which emerged together in the study of Islamic philosophy in the modern age: the great Indian poet Muḥammad Iqbal, Ibrahim Bayoumi Madkour and Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq. He believes that the methodology of the latter "was a major turning point in the history of modern philosophical study for Muslims. He also believes that 'Abdel-Raziq identified the problems and clarified his goal and opened a new area of research."¹⁶⁹ Moreover, "'Abdel-Raziq's methodology continued through his school and his disciples." He had a great influence on his disciples such as Maḥmūd al-Khuḍarī, Muḥammad Mustāfā Hīlmī, 'Uthmān Amīn, 'Alī Sāmī al-Nashār and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hadī Abu Rīda and others.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Al 'Iraqi, 'Atef (1997). Al Sheikh al 'Akbar Mustafa 'Abdel Rāziq Mufakkiran wa Adiban wa Muslihan (Kitāb Tizkari). Introduction by 'Atef al 'Iraqi. Al Majlis al 'Ala lil Thiqafa. P 28

¹⁶⁸ The previous reference. P 30

¹⁶⁹ Tahir, Hamed (1991). Al Falsafa Al Islāmiya fi al 'Asr al Hadith. Cairo: Dar al Thiqafa al 'Arabiya. P 115

¹⁷⁰ The previous reference. P 116

The road was paved and yet at the same time not paved in front of ‘Abdel-Raziq. Paved on one hand, because Islamic philosophy studies in the modern age was still at its beginning, in addition to the lack of a proper scientific methodology and being confined to the Orientalists only. On the other hand, it was not paved for the same reasons, because many Orientalists who were interested to study the Islamic philosophical heritage did not do so in a proper way. They did not use an appropriate methodology and were overwhelmed by the trends of religious and political intolerance. Orientalism emerged and was accompanied by the beginnings of European colonial expansion to study the East scientifically in all its aspects including its heritage. Orientalists made efforts to study some aspects of Islamic philosophy. His work at the Egyptian University was a golden chance to found a real academic School studying the Islamic philosophical heritage. All people acknowledged his leading role in this field and that he transcended the previous efforts of Orientalists, including his Italian predecessor Santlana who was working at the Egyptian university before him. Tawfīq al-Tawīl, one of his disciples, said that "as we believe, he was the first to found a subject called Islamic Philosophy at University studies level and he encouraged teaching ‘Ilm al-Kalām " (Islamic speculative dialectical theology) and Sufism at the Philosophy Department. When he was appointed as Minister of Awqāf for the first time in 1937, the Philosophy Department at the Faculty of Arts held a celebration for

him, where one of his disciples said that: “our shaykh is the first one to establish the Islamic Philosophy subject and to teach it.” When he thanked those who arranged the celebration, he commented: “we should express our gratitude to his disciples. The Italian Orientalists Santlana has preceded me in teaching this subject at the Civil Egyptian University. However, I am the author of this article, I certify that I have read photocopies of the lectures of Santlana in the Library of Cairo University and I found some great efforts, but it is only information about Islamic thought, not a philosophical pattern which can be considered as a doctrine. It is true to say that our Shaykh is the first one to discover Muslim intellectual thought, from its beginning and through its development, a philosophy which has an importance among the subjects studied at Universities. He divided it into branches including ‘Ilm al-Kalām and Sufism.”¹⁷¹ The final words of the previous citation describe the situation of the Islamic philosophy studies before ‘Abdel-Raziq's work. The efforts of the Orientalists just produced some scattered information about this philosophy, especially because they studied only a small part of the entire heritage, while its greater part has not yet emerged from the darkness of the anonymous libraries containing the heritage works. However, the most dangerous aspect in this situation is that many Orientalists established opinions and theories about this philosophy depending and using only these small and scattered pieces by the founders of this philosophy, and the intellectual

¹⁷¹ Al Sheikh al 'Akbar Mustafa 'Abdel Rāziq Mufakkiran wa Adiban wa Muslihan. Pp 39: 40

and cultural formation of Muslims and Arab in general which is based on Western racial theories in scientific and neutral way. ‘Abdel-Raziq realized through his broad vision and his critical methodology that his main task in the field of Islamic philosophy studies is to refute the preconceived judgments and non- scientific theories prevailing and deconstructing them through criticizing their methodologies and judgments. In this way, ‘Abdel-Raziq started his hard work of destroying the illusionary ideas and the harmful thought to establish his new one on a clear basis. He achieved a great success and he was known as the founder of Islamic philosophy studies. The views of the Orientalists disappeared, because it was not scientific and lacked a proper methodology. This critical view by ‘Abdel-Raziq represents the broad framework of his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. His method of criticizing the prevailing methodologies and rejecting them led him to develop his own methodology in the study of Islamic philosophy. He was able to develop his famous theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* through applying his methodology. Thus, we can say that, the new "methodology" of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq in the study of Islamic philosophy led him to discover the empirical scientific spirit of Islamic civilization in its apparent form "scientific empirical methodology" represented in *Uṣūl al-fiqh*.

*** Rejection of the prevailing methodologies in Islamic Philosophy studies:**

In his famous book "*tamhīd li tarīkh al-falsafa al-islamiyya*" (Introduction to Islamic Philosophy) which includes his lectures at the Egyptian University without any revisions and modifications, 'Abdel-Raziq illustrated in the introduction his main role in teaching Islamic Philosophy through a different methodology from the methodologies of the western scholars. "The western researchers seem to want to select foreign elements in this philosophy to attribute them to neither Arab nor Islamic origins and to show their impact on guiding Islamic thought."¹⁷² This short and eloquent quote summarizes the story of Islamic philosophy studies before 'Abdel-Raziq founded his new scientific school. Orientalists worked hard to prove that Islamic philosophy is merely a reflection of foreign influences, which might be Greek, Persian, Indian and Christian theological or Jewish, or a combination of these influences. Their methodologies are prepared to prove preconceived judgments and opinions. These methodologies aim to prove that this philosophy is just a reflection of non-Islamic external influences. Such methodologies will resort to arbitrariness in understanding facts in order to prove its vision. Thus, they are biased methodologies of preconceived earlier judgments, and all this refute its suitability for application. 'Abdel-Raziq said that

¹⁷² Abdel Rāziq, Mustafa (1994). *Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya*. Cairo: Lajnat al Ta'leef WA al Tarjama wa al Nashr. The introduction.

his methodology differs from the methodologies of the ancient Islamic researchers who "value philosophy according to religion." His refusal also extends to the ancient methodology of Muslims, who value Islamic philosophy according to external standards, which means its compatibility with the Islamic religion. 'Abdel-Raziq began to discuss and refute the western view – based on their biased methodologies- in a critical scientific spirit to clarify Islamic Philosophy since its stability as one of the modern Renaissance's features of the history of philosophy in the nineteenth century. He discussed the views of Tinman (died in 1819 AD) who believed that the weakness of Arab philosophy is due to several obstacles, the most important one being their holy book, which hinders free rational thought and also the dominance of Sunnis who adhere to the Holy Qura'n and the Sunna. Moreover, the Arabs had nationalistic nature influenced by illusions.¹⁷³ He also discussed Cuzan's view (died in 1847 AD) who argued that Christianity is the last and perfect religion on Earth that promoted new freedom, parliamentary governments and modern philosophy, while Abrahamic and Islamic religions and other religions led to great decadence and despotism.¹⁷⁴ Thus, 'Abdel-Raziq emphasized that these judgments and sayings reveal their religious content and that the spirit of their time based on religious

173 Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 4: 5

174 Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 8: 9

fanaticism.¹⁷⁵ He criticizes the views of the French philosopher Ernest Renan (died in 1892 AD) who is considered one of the most adverse opponents who contributed to the formation of the priorities of modern Arab thought. Albert Hourani believes that when ‘Abdel-Raziq wrote his book "tamhīd li tarīkh al-falsafa al-islamiyya" (Introduction to Islamic Philosophy) he was influenced by Muḥammad ‘Abdū's books along with the framework of nineteenth century rationality and Renan's fantasy which encouraged him to criticize Renan's claims that Islamic philosophy was not Islamic or Arabic in any substantive way.¹⁷⁶ Al-Afghnī was concerned with responding to Renan's views against Islam and its heritage which scorned Arabs. ‘Abdel-Raziq was greatly affected by Al-Afghanī in this regard. This is the same way adopted by Muḥammad ‘Abdū in responding to Renan and the French thinker Hanoteau. Renan was a secular atheist but he replaced religious intolerance with racial ethnic intolerance. ‘Abdel-Raziq realized its danger as Renan "followed a scientific method in his research on the history of Semitic languages aiming to make an intense campaign in which his books criticize all Semitic races¹⁷⁷. Semitism and Aryan race theories are related to the nineteenth century, where European linguists divided the world into Semitic and Aryan languages. Renan declares that he is the first one to state that Semitic race is lessor to the Aryan race and that its nature is affected by uniformity in

¹⁷⁵ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 8

¹⁷⁶ Al Fikr al ‘Arabi fi ‘Asr al Nahda 1798 – 1939. P 171

¹⁷⁷ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya . p9

religion and simplicity in language, industry, art and civilization, while the Aryan race tends to diversity and harmony of composition.¹⁷⁸ ‘Abdel-Raziq refutes Renan's views in detail and shows its contradictions then he presents the views of the Orientalists in the twentieth century.¹⁷⁹ He discussed the issue of Semitism and Aryan with the famous Orientalist Gaultier, who believes that Islam is a very strong religion in its Semitism, as it is the strictest religion in opposing Aryan Greek philosophy.¹⁸⁰ The overall view in the assessment of Islamic philosophy has been improved in the twentieth century. It was said that this philosophy is a mere distorted perception of the Aristotelian doctrine. It was also said that Islam and its holy book were an obstacle to intellect and philosophy. ‘Abdel-Raziq submitted the latest European and American researches which prove the weak origin of Semitism and Aryan theory and that it is not scientifically justified.¹⁸¹ We do not need to mention the end of European colonialism, which ended with its defeat in the Great World War that lasted six years 1939 - 1945 because of its theories of racism. Therefore, Europe destroyed its own populations because of the intolerance of the German race at the expense of its European neighbors. What ‘Abdel-Raziq has done in the East goes far beyond the criticism of western methodologies in the study of Islamic Philosophy. Moreover, the academic

¹⁷⁸ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 11

¹⁷⁹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya . pp 11: 13

¹⁸⁰ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 21

¹⁸¹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya . pp 28: 30

writing of ‘Abdel-Raziq is a reflection of his thought as a reformist leader. He also realized as a disciple of al-Afghanī and Muḥammad ‘Abdū that European political-military colonialism was accompanied by ideological oppression, which used the latest theories in Arab thought to perpetuate the European colonialism in the Arab East countries. The disaster is that this usage is normal and logical, because nature gave the Aryan race the qualities of genius and excellence and deprived the Semitic race of these qualities; hence it seemed logical that Aryan race ruled the Semitic one. Moreover, these theories degraded the Islamic religion and saw it as a constraint on intellect and creativity. These theories reflected "trends to make the Islamic religion as a mere fabrication from previous religions particularly Judaism and Christianity."¹⁸² These falsifications and fabrications go beyond the Islamic heritage to reach the Islamic religion itself. The Reforming Trend addressed these judgments and theories in the context of intellectual struggle. It also addressed Arab secularism whose leaders echoed some of the contents of Semitic and Aryan articles as important scientific articles such as Ismail Mazhar. The comparison is amazing, because those who claim that they raise the flags of science and reason echoed the western beliefs without thinking about or criticizing them. In addition, their reforming opponents were those who criticized western theories based on racial and religious intolerance in an organized scientific way.

¹⁸² Al Falsafa Al Islāmiya fi al ‘Asr al Hadith. p 75

Abbas Maḥmūd, one of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq's disciples, said that "in 1927, our dignified teacher Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq began his lectures in Islamic Philosophy with speaking about some Orientalists views such as those of Renan, Theophile Gautier and Laby who divided the world into Semitic and Aryan and tried to know the qualities of their respective minds. Our dignified teacher discussed these theories in detail to prove that the distinction between the Aryan and Semitic mind and those views that fascinated the Orientalists were pure racism. When I listened to this talk, I did not know that our dignified Shaykh is not concerned with discussing a trend that belongs to science and is based on racism. When I read the book titled "Islam and Al-Tajdīd in Egypt" I know that Jamāl Al-Dīn Al Afghānī advocated this same view when Renan advocated his. Imām Muḥammad ‘Abdū refuted the view of Hanoteau, so I realized that my teacher was encouraging us just as he learned from his shaykh.¹⁸³

After ‘Abdel-Raziq criticized the western methodologies in the study of Islamic Philosophy, he presented the ancient Islamic researchers' methodologies such as the judge Sa‘id Ibn Aḥmad, al-Shahrastānī and Ibn Khaldūn. He believed that the methodology most spread among those scholars was the one that values philosophy according to religion. ‘Abdel-Raziq rejected this methodology because he advocated the independence of philosophy and religion and he did not want

183 Al Islām wa al Tajdid fi Misr. P 263

any of them to serve the other.¹⁸⁴ The critical view of the previous methodologies in the study of Islamic Philosophy is the broad framework which led ‘Abdel-Raziq to adopt the issue of methodology and his famous theory in al-manhaj al-uṣūlī. He developed an alternative methodology in the study of this philosophy and he proposed his methodology through applying it.

***.New Methodology in the Study:**

‘Abdel-Raziq “rejected the all previously used methodologies in the study of Islamic Philosophy and developed a new one”. This statement explains the different methodology in the study of Islamic Philosophy. He encouraged going back to the Islamic rational considerations in its primer innocence and follows its ways and the secrets of its development.¹⁸⁵ He meant that his methodology is distinguished, new and different from the prevailing methodologies. This methodology is not based on a traditional reading of intellectual productions in their final material form, such as books by philosophers and thinkers, but he tried to find the rational consideration behind these books not only with regard to their authors, but also within their broad cultural framework. This methodology seeks to understand thought in its flow before taking the final and clear material form. He also tends to investigate the Islamic Arab thought and its features. This methodology is based on the processes of thought and its mechanisms,

¹⁸⁴ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 31: 47

¹⁸⁵ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. The introduction

objectives and implicit motives and creativity. It also searches for the general spirit of Islamic philosophical thought related to this thought alone and distinguishes it from Greek or Persian philosophical thought or any other thought. The result of this methodology was the one which Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq presented as his new theory about al-manhaj al-uṣūlī and considered it the essence of philosophical creativity for Muslims.

***.Definition of al-manhaj al-uṣūlī Theory:**

‘Abdel-Raziq proposed his full theory in part two of his book. He hinted at his theory in the first part as a reference to what will be following and as a primary tickling and awakening of the idea in his disciples' minds. It was also an attempt to root it in the heritage of the past. ‘Abdel-Raziq said that *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence) is not devoid of the impact of philosophy and that Ibn Khaldun considered *‘ilm al-Khilafiyat* (Science of Disagreements) and *‘ilm al-jadal* “Science of argumentation” as related to *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Moreover, the relationship between the two sciences and logic cannot be denied. Tash Cobra Zada divided *uṣūl al-fiqh* into four sciences: *‘ilm al-nazar* (Science of theories), *‘ilm al Munāzara* (science of Debate), *‘ilm al Jadal* and *‘ilm al-Khilafiyat*. Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq commented that these sciences are philosophical ones and made them a branch of *uṣūl al-fiqh* which shows how it is connected to philosophy.¹⁸⁶ However, this

¹⁸⁶ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 75: 76

basis is considered just a preamble because the real basis of the theory is the theory proposal in the second part of the book, which has an indicative title “Our methodology in the study of the history of Islamic philosophy”. This section is considered a constructive part of the book in which ‘Abdel-Raziq presented his own thought after finishing the critical view in the first section. He expressed his thought using a brilliant logic and comprehensive methodology, which made it necessary to consider the genius of ‘Abdel-Raziq not only in his theory but also in the way he proposed this theory and how he presented it to his disciples and readers. He also reminded us that his book is identical to his lectures without any revisions and modifications. I have already referred to his logical way in writing through an article about the Prophet's birth written on the basis of the logical *qiyas* (syllogism) methodology. He presented a series of introductions to deduce the result he wants to communicate to readers. He developed this methodology to a more complicated structure in the second section of his book “*Al-Tamhīd*.” And it takes some experience to read his writings for the most benefit the simple, hasty or non-specialist layman reader might not pay attention to this logical methodology in writing and formulating ideas. He also does not present his opinion as a critical final judgment and expects the reader to admire it. He does not use colorful language and highsounding words to add value to the thoughts or the content and urges his reader or listener through a logical step by step

method, where he proposes a series of introductions till the reader deduces the necessary result from these introductions to arrive at the same result that ‘Abdel-Raziq wants to present. This is the basis of the scientific magic practiced by Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq on his disciples and which enabled him to found his prestigious school. ‘Abdel-Raziq presented his new theory in his methodological way in the second section as follows: he began with defining his methodology in the first chapter of this section, and then he collected primary notes and deduced from them a primary hypothesis which interprets them. This hypothesis is itself his theory. Then, he begins to test the validity of his hypothesis or prove its validity through applying his above mentioned methodology again in the second and third chapters. He did that very decisively and clearly. Moreover, he could root it skillfully in the whole history of Arab-Islamic thought. However, the reader cannot acknowledge the final result that the creativity of Muslims in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* is the greatest philosophical creativity and that this methodology is a scientific empirical one which affected the public spirit of the Islamic civilization as a whole. Depending on that, we will tackle his theory as he discussed it. First, we will identify the first phase in which he has applied his methodology to collect primary notes. We will also identify the nature of scientific hypothesis, which he proposed as explanations for these notes. Then, we will address the second phase in which he tested his scientific hypothesis and turned it into a formulated

theory. In the second phase, we will discover that the renewal by ‘Abdel-Raziq is not only related to the general framework of his theory but that he also presented an innovative rational vision for many partial argumentative issues within the heritage. ‘Abdel-Raziq renewed the methodology and the theory as a whole. He also renewed the partial elements of the theory. After finishing the presentation of the theory, we will address the basis behind the theory which includes some of the argumentative issues raised by it. These issues are not addressed by ‘Abdel-Raziq, but many people concluded them and viewed them as facts and priorities which must not be discussed. Then, we will reach a final assessment of the theory in two parts by answering the questions of what did ‘Abdel-Raziq present in his theory and why?

The first phase in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. collecting notes and providing hypotheses:

In the introduction of his book “*Al Tamhīd*” ‘Abdel-Raziq indicated that his methodology in the study is different from that of both the Orientalists and Islamists. In the second section, he mentioned this methodology before starting to use or apply it. He said that his methodology is based on “exploring the drawbacks of Islamic rational consideration in its integrity and purity then, we follow its various roles before it is included in scientific research and after it becomes a philosophical thinking.¹⁸⁷” We have mentioned before that this

¹⁸⁷ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 102

methodology searches for a way to capture the flow of thought before it turns into a specified physical structure written in the books and found in the works. Then, he determined the starting point for applying the methodology through searching within the Arab thought situation at the advent of Islam. This classification is considered as an identification of the framework in which he collects his primary notes by applying his mentioned methodology. He collected four notes – we will consider it as logical introductions because that is the essence of what he did - the first and the second relate to the pre-Islamic era, where the thorny theoretical religious controversy and practical thinking related to life and improvement of reality already existed. Prior to Islam, Arabs lived in great religious variation such as Jews, Christians, Sabians, Magi and idolaters who were many sects. This religious variation caused controversy among them and needed a balance between their various doctrines. As for practical thinking, it resulted from the need of the human community to coexist. ‘Abdel-Raziq considered that the practical thinking of the Arabs in the pre-Islamic era had a value, because it was better than the theoretical religious controversy. It was wisdom in itself, which means a mastery of knowledge and action in a way that prevents aberration, corruption and injustice. Then, Islam comes to prevent Muslims from more theoretical controversy in religion and beliefs. Therefore, the Holy Qur’an itself argues with those who violate its teachings in a merciful and forgiving way. The

Holy Qur'an mentioned the *ḥikma* (wisdom) of the Arabs and encouraged it. The use of the word *ḥikma* (wisdom) in the Holy Qur'an means knowledge associated with action. Practical wisdom in Islam is determined by the concept of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) in religion and practicing it which means *ijtihād* through using reason in matters of practical rulings or judgments. These are the two logical introductions related to the advent of Islam. 'Abdel-Raziq deduced from these above mentioned four introductions that the teachings of Islam had an effect on the direction of rational consideration of Muslims, as well as the practical side and their separation from the theoretical side represented in religious controversy. Then, he deduced from the primary notes to develop a scientific hypotheses explaining it. This hypothesis is the essence of his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. We will review his text as he said it: "this *aijtihad* using *ra'y* (opinion) in the Islamic legislations (*al-aḥkām al-shar'īya*) is the essence of rational consideration by the Muslims. It developed in the care of the ideas and essence of Holy Qur'an because of the religion. It led to the evolution of the doctrines of *fiqh* and the foundation of philosophy, which is *uṣūl al-fiqh* (principles of jurisprudence). It also led to the evolution of Sufism as will be discussed. This all took place before Greek philosophy guided the rational consideration of Muslims to search beyond nature in general and theology in particular. Researchers in the history of Islamic philosophy must first study *ijtihād* by opinion

from its early evolution until it became a pattern of scientific research methods that has its origins and rules. We should start with this research, because it is the beginning of Muslims philosophical thinking. The natural order requires putting the former before the latter because this characteristic is the least feature of Islamic thought affected by foreign elements. It represents this thought in a simple way which facilitated its development through its own strength alone. It also facilitated following it through its developmental phases throughout history and tracing its action and interaction and regarding the ideas related to the nations.¹⁸⁸ In these short and critical phrases, ‘Abdel-Raziq summarized his intellectual theory which caused enormous scientific movement in the field of Islamic philosophy, philosophy of science and science of methodology and logic. Thus, we finished the first phase of methodological logical structure in which ‘Abdel-Raziq proposed his theory. In the second phase, ‘Abdel-Raziq proves the validity of his hypothesis or theory through a new reading of the history of Arab thinking since the Prophetic era.

***. Proving the validity of the theory:**

In this segment, ‘Abdel-Raziq began proving the validity of his theory by using his new methodology again. This methodology reads the practical history of Islamic Arab thinking represented in *ijtihad bi-l ra’y* since its evolution and formation. It

¹⁸⁸ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 123

views thinking as a mental processes not as deductions and theories scattered within the produced works. This methodology collected primary notes in the first phase aiming at reaching a good scientific hypothesis to explain it. In the second phase, this methodology aims at collecting more historical data which proves the validity of the theory. However, there is an obstacle facing the methodology, which is the previous one that attributed the evolution of thought to external factors depending on *ijtihad*. Therefore, the founder of that methodology refutes the others before starting to present his own evidences. This is similar to what he did in the first section in which he refuted the Orientalists' methodologies in the study of Islamic philosophy. 'Abdel-Raziq begins to refute the Orientalists' views related to the evolution of *fiqh* (jurisprudence). Their prevailing view was that *ijtihad bi-l ra'y* and reason in Sharī'a (Islamic legislation) did not begin until a late phase in Islam. They agreed that the evolution of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) occurred after mixing with other cultures. For example, Carra de Vaux compares both saying the following: "if a reader reads some verses of containing rulings in the Holy Qur'an and then reads two or three pages from definitions of *fiqh*, he will feel the differences between the naïve vague ambiguous text suitable for prime nomadism. This is an accurate scientific analysis related to the impacts of cultural thinking.¹⁸⁹ Carra de Vaux fails to affirm the foreign source that affected

¹⁸⁹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 124:126

fiqh (jurisprudence) and opines that it might be the Jewish Talmud, Christian or Byzantine laws.¹⁹⁰

‘Abdel-Raziq refutes these views and believes that Carra de Vaux overlooked the Prophetic Sunna, *qiyas* and *ijmā‘* as sources for the formation of *fiqh*. In addition, he rejects his comparison between the Holy Qur'an and the books of *fiqh* because they simply cannot be compared. Then, he discusses Goldziher's views and starts with simple notes that Carra de Vaux viewed the Christian source as predominant in Islamic jurisprudence because he is Christian, while Goldziher preferred the dominance of Jewish sources¹⁹¹ Goldziher believed that the Holy Qur'an did not control the formation of Islam's limits except for a very small period only, not exceeding twenty years. Then, the foreign elements infiltrated Islam in the form of Prophetic traditions. Thus, the integration of foreign elements into Islam led to the loss of its origins. From this background, it assumed a place in Islam which included the Old Testament, the New Testament and proverbs by Jewish rabbis, or quotes from the Gospels or some doctrines of Greek philosophy and some words of wisdom by Persians and Indians.¹⁹² Moreover, Muslims do not use *al-qiyās al-fiqhī* (deduction based on the principles of jurisprudence) and rational deduction except at a later phase with the onset or

¹⁹⁰ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 125:126

¹⁹¹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 126

¹⁹² Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 128

the Abbasid period.¹⁹³ ‘Abdel-Raziq presents the Ibn Khaldūn’s theory, who believed that legislation in the time of the Prophet (PBUH) was based on revelation only and that *ijtihād bi-l ra’y* and *qiyās* were not practiced by the prophet’s companions except after Prophet Muḥammad's death¹⁹⁴.

The Orientalists' theories and Ibn Khaldūn's are the same in that *al-qiyas* and *al-ijtihād bi-l ra’y* (analogy and opinion) didn't exist except after Prophet Muḥammad's death. However, the Orientalists believed in the foreign element or elements in forming *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and in the evolution of *al-qiyas al-uṣūlī*. ‘Abdel-Raziq tackles the doctrin of Ibn ‘Abd al-Bar and Ibn Al-Jawziya who believe that *ijtihād bi-l ra’y* (opinion) existed among the Prophet's companions. Moreover, it is clear that they agree with ‘Abdel-Raziq, but he adds in his theory that the Prophet himself gave opinions and legislated rulings using his mind in addition to his reception of divine revelation. Thus, both *al-‘aql* (intellect) and *al-naql* (transmission) exists since the beginning of Islam as we will see.

After his critical refutation of these methodologies and opinions in order to deconstruct them and establish a new one, he continues providing evidences of the accuracy of his theory through applying his methodology and tracing the Islamic history since the Prophetic era. In the first phase, ‘Abdel-Raziq collects primary notes from the Pre-Islamic era to the Islamic era. However, here he

¹⁹³ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 129: 130

¹⁹⁴ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 130: 131

focuses on the Prophetic era till he reaches the era of the codification of sciences to write the history of the foundation of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* along with the foundation of Islam itself. While providing this evidence, he allocates some space for the mind to find Islam on its own. Furthermore, he provides viewpoints about some Islamic controversial issues depending on the intellectual Islam as a reason which exists since the beginnings of Islam represented in the Prophet's (PBUH) "opinion." As a proof of the reasonability of Islam, scholars differed with regard to the issue of the Prophet's legislation using his mind and opinion without any revelation. However, it is most likely is that they believe that the Prophet delivered his message only through reporting revelation and he did not provide a viewpoint separate from these revelations as we have mentioned while discussing Ibn Khaldūn's viewpoint in this regard. Nevertheless, those who are in favour that the Prophet offered legislation depending on his mind and intellect along with revelation are in the minority and it was expected for 'Abdel-Raziq to prefer this viewpoint within the framework of his theory. He further believed that the Prophet (PBUH) worshipped God before his mission as a Prophet by using his mind and through personal reason, i.e. he found the way to God and worshipped HIM before the revelation through his logical reason. The Uṣūlīs discussed this and differed with regard to this issue; while some of them believed that the Prophet worshipped God following Adam's way, others said following

Noah's way and yet others said following Abraham's way. Some said Moses's, others said Jesus's, while others said he worshipped God following rational thinking. This shows the existence of reason as a pillar of legislation since the beginning of Islam.

"What we have mentioned about the view of some scholars' concerning whether Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) worshipped God before the revelation using reason is based on the premise that the Prophet kept following this even after revelation, except for what the new Islamic Law changed and that reason was one of the pillars of the rulings of Islamic Law, except for what has been provided in the Holy Qur'an."¹⁹⁵ In addition, the Holy Qur'an itself is a witness of the Prophet's *ijtihad* regarding certain issues for which no revelation was provided as it includes a verse which reads " [3.159] ... and take counsel with them in the affairs ... ". Then 'Abdel-Raziq mentioned examples for this *ijtihad* and added that he did his best to give a viewpoint depending on giving reasons. "It is narrated that the Prophet (PBUH) gave reasons for many rules and giving reasons requires following the *'illa*, which is exactly *al-qiyas*". Then he gives many examples and then he says: "The Prophet (PBUH) used *al-qiyas* a lot and al-Qaṣiḥ al-Hanbalī classified part of his *qiyas*"¹⁹⁶. In addition to reason, some previous legislations were pillars of Islamic Law in the early Islamic era as long

¹⁹⁵ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya.p 156

¹⁹⁶ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 141

as they were not rebutted. The uṣūlīs discussed this issue in one of the concepts of uṣūl al-fiqh called as "*al-Istishāb*." ‘Abdel-Raziq tackles the Uṣūlīs' differences with regard to the meaning of "*al-Istishāb*" and he reaches a crucial conclusion "in this way, it is clear that *al-Istishāb*, in some of its versions, is one of the pillars of Islamic Law's legislations along with the pillars we have mentioned. Moreover, it advocates the consideration of the judgment of reason and that of the previous laws in approving the practical judgments in Islam. According to what we have mentioned, the sources of rulings and judgments in the Prophetic Era do not lack any of the requirements of the groups over that of the individuals."¹⁹⁷ The Prophet's companions also practiced the rational consideration or *al-ijtihād* during the Prophet's life in His presence so he could approve or disapprove of their reasoning as well as later on in absence.¹⁹⁸ After the Prophet's death, they continued depending on *qiyas* in those events for which nothing was mentioned in the Holy Qur'an, and lacked also from the Sunna.¹⁹⁹ Before resuming, it is worth mentioning that ‘Abdel-Raziq uses opinion, *qiyas* and *ijtihād* as synonyms.²⁰⁰ The Prophet's companions continued depending on *ijtihād* for giving reasons and using parameters and there were only very minor or little differences between their deductions. Moreover, in their era, there was also

¹⁹⁷ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 157

¹⁹⁸ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 148

¹⁹⁹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 158

²⁰⁰ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 136:137

what is called "*ijmā'*" (consensus) which is "what Muslims agreed on as lawful or unlawful".

‘Abdel-Raziq mentioned that *ijmā'* (consensus) depends on opinion, thus it is a collective decision based on rational consideration. Scholars differed with regard to defining *ijmā'* (consensus), some said it is the Prophet's companions' *ijmā'*, while others said it is that the people of Medina, yet others said it is that of the people of Kūfa and others said it is the opinion of the public. The most important point for ‘Abdel-Raziq is that *al-ijmā'* (consensus) is a phase of intellectual opinion as all these different meanings of *ijmā'* were not given in detail until the sciences were codified and their rules were set. However, they show that *al-ijmā'* (consensus) was vague in its evolution, suitable to bear all these meanings. In addition, intellectual opinion itself was also vague and undefined. *Al-ijmā'* (consensus) in its evolution was a phase of intellectual opinion and a manifestation of its organization and a manifestation of using it to organize legislation and democracy in a place which moved from its phase of evolution to being an example of organized democratic rule."²⁰¹ Such an essential phrase is a reminder for us with ‘Abdel-Raziq's methodology, which is based on reading the Islamic methodology that combines between the rational considerations and the empirical one in the eve of the evolution and formation phase. Therefore, in the

²⁰¹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 172

previous phrase he was not concerned with the controversial meanings given by scholars to *al-ijmāʿ* (consensus), because its definition and identification came during the period of codification and the organization of its scientific rules. However, he was more concerned with the formation of the Islamic methodology features during its evolution and its formation before codification. Therefore, he points out that *ijmāʿ* (consensus) in its evolution was general and included all the meanings given by the different scholars because the processes of the Islamic reasoning like opinion, *qiyas*, *ijtihad* and *al-ijmāʿ* (consensus) were broader before being defined within the process of codification. Such phrases, rulings and judgments require deep thinking. From them, we can deduce the extreme particularity of ʿAbdel-Raziq's thought and an overview of his genius. The pattern and views used to relate between the minor emerging Islamic groups whose needs were few and the patterns of its rational considerations shows them as simple. However, for ʿAbdel-Raziq the sources of judgment and legislation in the Prophet's era and the forms of rational consideration or *ijtihad* were broader and more developed than what the practical needs required. In this way, ʿAbdel-Raziq carefully tackles all the examples of *ijtihad bil raʾy* in Islam since its early foundation to prove that reason existed since the beginning of Islam and that Prophet Muḥammad (PBUH) and his companions were not just passive receivers and mechanical executors of the orders and prohibitions of revelation. On the

contrary, they contributed with their minds in the practical legislations related to their worldly life and affairs. This is not our own deduction from reading ‘Abdel Raziq's thoughts, because he says it very frankly and clearly. What he says here is not something new and he did not say it suddenly. We mentioned it while dealing with his general thought and while discussing what he wrote in his book entitled as "Religion, Revelation and Islam" about his rejection of all meanings given to the word "Islam" by the Orientalists as they imply total surrender and submission to Allah without any will. Furthermore, he gives more supreme meanings to Islam explaining it as being sincere in following Allah in both action and intention and free from shirk (worshipping a partner with Allah) with a free individual will. In addition, ‘Abdel-Raziq believes that Islam as a religion is based on Muslims being guided with their free will to Allah, but this guidance was not unconscious. Providing this meaning, ‘Abdel-Raziq rejects the differences which some scholars believe, between faith and Islam. In the same book, another important view point is mentioned with regard to his explanation of the "revelation" phenomenon. He presents the viewpoints of the theologians and the Muslim philosophers in this regard. According to him, the theologians focused on the physical embodiment of the angel authorized to transmit the revelation to the Prophet; however, philosophers like Ibn Sīna gave more importance to the Prophet's spiritual and rational powers, while being in contact with this angel.

Moreover, he believes that the speculative dialectical conceptualization of revelation dominated in the eras of decay, while the philosophical conceptualization spread in the renaissance and revival eras. Muḥammad ʿAbdū chose the philosophical conceptualization embellished with some speculative dialectical aspects in this era, which means that he himself chose the philosophical conceptualization of revelation and that he was all for the Prophet's rational influence during his contact with revelation. Such flexible broad rational atmospheres are the ones which emerged early with Islam and responded to the practical Arab reasoning which existed since the Pre-Islamic era. It was natural and logical for *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* to emerge as a result of such suitable and fruitful introductions. ʿAbdel-Raziq maintains that the atmosphere of reason, rational consideration, *qiyas*, giving reasons, *al-raʿy*, *al-ijtihād* and the movement of matters on its right track spontaneously resulted in the development of the Islamic philosophic thought represented in the formation of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*, a general practical methodology appropriate for all sciences. In this way, ʿAbdel-Raziq sets his comprehensive theory in the internal Islamic evolution of the scientific philosophical thought deconstructing all Orientalists' theories which state that the philosophical thought came by itself to the Arab Muslims. ʿAbdel-Raziq resumes the development of this Islamic rational thought as he presents the principles of disagreement in the Umayyad period and which are summed in

the following: the disagreement emerging from the aspects between absolute truth and metaphor which has other aspects, and that emerging from singularity and complexity, as well as the one that emerged from generality and particularity, narration and flaws related to the Prophetic narrations, in addition to the one that emerged from *ijtihad* and *qiyas*. The latter is either a disagreement between those who deny *qiyas*, who are few on the one hand and those who believe in it on the other hand. Moreover, it may be a disagreement between those who believe in it with regard to their own *qiyas*. The last disagreement is the one that emerged regarding *al-naskh* (abrogation) between those who were for it and those who were against. As we see, such issues are related to the text of the Holy Qur'an and Prophetic tradition as they are the primary sources of legislation. The disagreement between scholars with regard to these issues is a methodological disagreement, as they differ in the methodological tools used in explaining some of the texts of both. Therefore, 'Abdel-Raziq considers the methodological scientific disagreements in the Ummayyad period one of the factors which led to the foundation of the Arab sciences and one of the tools of intellectual opinion. "During the era we are dealing with, all these disputes or most of them emerged according based on stability, expansion, branching of the legislative needs into subcategories, the Arab's transition from the primitive phase and illiteracy and their contact with foreign nations. Such disputes were

some of the reasons of the renaissance and establishing the Arab sciences and the codification of Hadith and Tafsīr as tools of deducing the Islamic legislations and *al-ijtihād bi-l-raʿy*, which is a pillar of Islamic law."²⁰² Thus, the evolution of Hadith and Tafsīr resulted from al-mujtahidīn's need for reporting scientific material to be used as introductions in the processes of *al-ijtihād bi-l-raʿy*; this is a new productive aspect of 'Abdel-Raziq's theory of methodology. It not only explains the pure Islamic evolution of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) and its principles as being based on looking carefully into reality and analyzing it rationally through the broad textual framework, but it also explains the evolution of other sciences such as Hadith and Tafsīr. Jurisprudence had a unique meaning in the Umayyad period, "the word *fiqh* was used to refer to the deduction of Islamic legislations using rational considerations regarding the issues for which nothing was mentioned in the Holy Qur'an or the Prophetic Sunna, and the people who study such science are called fuqaha'."²⁰³

The science of *fiqh* was stable in its rational aspect concerning the issues for which nothing was mentioned in the Holy Qur'an or the Prophetic Sunna before its aspect of deducing rules from texts was crystallized and established. This shows a methodological scientific development and also shows its coordination with the logic of issues. The Holy Qur'an was revealed in the Arabic language,

²⁰² Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 190

²⁰³ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 193

and the Prophetic Hadith was eloquent and expressive, thus dealing with texts was not a problem for the Prophet's companions, their successors and the successors to the successors. Moreover, they still remembered the reasons for the revelation and the details of Prophet's life as if they live it. Therefore, it is likely that they did their best, looked into matters carefully and used *al-qiyas* concerning the issues for which nothing was revealed or was found in the Prophetic Sunna which constituted a problem for them. Such problem pushed them to methodologically find better ways. The established used meaning of *fiqh* is the one reached at last in the Abbasid period. "In the early Abbasid period deduction became an established position and its principles became stable and the word '*fiqh*' was no longer confined to the original meaning which is deduction from non-textual evidences. Moreover, the first meaning of '*fiqh*' became – as al-Āmidī says in his book entitled as *Al-Iḥkām*: the legislators define '*fiqh*' as the science which comprises Islamic legislations given through consideration and deduction, it is the science of Islamic legislations and its detailed evidences whether based on a text or an opinion."²⁰⁴ 'Abdel-Raziq presents the methodological developments which led to the division of the jurists and scholars into two main schools using two different methodologies: Al-ra'y school in Iraq lead by Abū Hanifa (d. 150 AH) and its methodology is rational consideration and the large use of *qiyas* which is based on intellectual reasoning. The second

²⁰⁴ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. pp 204: 205

school is in Medina and is lead by Malik Ibn Anas (d. 179 AH) and its methodology is confined to deducing legislations from the available texts. In addition, they expanded in the collection of the prophetic traditions and in verifying them to use them in deducing new Islamic legislations, according to the new scientific needs. The two schools disputed scientifically but ‘Abdel-Raziq believes that their dispute goes back not to generation preceding them, which is the generation of the senior successors to the companions of the Prophet, as some of them preferred intellectual opinions, while others preferred Hadith. ‘Abdel-Raziq believes that *al-ra’y* school is the one which contributed to the development of *fiqh*. "In summary, it was the doctrine of al-ra’y people which organized the chapters of fiqh and collected many of its issues in different chapters."²⁰⁵ The methodological developments reached their peak with Al-Shāfiī, who with his genius set the permanent methodological spirit since the pre-Islamic era, which was largely developed by Islam, the Prophet, His companions and their followers. Such spirit developed into two competing methodologies in the era of al-Shāfiī who formulated it in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* as a complete methodology. Moreover, he founded the science of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, one of the dominant methodological sciences which provided the other sciences with methodologies and appropriate tools.

²⁰⁵ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya.pp 210: 211

What was Al-Shafiī's trend? He modeled himself on the same way the other philosophers typically follow as to go beyond the details and ramifications to make use of *al-uṣūl* and their generalization by means of deducing the generalized rules and laying down the methodological jurisprudence laws based on all contemporary jurisprudential knowledge. These rules and laws were in practice throughout the past history since the age of the Prophet (peace be upon him) but were subject to neither adjustment, codification nor were written down. Al-Shāfiī brought to light the intellectual perception and scientific codification that was applied yet obscured. Al-Shāfiī could direct - as pointed out by 'Abdel-Raziq - the jurisprudential studies through a new trend, "the prevailing trend of jurisprudential creeds prior to Al-Shāfiī was collecting matters, arranging them and attaching their respective details, particularly when their evidences were textual. And whereas Ahl al-hadith (The People of Hadīth) were mostly dependent upon texts, they frequently cited evidences by jurists. Furthermore, when Al-Shāfiī came out with his new doctrine, he had studied both existing aforementioned trends, noted their deficiencies that need adjustments, criticized some definitions due to being odd and deviant from a consolidated mode of deduction and these mark his jurisprudential doctrine as a new one based on the scientific mentality which pays no heed to details and ramifications."²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 230

Just like what we repeatedly noted, the methodology of ‘Abdel-Raziq not only focuses on the intellectual products in their final shape within existing compilations, but he also pays attention to the basis underlying these thoughts, and that is why we note that he reviews the method by which Al-Shāfiī handles the matters of knowledge and concludes that Al-Shāfiī was a philosopher in his knowledge "and in the way he handles knowledge which reflects his trend." Abū Muḥammad, al-Shāfiī's maternal nephew said quoting his mother who said: some night we brought the lamp to al-Shāfiī thirty times or thereabouts, while he was sitting and reminiscing then he calls out: O! Slave girl give me a lamp, then she brought it so that he could proceed in writing then he ordered her to elevate it because Aḥmad was once asked: what was meant by rejecting the lamp? He replied: darkness is clearer for the heart." And this type of calm thinking during the nighttime is not that of someone who focuses on the partial matters, details and ramifications, but that of someone who seeks to link the detailed *istidlāl* to their respective principles, and that is philosophical thinking."²⁰⁷

It was unanimously agreed that Al-Shāfiī was the founder of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, and in this respect it was considered that the opinion expressed by Fakhr El-Dīn El-Razī- from among other opinions quoted by ‘Abdel-Raziq- is highly instructive of what was constructed by al-Shafiī, saying "I am aware that when we relate al-

²⁰⁷ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P.230

Shāfiī to the science of al-uṣūl, we do so just like when we relate Aristotle to logic and al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad to prosody, so that the people prior to Aristotle were directed and guided by their instincts, but there were no rules applicable as to how to arrange limits and evidences, no wonder their words were such a chaotic and disordered jumble, because the less the instinct is supported by generalized law, the less it attains success. As for Aristotle, when he noted that, he kept himself isolated from the people for a long period and finally he could introduce Logic to them, thus laying down a generalized law for mankind that constitutes the basis of limits and evidences. Likewise, the poets preceding to al-Khalīl Ibn Aḥmad wrote their poetry depending solely on instinct, so that he could introduce to them prosody to be considered as a generalized law identifying the valid and invalid poetry measures. It is the same case here, whereas the people preceding Imam al-Shāfiī were approaching the matters of the principles of jurisprudence, deducing evidences and arguing, however, they had no generalized a reference law applicable as to the jurisprudential evidences; refuting or approving them, and that inspired al-Shāfiī to deduce uṣūl al-fiqh, and laid down a generalized law to be a reference for the classification of the jurisprudential evidences.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 232: 233

Next ‘Abdel-Raziq proceeds to explain the features of the philosophical thinking in "Al-Risala", the compilation prepared by al-Shāfiī which introduces the theoretical foundation for the principles of jurisprudence, and here ‘Abdel-Raziq uses the term ‘philosophical thinking’ as a synonym for scientific thinking – an argumentative point that will be elaborated later. And within this last paragraph, ‘Abdel-Raziq completes its celebrated theory of methodology which implies that Islamic civilization had its own special philosophical innovation which sprang internally apart from any external effects, while that philosophical innovation comprised of the intellectual conceptualization based on juristic reasoning, clarifying manifesting its final form in *uṣūl al-fiqh* methodology, and thus introducing a general aspect from the scientific research styles with its special rules and principles.

What does ‘Abdel-Raziq point out at the conclusion of his theory about Al-Risala?
"Al-Risala expresses through its discussions and the order of its chapters a specific mode already settled and organized in its author's mind, whose elements may sometimes be diluted, its sequence concealed, including digression, repetition and recurring ambiguity, but in practice it stands as a powerful start for an organized scientific compilation within an art whose primary elements al-Shāfiī assembled together."

We can infer from Al-Risala the origin of the philosophic thinking in Islam in terms of giving priority to associating the details and ramifications to generalized rules, but we did not ignore the jurisprudential aspect; namely to deduce the jurisprudential sub-rules from their detailed evidences. Furthermore, we could infer other features of the philosophical thinking in Al-Risala

Among these features we note the logical trend towards first setting the limits and definitions, then proceeding with classification by citation and analogy. Moreover, al-Shāfiī may narrate various definitions to draw comparisons and then end up selecting what he prefers. Such is his argumentative style in dialogue teemed with the logical concepts and meanings to such an extent that makes one feel as if it is a philosophical dialogue owing entirely to accurate search, smooth understanding, well-arranged inference, criticism and adherence to the philosophical sequence in spite of the fact that it is primarily based on traditional citations and linked to strict jurisprudential matters, including implications to themes belonging to uṣūl al-fiqh which almost to attack, or belonging to ‘ilm al-Kalām such as searching through knowledge, and that there is something true inwardly and outwardly, while there is something else that is outwardly true but inwardly false, and that whether the jurisprudential interpreter attains success or counters failure, he is always pardonable, the difference between the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet's Sunna, the causes underlying rules, the classification of

principles in terms of their enforceability and weaknesses. Furthermore, al-Shāfiī could prove the validity and legitimacy of Sunna and its relation to uṣūl, so therefore he could draw attention to the legitimacy and validity of the Holy Qur'an which is inherent in the researches of *the theologians*.²⁰⁹

***. Arguments:**

This is al-manhaj al-uṣūlī theory as presented by its founder, through which he could demonstrate his methodology and prove its validity. However, this theory gives rise to multiple disputable arguments, which ‘Abdel-Raziq did not approach nor discuss, but we will attempt their analysis in a view to conclude how ‘Abdel-Raziq could turn major concepts into unquestionable axioms, while his opponents refused these axioms. This requires us to approach some elements of this definition which need clarification, including:

1- The Concept of Islamic Philosophy:

The meaning implied here refers to its concept identified by those persons who created and used it during the time of the Islamic civilization, and which was agreed upon by the scholars and thinkers of this civilization, as they all acknowledged that philosophy came to them from foreign civilizations, and they used to call it ‘the ancient sciences’ or ‘ancestral sciences’ compared with the

²⁰⁹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. Pp 244:245

Islamic contemporary sciences, including Ibn al-Nadīm, al-Qiftī²¹⁰ and Saʿid Ibn Aḥmad. They also defined it as being based on opinion and mental reasoning compared with the traditional sciences based on jurisprudential tradition, including al-Shahrastānī and Ibn Khaldūn.²¹¹ This conception of philosophy gave rise to similar conceptions to those Muslims who engaged in philosophy, so that the Islamic philosophers – known as Islamic sages – are those who handled the ancient sciences, specifically the Greek sciences, so that we find al-Maqrizī (1364 – 1442); defining the philosophers and their classifications as follows "From among the philosophers there are the Roman sages who are classified into ranks, including the pioneers of wisdom who are the eldest, Al-Mashāʿiyūn, the portico sages, Aristotle's mates, as well as the Islamic philosophers."²¹²

As far as the Islamic philosophers are concerned, they are well-known by name, so that when any historian such as Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Nadīm or al-Maqrizī refer to those philosophers, he means specific names in history such as the pioneer al-Kindī along with most renowned names such as al-Farabī, Ibn Sīna, Ibn Baja, Ibn Tufayl and Ibn Rushd. Historically, Islamic philosophy refers to such thoughts attributable to those philosophers, while the bounds that separated it from other

²¹⁰ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 39

²¹¹ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya.p 35

²¹² Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 37

sciences including scholastic theology and Sufism made them also very close to philosophy.

‘Abdel-Raziq himself tackles that by saying "Generally speaking, the Islamic authors do not regard both scholastic theology and Sufism as belonging to the philosophical sciences in practice, but they derive similarities between them, they even go so far as to indicate that philosophy dominated them in certain aspects and affected them by coloring them with its such philosophical dye."²¹³

The Orientalists in the modern age modeled themselves on such approach adopted by the Islamic philosophers, as they confined the Islamic philosophy to the compilations prepared by specific Islamic philosophers, and there are some who attributed scholastic theology to the Islamic philosophy. As for the marks left by Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq, who academically created the Islamic philosophy studies, he included scholastic theology and Sufism into the philosophical sciences for the first time as quoted by one of his students, and this demonstrates his deep insight and reflects his keen interest in the Islamic intellectual heritage in its entirety, which was hailed by many academicians who insist on the elimination of these boundaries isolating the fields of knowledge. ‘Abdel-Raziq, by including the scholastic theology into the philosophical sciences, proves his gratefulness and loyalty to his mentor Mohamed ‘Abdū who gave

²¹³ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 75

special importance to scholastic theology although at that time its value had deteriorated and it had become an unappreciated science. By including Sufism into the philosophical sciences he was fully aware that Islamic Sufism was not just an attractive methodology, but one that came to be recognized as a philosophical branch in its latest updates.

Nevertheless, the notion of including *uṣūl al-fiqh* into Islamic philosophy did not spring to the ancient minds, and that what Ibn Khaldūn and Tash Kubra Zada stated was associating it with the science of *jadāl* (science of argument) and *Khilāf* (dispute), two branches of *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

2- Definition Of *uṣūl al-fiqh*:

"*Uṣūl al-fiqh* is the science which demonstrates the methodologies employed by the interpreter Imams on their deductions and defines the jurisprudential rules inferred from the texts and provides the basis for syllogism by identifying the causes of the underlying the rules.

Thus, *uṣūl al-fiqh* is defined accordingly as a set of rules which instruct the jurist about the methods by which rulings are derived from legal evidences. These methods are either linguistical or explicit such as awareness of the implications of legal terminology, or they are implicit such as the extraction of *'illal* (causes) from

texts, generalizing them, organizing the way of their extraction and the best practices for identifying them.²¹⁴

From the definition, we infer the correlation between *uṣūl al-fiqh* and texts, and we mean the Islamic primary texts; namely the Holy Qur'an and Sunna. Likewise, there is an interrelation between jurisprudence and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, because the latter is a methodological science used by the former in application by deduction of the jurisprudential rulings. By this correlations with texts along with the other interrelation with jurisprudential ruling extraction, *Uṣūl al-fiqh* could hold its position among the 'naqlī' (transmitted) traditional sciences based on hearing and acceptance through usage, which are known as the religious or jurisprudential sciences which stand opposed to the philosophical sciences based on absolute intellectual freedom, and these matters are previously recognized and specified, and were not subject to neither dispute nor conflict. What did 'Abdel-Raziq create?

His theory proposes a new approach and supposes a totally divergent scientific hypothesis neither created by his predecessors nor contemporaries.

'Abdel-Raziq described *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a "philosophical science" and that Ijtihad is the threshold of Muslim philosophical thinking. Thus, 'Abdel-Raziq could free *uṣūl al-fiqh* from the grip of being a 'naqlī' traditional science and included it

²¹⁴ Abu Zahra, Mohammed. *Usul al Fiqh*. Cairo: Dar al Fikr al 'Arabi. P1

within the intellectual sciences. We may argue that 'Abdel-Raziq was the first person who could eliminate the boundaries existing between the 'naqlī' traditional sciences and the other intellectual sciences in the Islamic heritage, but how did he achieve that? And what were his motives and justifications?

3- Correlation between Science and Philosophy

In addition to both preceding elements within 'Abdel-Raziq theory, including the principles of jurisprudential science into the philosophical sciences, there is another most important matter indicating that 'Abdel-Raziq's arguments range between philosophy and science, so that he considers the principles of jurisprudential science to be a philosophical science, thus can be regarded both as science and philosophy. He further adds that ijihad or intellectual reasoning which originated in this science developed "until it became an aspect of the scientific styles that has its own principles and rules." Moreover, he states that this scientific methodology at its onset is the threshold of Muslim philosophical thinking. Is there any divergence or inconsistency in 'Abdel-Raziq's theory?

If there are current boundaries existing which separate between science and philosophy then this is true for this era, but untrue for the preceding eras.

Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq belongs to the current era, so that to separate between philosophy and science is something intuitive to him as a philosophical pioneer in Egypt and the Arab world, and as one of those philosophers who could recognize

the latest foreign philosophical updates in his age, since Europe was by that time the center of modern science and modern philosophy. However, through his theory, he views an ancient science; namely the principles of philosophy, from a modern perspective, regarding it to be a philosophical science that introduces an aspect of the scientific research styles, thus introducing such scientific methodology that has its own elements and mechanism, which marks the historical heritage of that science, because the Islamic civilization within which *uṣūl al-fiqh* originated and evolved adopted the Greek theory which equated between science and philosophy, or more specifically, there was nothing termed science, but only philosophy. Within the scope of philosophy, the philosophers approached many matters and issues now classified into different sciences.

Most accurately, the Islamic civilization inherited only this nominal consolidation, although the Islamic philosophers just like their Greek teachers engaged in studying the physical sciences, but there was an essential difference, namely that the Greeks studied the universe and the physical matters only by means of an intellectual methodology, so they were philosophers and their contribution to the evolution of natural sciences was nominal, while the Muslim philosophers were scholars in the strictest sense of the word, and they used intellectual philosophy for the Metaphysics, and made use of the empirical scientific methodology for their scientific researches. In this respect, it is sufficient to know

that the physician Ibn Sina on whose science the European civilization was built is himself the great philosopher Ibn Sina to whom the philosophical school of illuminism belongs. This correspondence between philosophy and science or at least convergence in the Islamic civilization permits usage of idioms such as "the intellectual philosophical concept", "scientific research echelon" and "philosophical science" with the same meanings as used by 'Abdel-Raziq.

There is another matter relevant to the correlation between philosophy and science in the modern age, namely that isolating modern science with its matters and themes from philosophy did not totally eradicate the existing interrelation, but instead, gave rise to the creation of the "philosophy of science" which is a branch of philosophy interested in theories of knowledge and different methodologies. Consequently, we may list 'Abdel-Raziq's theory of including *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a science in philosophy under this genre.

That was the clarification and summary of the main aspects contained in 'Abdel-Raziq's theory, which are related to the definition of *uṣūl al-fiqh* and identification of the interrelation between philosophy and science.

However, does this clarification prove sufficient to disprove those arguments which discredit 'Abdel-Raziq's theory?

Is there any lost connection between philosophical innovation and al-manhaj al-uṣūlī, and are the conceptions of philosophical thinking realized in uṣūlī thought?

Most opponents discredited the theory because of this point, and as we will notice, they did not criticize *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī's* value, but they opposed including it into the category of philosophical thinking. Evidently, the matter of dispute arising between those opponents and 'Abdel-Raziq is attributable the distinction between his concept of philosophy and theirs, and this is the last point we will tackle prior to moving to the second phase of introducing his theory.

4- 'Abdel Raziq's concept of philosophy:

This concept is not directly expressed, but it is inferred from his thoughts, and there are many evidences of it. Generally, philosophy has two definitions or two meanings, the first of them is a static definition which defines it in relation to its themes or topics, as the Greek philosophy included one theme for Metaphysics, another for Physics, it also included the practical philosophy related to politics and ethics. The Islamic philosophers modeled themselves on the way the Greeks followed by defining philosophy in terms of its topics and themes.

Al-Kindī categorizes the sciences of philosophy into three categories; namely Physics, Mathematics and Divinity. As for al-Farabī, he defines philosophy as the knowledge of the physical matters as they exist, and classifies it into two categories: the first aims to generate appreciation which is philosophy or wisdom, the other category aims to generate physical benefits which is the practical philosophy. Ikhwān al-Safā divided philosophy into four sciences: mathematics,

logic, physics and theology. Ibn Sīna divided philosophy into theoretical wisdom including physics, mathematics and theology and practical wisdom including ethics, housekeeping and politics. There are differences between the Islamists in their subdivisions, but these are negligible differences, because they ultimately agree on the definition of philosophy in relation to its themes. In modern Western philosophy, philosophy has been divided into sections of existence, knowledge and values. It is different for Mustafā ʿAbdel-Raziq, as he thinks that philosophy is a methodology rather than static topics and studies, and this conception of philosophy - which he did not explicitly say - is the logical basis upon which he establishes his theory. He considers that any form of rational creative thinking is philosophizing. Thus, "Islamic philosophy is not merely one simple field, but it is a composite, where through its methodology it can be applied to all branches of Islamic knowledge"²¹⁵ and it includes Sufism (Mysticism), ʿilm al-kalam (Islamic speculative dialectical theology) and *uṣūl al-fiqh*. He adopted this meaning in his book "The Philosopher of the Arabs and the second teacher" when showing that al-Mutanabbī, the poet was a philosopher and Ibn Taymiyya, the enemy of philosophy was also a philosopher. They are philosophers not in the traditional sense, as they have not dealt with topics of philosophy; but they are still philosophers because they engaged in creative rational thought. We discussed this point above, and in the "preface" ʿAbdel-Raziq referred to the judge Saʿid Ibn

²¹⁵ Al Falsafa Al Islāmiya fi al ʿAsr al Hadith. P. 71

Aḥmad's (d. 462 AH) definition of philosophy. It is a single definition, no one stated except him, because he defines it as a methodology not as certain groups of topics. 'Abdel-Raziq states this definition in his words, "Sa'īd means that philosophy is rational thinking geared towards learning the facts on a scientific basis.²¹⁶" Is this definition the same definition adopted by 'Abdel-Raziq for philosophy? No doubt, he considers philosophy as a rational thinking process without difference whether the rational thinking is totally free or linked to textual constrains as in al-manhaj al-uṣūlī. The fundamental objection to his theory was that philosophical thinking starts when the mind is free from any restrictions, while uṣūlī thought is associated intrinsically with texts. Of course, Mustafā 'Abdel-Raziq as a philosophy professor is aware of this completely, but he depends on backgrounds totally contrary to the thoughts of his opponents. 'Abdel-Raziq's dimensions of al-manhaj al-uṣūlī theory emerged from the coherence and harmony within his personality characteristics as 'Abdel-Raziq, the academic professor of philosophy and 'Abdel-Raziq, religious reformer and thinker. This gives the theory glamour and usefulness, and it can overcome objections from opponents, who have based their criticism only on cold academic background isolated from reality.

²¹⁶ Tamhid li-Tārikh al Falsafa al Islāmiya. P 34

A final assessment based on two questions remains: What? Why? The first seeks to recognize and understand the new element in this theory from the inside, and why seeks to link the theory to its motives and motivation, i.e. to link it to the outside.

*** Evaluation of the theory: what, why?**

What is the question that seeks to reach an understanding of the dimensions of ‘Abdel-Raziq’s theory internally? We have discussed a part of the answer to this question above as we provided the established definition of *‘ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* and referred to its place on the map of Islamic sciences. We have seen that it was always and absolutely considered one of *‘naqlī* sciences. Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq deals with a new perspective with *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a methodological science. If any one objects saying that the previous definition of *‘ilm al-uṣūl* highlights it as a methodological science, we should tell him that this is true; all definitions dealing with *‘ilm al-uṣūl* highlight it as a methodological science that establishes rules to extract provisions, but this definition is quickly suppressed by those who say it for the sake of other issues namely the sources or evidence. In order to know what exactly ‘Abdel-Raziq does, we must think about a significant comparison between what was, what is, what is meant to be. What was considered what ‘Abdel-Raziq himself wanted to be. What is presents what we must get eliminate and. What was is the original *uṣūl al-fiqh*, in its development and in its

overwhelming methodological flow. ‘Abdel-Raziq’s genius was that he studied the Islamic heritage using his mind, and represented it using his spirit. He exceeded the external matters of sciences to their methodological spirit. He was looking at their origin, development, the course of the knowledge stream, the spirit of this knowledge, which includes those who were preoccupied by it and what influenced the general atmosphere of the society and civilization. Thus his rational spiritual thinking led him to consider *uṣūl al-fiqh* as a science that provides a scientific methodology that benefited civilization as a whole and made it a truly scientific civilization of science and scientists. This was not familiar and known in the ages of decay and stagnation which Muslim nation entered into for several centuries. Islamic Sciences shrunk, frozen and diminished and the people of these ages dealt with them in a sterile way based on merely saving the information and then memorized and retrieved it in various forms of annotations and footnotes and summaries. With the attempts to write about Islamic science in the modern age according to approaches of the age scientifically was a typical and did not highlight the importance of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. Although all the modern books of *uṣūl al-fiqh* begin to define it as a methodological science that provides methodological rules, they do not invest in this definition, leaving it isolated and separate and lavish the greatest attention to the sources of legislation or evidence. According to the definition of *uṣūl al-fiqh* mentioned above, it is a

science that sets the methodological rules to extract the legal provisions from the valid evidences, the valid evidences *uṣūl al-fiqh* are the Holy Quran and Sunna of the Prophet along with consensus and syllogism, that are called unanimous evidences with the existence of small differences with regard to consensus and syllogism. The modern books of *uṣūl al-fiqh* give the greatest attention to these evidences and less attention to the so-called evidence at issue. What ‘Abdel-Raziq did was very different, His perspective and the starting point for him and his continuing in the topic of *uṣūl al-fiqh* were the methodology of this science; the beginning and the end were al-manhaj al-uṣūlī used by uṣūlī scientists to extract rulings from the evidences. This al-manhaj al-uṣūlī is called syllogistic methodology in relation to syllogism. Syllogism is the core of the methodology of *uṣūl al-fiqh*. As was demonstrated, the traditional books talk about syllogism as the fourth source or the fourth evidence of the legislation following the Quran, Sunna and consensus. Here we are talking the same thing, but the perspective was very different as the traditional perspective freezes syllogism, and turns it into something material and tangible, like the Quran and Sunna and makes it the fourth source of the legislation. In fact, there was oral information divided into Quran and Sunna, and the information was also embodied in tangible form and we dealt with it as heard and as readable texts, but there are no so-called texts of syllogism or texts of consensus. ‘Abdel-Raziq pursues a different methodology.

Syllogism for him is a methodology; one that depends on scientific research modes and has its rules and principles. His theory which includes *uṣūl al-fiqh* in philosophy depends on his study of this syllogistic methodology. This leads us to the second question: Why? Why are we drawing so much attention to the issue of methodology? And why for this *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* is in particular? This question is looking at what is behind ‘Abdel-Raziq’s theory. Or rather why this particular methodology? What is more important than methodology when building civilizations and establishing sciences? What is more important than methodology when attempting the revival of a civilization and its sciences again? Is it a new question or one already settled long ago? Is the establishment of a civilization from scratch and the development of new sciences or the revival of a civilization and renewing its sciences through borrowing and transferring the latest theories of science and its findings from another civilization prevalent or is it through studying the issue of the methodology in general and the creation of appropriate scientific methodology? It is the old story repeated in the books of different civilizations and summarized by the ancient Chinese proverb: It is better to teach the hungry how to catch a fish rather than to give them a fish.

We will find the answer to this question in the methodology combining the general thought of Mustafā ‘Abdel-Raziq as a reformist thinker and his private thoughts as an academic professor. There is no a dichotomy in his thought. The

theory of 'Abdel-Raziq in methodology means that: The methodology is the definitive answer to the reformist direction in its academic form in responding to the challenges of the Arab renaissance. The methodology is the epitome of the contributions of the reformist movement and the academic representative in the thought of 'Abdel-Raziq and his school. It is the single answer that was chosen from the divergent trends of modern Arab thought. Since the emergence of modern Arab thought in the mid-nineteenth century, all the renaissance thinkers were searching for a way to get out of the quagmire of a stagnant reality where there was a decline of civilization in all its aspects. All had the same or similar objectives: a Renaissance, a revival, the progress and the creation of modern societies, but they differed in the diagnosis of why there was a weakness and in the factors and causes of underdevelopment. Hence, their answers differed and their views conflicted and each trend wanted to control the development according to his own vision. From the beginning, the reformist trend presented its view and diagnosis to these questions of renaissance and provided answers. The revival of the nation will be through the revival of religion, as well as a religious reform as a way to recover from the underdevelopment of civilization and it is also the means of liberation from European colonialism - though this will happen in the long term. The capabilities of Islam to lead the people towards the Renaissance are great and unparalleled ones and they must not be compared

with the European Renaissance, or with other religions at all, because the European Renaissance depended on secularism and the separation between church and state, because the Western Church hindered civilization and science for long centuries, and Islam, unlike Christianity and other religions is based on reason. Of 'Abdel-Raziq's theory in methodology is the most mature, scientific and rational contribution to the reformist trend in its ongoing struggle with western secularism and its subsequent eastern one on re-forming the Arab mind and controlling and developing the reality according to the vision of each direction. Arab secularism offered other solutions, such as denouncing old tradition, alienation from the roots, directing towards Europe, the center of modern civilization and the summit of the civilization that human beings have not reached and the full and by continuously copying and transcribing from the West. By his interest in methodology, 'Abdel-Raziq became a great philosopher and reformist thinker and contributed to contemporary Arab thought and reality that which has not been provided by anyone else. 'Abdel-Raziq provides clear and definite answers and, he says clearly that the scientific empirical methodology is the most powerful weapon in building science and civilizations. He offers his important theory to his weak nation, colonized politically and militarily, scientifically and culturally. He also offers his theory to his disciples, creating through it a firm academic school that continues in carrying the message of

defending Islam's rationality and validity for the revival of Islamic civilization. Through his interest in methodology, 'Abdel-Raziq became a contemporary philosopher living the scientific, intellectual and worldly developments in the world around him. He lived in the era of European sedition, in the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century Europe turned to the model embodying all ideas of power, domination and racism. The reformist trend and 'Abdel-Raziq's school acted as the scientific critic of these ideas, and also as the defender of the nation's constant values and assets, while the secular trend supported science and said that the civilization could not exist in the East without European science. The leaders of this trend called for spreading the latest theories of western science and philosophy, but they were not interested in spreading the spirit of science itself. They focused on findings and ignored the methodology. This methodology is an empirical methodology; its core is the search for reason or cause. The modern scientific methodology, which Europe is proud of and attributed to its modern renaissance is an empirical methodology based on the idea of reason or causation. Europe has been able by this empirical methodology to establish its modern civilization in a short period of time after it had remained a prisoner of darkness of the middle Ages for many centuries, during which it was under the control of the church and Aristotelian formal methodology, which was used to justify the secrets of theology rationally. 'Abdel-

Raziq discovered that what Europe is proud of is not the result of the modern age, it is not entirely new to mankind, as claimed by Europe and that the Islamic civilization was guided to this scientific methodology long before through *uṣūl al-fiqh*. This methodological science is at the top of the scientific philosophical innovation of Muslims. This new reading of Islamic heritage from being a vacuum to the discovery of the innovation elements to the scientific *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* based on causation and ended in the formulation of his. This methodology originated naturally and developed automatically in the light of practical thinking that has characterized the Arabs and was encouraged and urged on by Islam. The theory aims at reviving, operating and applying this methodology, not only in science and academic studies, but also in all spheres of life. It also aims at reviving the practical methodology and is working to estimate the value of practical thinking and giving it uppermost rank over the theoretical pointless. Moreover it aims to spread and promote the concepts of reason, methodology, syllogism, reasoning and practical thinking as critical solutions to rise above underdevelopment of civilization.

Chapter Four

Effects of 'Abdel-Rāziq's theory on philosophical thought

During the twelve-year period of teaching at the University 'Abdel-Rāziq was able to establish a prestigious scientific school of thought dealing with Islamic intellectual thought and studying Islamic heritage in a methodological organized manner. His disciples pursued the direction of their teacher, pushing his ideas forward and extracting the maximum results as well as deepening his thoughts. Through his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* 'Abdel-Rāziq was able to achieve many effects in several scientific communities, but we will limit ourselves here to the impacts in its original field, namely Islamic philosophy. We will show two models of his disciples, and how they developed his theory. Then we will present two models of who adopted a trend rejecting the theory and discuss their motives for that.

A. Development of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* Theory of 'Abdel-Rāziq's school:

Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq has succeeded in establishing a great academic school. His students have continued his way, and they have become famous like their mentor, like Alī Sāmī Al-Nashār, Othman Amin, Tawfiq Al Taweel, Ahmad Fouad Al Ahwani and Mustafa Hilmī.

'Alī Sāmī Al-Nashār (1917-1980): He is considered to be one of the most faithful and loyal students to 'Abdel-Rāziq's personality and thoughts. He extended his

mentor's theory to the farthest extent, and also for the first time in modern times, he introduced an outstanding work that deals with *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* with all its intricate details, temporal and conceptual developments, its conflict with Greek logic within his book titled "*Manāhij al-baḥth 'ind mufakkirī allIslam*". We will first proceed by describing his own testimony related to his mentor, and then refer to his own achievement, and this will help identify his personal contribution to his master's original theory. Al-Nashār says about his mentor and his methodology "*Tamhīd fī Tārīkh al-Falsafa al-Islāmiyah*" is a book containing a series of lectures delivered by my mentor, the pioneer of Islamic philosophy at the Egyptian universities, and it is a methodology rather than a compilation of material through which he attempted to introduce an overview of the methodology for Islamic philosophy, to approach the ingenuity of Islamic philosophy not only within the books by Islamic philosophers who were influenced by Greek logic - namely Al-Kindī, Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ibn Rushd, etc – but also through the writings by theologians, jurists and uṣūl al-fiqh scholars". Then he proceeds to clarify the matters of agreement and disagreement between him and his mentor "Abdel-Rāziq's methodology and what he perceives as true on the one hand, but untrue on the other hand; true where it deals with Muslim philosophical ingenuity in the writings– but untrue where it concerns the existence of a traditional Islamic philosophy in the writings and manuscripts of "Islamic philosophers".

From his perspective, the philosophy of the latter group is considered to be non-Islamic, as it is iterant partially and as a whole. Philosophy for any nation is the internal inspiration representing the spirit of that particular, and it is inconceivable that the intellectual internal inspirations converge for two nations totally different in race, mentality and language. While ‘Abdel-Rāziq followed this false notion and adopted it, but undeniably his most celebrated achievement is that he directed the attention to Muslim philosophical ingenuity in (scholastic) theology, dialectics and *uṣūl al-fiqh*.²¹⁷

This statement expresses Al-Nashār’s vision that makes him disagree with his mentor, as his mentor had a wide methodological vision of Islamic philosophy; through his thought he tried to embrace all existing methodologies and include them into the core of philosophy, and he attained success at the realistic level, the academic realism of Islamic philosophy. He succeeded in including all these divergent methodologies in these studies, and where there were some convergences between the methodologies of the selected Islamic philosophers, methodology of dialectical theology, methodology of Sufism and the scientific Uṣūlī methodology he smoothed it through methodological tolerance, and according to his theory, he considered al-manhaj al-uṣūlī as the sole representative of the Islamic civilization's innovation, but he did not exclude or

²¹⁷ Al Nashar, ‘Ali Sami. (1965). Nash’at al Fikr al Falsafi fi al Islām. Third Edition, Volume 1. Cairo Dar Al Ma’aref. Pp 642: 643

rule out the remaining methodologies for its sake. As for the student, he focused on al-manhaj al-uṣūlī aspect, and has admirably moved the related studies forward, however, he refused the wide methodological vision of his master, and was inclined to exclusion and enumeration, scornfully ruling out the Islamic philosophers' methodologies from Islamic philosophy because he thought them non-representative of the general spirit of Islamic civilization. I believe that Al-Nashār made this exclusion by applying the methodology of an Islamist who viewed philosophy from a religious prospective, following the methodology which his mentor rejected in his introduction to "tamhīd", but the student adopted it and applied in his judgment of Islamic philosophy on these selected philosophers. Al-Nashār believed that 'Abdel-Rāziq's school of thought, to which he belonged, is the sole school that identified the real origins of Islamic philosophical thought - contrary to those who ascribe Greek logic's influence to it, including his contemporary *Ibrāhīm Bayūmī Madkūr*, as well as those who claimed that the *Islamic heritage trends constituted by the Mu'tazila group along with Ibn Rushd's philosophy, such as Mahmūd Qasim who was the same age as Al-Nashār but was not student of 'Abdel-Rāziq.*

"Mahmūd Qasim is an intellectual thinker who along with Ibrāhīm Bayūmī Madkūr constitute an outstanding school of thought in our civilizational history; a school which attempts to shed light on Islamic thought through an intellectual method

that views originality in the harmonization of methodologies, although it does not see the original resources, or more specifically, has no desire to see them.

Mahmūd Qasim through his introduction to “*manāhij al-'adilla*” introduces Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq– pioneer of the modern Islamic school – in such a perfect way although he never met him, but he does not represent the final development.²¹⁸ And this last statement constitutes a scientific prophecy which is still applicable, as Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s school is still developing and progressing to date. But what about his private work?

Al-Nashār says about his book “*Manāhij al-baḥṭh 'ind mufakkirī al-Islam*” the author of this book attempted to explain the civilizational spirit of Islam in light of the attacks made by Islamic scholars against Greek logic, and that he could prove that Aristotelian Logic – the methodology used in Greek thought and civilization – was not accepted by the Islamic intellectual schools, but was severely attacked and totally rejected. The author could pinpoint the empirical methodology, which Europe only came to know centuries later after the onset of its modern civilization. He also could establish – through Spencerianism – the total elements of this methodology, and ended up discovering that this methodology also existed already in Muslim works which explained the Islamic civilizational spirit and the divergence between this spirit and its Greek counterpart. Whereas we see the former civilization to be practically empirical

218 The previous reference. P 651

one that tends to view the human action in light of a physical material outlook, the latter would be based on theoretical mean that seeks the hidden essence of things even if they are immaterial and non-physical, or more logically, he found the first civilization to be inductive while the second civilization found to was deductive".²¹⁹

Al-Nashār began to complete the way of his mentor at an early stage, since he obtained his Master's degree in 1942, after three years from Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq left the university. While his thesis constituted the masterwork which pushed his mentor’s theory to its height, Al-Nashār could immortalize his own name through a great work that included all aspects of scientific and philosophical ingenuity. That work was published under the title “*Manahij al-baḥth ‘ind mufakkiṛī al-islam*” in the same year in which his mentor died (1947). This work - just like his mentor's "*Tamhid li Tarikh al-Falsafa al-Islamiyah*” became among the masterpieces of modern academic philosophical studies. In order to appreciate the value of Al-Nashār's work, we will draw an important comparison between his work and his mentor’s work, and perhaps the following image could be appropriate for ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s description of his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. He formed his theory on the basis of logical premises, which constitute a fertile introduction bearing seeds and nuclei that promise and prophesize great results.

²¹⁹ The previous refrence. Pp 643: 644

With the sequence of these premises and their interaction, *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* is introduced through a logically important method, which is deemed an empirical scientific methodology. The premises are the wisdom of the Arab Jahiliya, and wisdom is their practical purposeful work. After that Islam emerges and rejects dogmatic discussions, encourages the intellectual consideration in practical matters, and considered the mind as an aspect of legislation in Islam since the age of Prophet (peace be upon him) who made use of his own rational mind in those matters for which no text was available. His ruling was based on ‘illa (cause), and his followers sought diligently to pass righteous rulings under his supervision, while their interpretations were based on juristic reasoning (deduction). This intellectual deduction was practiced during the times of the Rightfully Guided Caliphs as we as in the *Umayyad era until matters reached its climax through the establishment of uṣūl al-fiqh* by Al-Shāfi‘ī who died 204 AH. ‘Abdel-Rāziq could successfully convince that the empirical scientific al-manhaj al-uṣūlī is a legitimate heir to the Islamic civilization, springing from its roots and surviving under its aegis.

Thus, ‘Abdel-Rāziq could fulfill all his objectives as to the establishment of his new theory among his students and readers. However, at that point he stopped and contributed no more. He said that al-manhaj al-uṣūlī introduces an aspect of scientific research styles but he did not clarify any further, and added that this

methodology is a genuine Islamic product to which no foreign effect could not infiltrate except during the Fifth century of Hijra, but he did not detail the nature of these effects and how did they manage to infiltrate it. Then the student proceeded to complete his master's work as follows: He wrote comprehensively about *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* for the first time in the modern age, saying that this methodology is an empirical inductive one which includes two themes:

The theme of *al-Hadd al-uṣūlī* and that of *al-istidlal al-uṣūlī* of which *al-Qiyās al-uṣūlī* constitutes its core. This *qiyās* is the gem of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* and the core of its grandeur, while the majority of greatest scientific and intellectual Muslim researchers excelled in it whereas none preceded them in the research themes of *illa*, hence they preceded the European empirical methodology by many centuries. Then Al-Nashār address the integration of this scientific methodology into the physical sciences so as to prove his mentor's statement that *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* introduces an aspect of scientific research styles, and provides the proofs and evidences which substantiate the veracity of his mentor's statement using two scholars who are deemed among the greatest scholars of Islam; namely *Jābir ibn Hayyān* and *al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham*. Thus, the student efficiently shares with his mentor the responsibility of proving his essential theory, a theory that proved to be unparalleled in modern Arab thought and studies of modern Islamic philosophy; he also contributes to the revival of *Uṣūl al-fiqh* as a general

intellectual methodological science, resurrecting it one more time regardless of the fact that this science has always been viewed as a traditional science in the service of *fiqh* (Jurisprudence). Whereas modern civilization places modern Physics at the top of modern sciences and considers it to be the master of sciences thanks to its scientific methodology, Al-Nashār and ‘Abdel-Rāziq could - thanks to their scientific ingenuity - make *Uṣūl al-fiqh* the dominant science in Islamic civilization. This is not all, there are other matters, we have sought through all of the above to define the motives underlying ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s genius theory, through associating his academic thoughts with his general thought, as he was not only an academic professor, but contributed his own thoughts along with his work, and we explain his thoughts and theory - arising out of his belonging to the religious reformist movement, and through his understanding of the general civilizational frame within which the developmental Arab thought survived by the mid of the nineteenth century. Al-Nashār was also an academic professor and this career took up his entire life-time, although his life was not as wealthy and varied as his mentor’s, but did manage to follow in his mentor’s footsteps and complete his path only from the academic aspect?

Does Al-Nashār’s work represent only scholarship devoted only to academia? Not at all. Al-Nashār was never only an academian, but he introduced through his books, especially “*Manāhij al-baḥth ‘ind mufakkirī al-Islam*” and “*Nash’at al-fikr al-*

Falsafī fi al-Islam” the material that links his researches in Muslim heritage with contemporary thoughts, and the link that combines all that with the Arabs’ and Muslims’ real life. Furthermore, his academic compilations and works contain a vital terminology and depth of language that conveys much of which his mentor did not express with his subdued language and his own style which motivates the reader, increases his comfort and suspense. Al-Nashār addressed such matters which his mentor did not approach, through searching through the history of Islamic civilization, and he could prove that the natural spirit of intellectual thinking was spontaneously emerged in it, and that such an intellectual spirit was seeking to encounter realism and meet its requirements, because it is practical and he could deduce of that the development of *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* which is an empirical practical knowledge, emerged naturally within this civilization. However, he drew no comparisons between the Islamic civilization and any other civilization and did not approach the prevailing concept which proved to be undeniable and indisputable which is that the Islamic civilization eagerly received the Greek Aristotle logic, made it the prevailing and dominant methodology used in the research of its philosophers, theologians and scholars.

The mentor also did not attempt to create a direct relationship between his theory and the real situation of the Islamic orient at his time, but while Al-Nashār, does not distinguish between both objectives, so that his introduction of *al-manhaj al-*

uṣūlī in a perfect form and his description that this methodology represents the zenith of Muslim scientific and intellectual innovation does not influence his attempt to refute and criticize the theory which discredits the infatuation with Greek logic in the Islamic world. Al-Nashār begins with describing how Greek logic was introduced into Islamic civilization through translations, and how the Muslim interpreters and scholars introduced and explained it. He then severely criticizes this logic by stressing the criticisms made by the fundamentalists and theologians to the themes of this logic, by devoting a whole chapter to explain *Ibn Taymi'a's* criticism, and then proceeds as far as to consider *Ibn Taymi'a's* criticism to Greek logic among the best pieces of Islamic critical thinking. Next, Al-Nashār addresses modern European criticism to Greek logic, which is deemed similar to Muslims' criticism. He proceeds to confirm the civilizational privacy concept of Islamic civilization which 'Abdel-Rāziq sought to confirm through his own theory – although he did not use this same term – by searching through its mechanisms which produced *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* by the methodological means of comparing the Islamic civilization and its *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* with the Greek civilization and its syllogistic methodology. The serious tone of Al-Nashār's passionate language gives us the impression that matters take a different dimension with him, as his fixation on the issue of methodology is not only an academic scientific issue, and searching through *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* is not confined to only philosophical or

historical search, but it also extends to include the present, the reality and future, which are all related to matters of identity, affiliation and destiny. Al-Nashār does not allow us to use our own interpretations attempting to reach clarifications, because with him everything is direct and frank, his language is strong, righteous, expressive, loud, attacking and he states clearly that those individuals who allege the domination of the ancient Aristotelian logic over the Islamic world are both internal and external enemies, who desire to undermine our originality and see us as an extension of the western civilization which is alien to us "Europe- or the western world- sought through its scholars and thinkers to impose upon us the European culture and civilization claiming that our ancestors did so when they accepted the Greek Philosophy and civilization; they alleged also that the Islamic civilization was nothing but a disfigured imitation of the Greek civilization, or in other words, a bridge over which this civilization crossed over to Europe. Therefore, Islamic civilization and Islamic intellectual thought – in their opinion, was only a shadow of the Greek civilization and its resonance, and this was adopted by the reformers, leaders of thought and decision makers".²²⁰ Thus, Al-Nashār sees his mission as being dual in scope. He has a mission to complete the way of the school of thought to which he is affiliated, and which does not jeopardize his other mission which is to criticize and attack the other

220 The previous refrence. P 7

school of thought which he termed "Modern European School". He says "I got accustomed when I address the opinions of the Modern Islamic school to address the opinions of the Modern European school; those individuals who integrated themselves into European thought and became enslaved by its false and terrible thought, claiming that there was no Islamic intellectual ingenuity, and that the primary efforts of Muslims were devoted to adopting the Greek thought and modeling their own similarly. All my writings targeted to refuting this false allegation, so that since the publication of my first book "Manahij al-baḥṭh 'ind mufakkirī al-Islām" and Muslim criticism of Aristotelian logic, the opinions of this school is increasingly expressed. The myth of Greek domination vanished within the framework of research, and its existence is no longer felt except what those 'insane' individuals 'scream' that our heritage is the Greek heritage, our thinking is theirs and our intellectual life must be associated with the successors of Greece; Europe and America".²²¹

It seems that Al-Nashār means by the Modern European School the Arab academic trend which adopts the secular thinking, and elsewhere he refers to it by name attributing it to Taha Hussein. "However, it is my duty to state that Dr. Ibrāhīm Bayūmī Madkūr never belonged to the Greek philosophical school which views Greek philosophy as the perfect philosophy ever which constitutes the

221 The previous refence. Pages ص ح

basis for each philosophical thought. Dr. Ibrāhīm Bayūmī Madkūr never believed that our contemporary intellectual thought must be associated with European philosophy and its civilization under the influence of the false allegation made by Taha Hussein's school stating that as long as our ancestors adopted Greek philosophy, we are therefore required to take from the European school everything just because the European philosophy and civilization are the natural extension of Greek philosophy ".²²²

2. Hassan Hanafi (1935-):

Hassan Hanafi introduces himself as belonging to the reformist trend saying: "my belonging to the reformist movement and my attempts to develop it at the theoretical level find the liaison in the master, starting from Jamāl al-Din al-Afghani, and passing by Muḥammad Abdū, Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq, 'Othmān Amīn up to me, without conceit. ²²³

The master referred to in this statement is his mentor 'Othmān Amīn who was a favorite student of Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq, and who could for the first time in the Egyptian university submit a doctoral dissertation about Muḥammad Abdū, the mentor of his mentor. Within the same statement Hanafi defines his main contribution to the development of this reformist movement along with his colossal project "Al-Turāth wa-ITajdīd" as a conversion of the religious reform into

²²² The previous reference. Pp 645: 646

²²³ Hanafi, Hassan. (1981). Dirāssāt Islamiya. Anglo-Egyptian Publishers. A footnote of p 351

an overall development.²²⁴ Hanafi released his book “*Min al Nas ila al Waqi’a*” in 2004 in two parts, and this book represents the rebuilding of *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, and his interest in this science is attributable to the school to which he belongs, namely Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s school. " Prior emphasis was made as to the importance of *Uṣūl al-fiqh* following the modern reformist movement established by the department of philosophy at the Egyptian university, as Sheikh Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq drew the attention of his student to the importance of *Uṣūl al-fiqh* with both its parts; *Uṣūl al-fiqh* and *Uṣūl al-Dīn* within his most celebrated book “*Tamhīd li tarīkh al-Falsafa al-Islāmiyah*” during his response to the allegation made by Orientalists who labeled the Islamic philosophy as being dependent upon Greek philosophy in translation, explanation and summary, denoting that the Islamic innovation manifests itself in *Uṣūl al-fiqh*. Furthermore, he drew the attention of his student ‘Alī Sāmī Al-Nashār to address this subject within his celebrated dissertation “*Manahij al-baḥth Ind mufakkir al-islam*” and Muslim criticism to Aristotle logic ".²²⁵ Hanafi choose *Uṣūl al-fiqh* as a subject-matter for his Ph.D dissertation in Paris in 1956, and that notion sprang to his mind due to a discussion between Muṣṭafa Hilmī, one of the favorite students of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq and another student “Rushdī Rāshid” – now a great scholar in

²²⁴ Hanafi, Hassan. (1980). *Al Turāth wa al Tajdid: Mawqifina min al Turāth al Qadīm*. Cairo: Al Markaz al Arabi for Research and Publishing. The first edition introduction

²²⁵ Hanafi, Hassan. (2004). *Min al Nās ila al Waqi’a*. Al Juz’ al ‘Awal: Takwin al Nas; Muhāwala li l’yādat Bina’ ‘Ilm Usul al Fiqh. Cairo: Markaz al Kitab wa al Nashr. Part 1, P 6

History of Sciences, about Ibn Taymiyya's criticism of logic and his attempt to formulate a new logic; criticism of the Aristotelian methodology and formulating an empirical, physical and material logic "this discussion left a great impact on him at that time when he was belonging to *the Muslim Brothers* and reading "*Manhaj al-Inqilāb El-Islamī*" by *Abū-l A'lā Maudūdī* and "*Khaṣṣā'is al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī wa Muqāwamatuhu*" by Sayyid Qutb and as he states: "The notion that Islam is a methodology, a methodology of thinking and of life was among the notions we inherited from the reformist movement".²²⁶ Hanafi develops the traits of *al-fikr al-uṣūlī*, such traits which were previously defined by his superior mentor Muṣṭafā 'Abdel-Rāziq for *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*, and Hanafi compares them with *al-fikr al-Kalāmī*, *al-fikr al-falsafī* and *al-fikr al-ṣūfī*. It appears from these characteristics that Hanafi considers *Uṣūl al-fiqh* "the best product that the Islamic civilization ever created so that it is an independent science in such scientific intellectual language".²²⁷

Traits of al-fikr al-uṣūlī²²⁸

1- *Reasoning: means intellectual analysis, intellectual vision and intellectual classification. The intellectual methodology was not an innovation solely by the modern West, but it was also practiced by ancient literalists and fundamentalists,*

²²⁶The previous reference. A footnote of p 6

²²⁷ Al Turāth wa al Tajdid: Mawqifina min al Turāth al Qadim. P 206

²²⁸ Min al Nās ila al Waqī'a. Part 1. Pp 18: 23

and this methodology avoids preaching, guidance, rhetoric, and polemics and differs from the Sufi method. Reasoning is the source of inspiration and its first basis. The former philosophers and theologians agreed to unify and balance between reasoning (‘aql) and tradition or transmission (naql). And as the jurists express it: the agreement of the transmitted with the explicitly reasonable, and that he who discredits tradition, discredits reasoning. Reasoning correlated with analysis and classification for tackling the subject in its initial components, also correlating it with deductive reasoning, while seeking textual proofs and proceeding from the given facts or effects to the inference of their results in a sequential basis dependent upon cohesion.

2- Experimentation: means viewing, experimenting and concluding explanations as defined in the empirical methodology by moving from components to generalization. It is not the natural experiment, but the human experiment and linking its facts so as to find out the essence of human nature that is meant here. This is the function of the stages of inspiration in history and its contribution to the development of human knowledge to aid in reaching an independence of thought along with applying human realism to jurisprudence to allow it to be formulated according to the human capacities. However the experimentation in the West is contrary and opposite to reasoning, and there is a necessity for the selection between reasoning and experiment, between

deduction and induction, between philosophy and knowledge, hence this dualism of soul and body affected European knowledge at the outset of modern ages.

3- *Methodology: means searching for an unquestionable certain starting point through which knowledge begins, then the other steps follow. Inspiration moves through non-specific stages, Qur'an to the revelation recognized by an initial optimal attempt which is Hadith, and then to the revelation recognized through consensus, to the inspiration recognized by an individual's experience and his own understanding known as ijtihād. Moving from reception to understanding, to verification; namely the verification of the objectives of revelation, then laying down the positivist and mandatory rules. These methodological steps makes Uṣūl al-fiqh one of the forms of research methodologies in humanitarian sciences; namely behavioral sciences.*

4- *Logic: there is nothing contained in al-fikr al-uṣūlī that constitutes something abnormal to the principles of logic and principles of proper understanding, it is a practical logic based on common understanding and shared experience and not a formal logic that sets the matters and describes their similar and opposite situations such as for example a chess games.*

5- *Nature: it is the established human nature regardless of religion, creed, gender, age or era referred to in the Holy Qur'an [30.30]. Thus Uṣūl al-fiqh is not*

addressed to a particular religion or a specific nation, but it transcends all differences of human nature which represent the smallest amount of limit among nations, bringing together people and cultures. Therefore, Uṣūl al-fiqh shall remain stable even if its details changes.

6- *Subjectivity: means the scope of analysis and its ground, and in origin it is the human scholar whose center is subjectivity, so that subjectivity is the scope of analysis and ground of the description as noted by Iqbal. Western thinking began talking about subjectivity in the Cartesian Cogito "Cogito ergo sum - I think, therefore I am." Inspiration in Uṣūl is a deliberate intention directed towards the globe and not merely a linguistic speech.*

7- *Al- Wadaiya: Shari'a is wadaiya and its rules are wadaiya as quoted by al-Shāṭibī, meaning that it is grounded in both reality and history. Shari'a was tested and verified in reality and also during history to define its applicability to more than one nation throughout more than one historic period in order to reach the generalization of Shari'a in both place and time. The meaning of Al- Wadiya however, has deteriorated in our modern age and has become almost an opponent of the religious and optimal meaning and almost equates with atheism; although al-Shāṭibī himself is the creator of the term " Al- Wadaiya: " and for him Shari'a is Wadaiya: as it stands applicable in a social and historic context and not suspended in thin air. Hence, Uṣūl al-fiqh combines between subjectivity and*

objectivity together, between self-analysis in its social context and historic situation.

8- *Practicality: The* uṣūlī thought is characterized by its authoritarian sense of practicality, because revelation called for "knowledge" although its first verse demands consideration "read", and "read" here means getting knowledge through reflection which then leads to an awareness for taking an action. Reading means reflection about nature and humans, meditation about the universe and human beings for the purpose of getting knowledge that precedes application. And if the Cartesian Cogito "*Cogito ergo sum* - I think, therefore I am" gives priority to reflection over application and to thought over existence, the Islamic quotations (Say Work!) (I am acting!)²²⁹ give priority to work and action over meditation and reflection as well as to existence over thought.

9- *Humanity: although revelation is inspired by God, the inspirer to humans, the inspired, it is directed at the human race and universal and a movement towards humanity in history. The theologians distorted this meaning to make its subject the self, with its adjectives, nouns and verbs. However, Uṣūl al-fiqh* fought against this distortion and kept it as a strict human science, its inspirer is the legislator, its inspiration is horizontal within history, and it focuses on inspiration from the inspired (the messenger) to his audience, so that inspiration

²²⁹ [11.93] And, O my people! act according to your ability, I too am acting; you will come to know soon who it is on whom will light the punishment that will disgrace him and who it is that is a liar, and watch, surely I too am watching with you

is a basis for a social system, and finally inspiration is a desire of Allah to the believers by addressing him.

10- Originality: means self-innovation, so that Uṣūl al-fiqh depends upon the internal source just like the sciences of kalām (speculative theology) and Sufism. It is an original science that began side by side with Uṣūl al-Dīn prior to the age of translation in the second century of Hijra. Furthermore, the allegation that said that al-Shāfiʿī had knowledge of Greek language was just a supposition.

If Hasan Hanafi's revival of Uṣūl al Fiqh is considered as the most outstanding development of 'Abdel-Rāziq's thoughts related to the revival of al-manhaj al-uṣūlī, I believe that the whole Hanafi's project is the overall and comprehensive of the sum total of 'Abdel-Rāziq's thoughts. This development is dependent upon of 'Abdel-Rāziq's wide vision of the fields of Islamic philosophy, which is the vision fostering the various methodologies of philosophy following the Greek model, manhaj kalāmī and al-manhaj al-uṣūlī. Al-Nashār, the first student of 'Abdel-Rāziq, violated too much of his master's vision by his total rejection of the Islamic philosophy of Al-Mashā'iyūn, besides, many students of 'Abdel-Rāziq benefited from their master's thoughts in certain fields such as Kalām by Abū Rīda, education by al-Ahwānī and Sufism by Mustafa ḥilmī. Hanafī adopts and develops the overall vision of 'Abdel-Rāziq regarding heritage, and also backs 'Abdel-Rāziq's vision of the correlation between heritage and reality to its utmost

extent, or rather if 'Abdel-Rāziq's vision adopting change and development stands implicitly under the grip of his theories and within its folds, requiring the researcher to reveal it, Hanafi's language proves clear, expressive words revealing his vision and objectives. This development is comprised of re-building the Islamic heritage known as "The position regarding ancient heritage", the first part of his philosophic colossal project "*al-Turath wa-al-tajdid*" that aims at building the Islamic sciences according to the circumstances of age.²³⁰ For him, heritage is inherited from the past and real present at the same time.²³¹

Within the theoretical preparation of his project he says "*al-Turath*" is the starting point as a national and cultural responsibility, while renewal is the re-interpretation of this heritage according to the circumstances of the current age, so that the past leads to the present, originality is the basis of modernity and the means leads to the end. Heritage is the means, while renewal is the end, which is the contribution to the development of realism, remedial of its problems, elimination of hindrances and overpowering any limitation that prevents its development. Heritage is not a value in itself, except for what it produces from practical theory on interpreting reality and the quest for its development. Thus, it is not a museum of thoughts of which we need to feel pride, stand before it in

²³⁰ Hanafi, Hassan(2000). *Min al Naql ila al Ibdā'*. Volume 1. Dar Quba'. P 7

²³¹ *Al Turāth wa al Tajdid: Mawqifina min al Turāth al Qadim*.p 9

amazement and call the entire universe to share with us this grandeur, but it is a theory of work and a national repertoire that needs to be explored, used and invested in with a view to rebuilding the human being and his relationship with the earth, which constitute the corner stone that destroy all efforts made by the underdeveloped countries towards development and progress ".²³²

The themes of renewal are for the traditional sciences known as the religious intellectual sciences, and their renewal could be achieved through rebuilding them by means of numerous methods including the method of deriving it from the religious framework, description of the intellectual operations underlying sciences, defining the positive and negative phenomenon in each science, then adopting the theoretical structure for each science after criticizing and analyzing it on a new theoretical basis so as to give it new dimensions either through language by linguistical terminology, new levels of analysis or the different material modern reality provides.²³³

The sciences in need of renewal are 'ilm al-kalam, philosophy, Sufism, uṣūl, which constitute the sciences of the Islamic civilization that centered on the Scripture and Sunna; they are also those sciences which 'Abdel-Rāziq included within Islamic philosophy fields. Hanafi has so far achieved rebuilding Uṣūl al-Dīn

232 Al Turāth wa al Tajdid: Mawqifina min al Turāth al Qadim.p 9

233 Al Turāth wa al Tajdid: Mawqifina min al Turāth al Qadim. Pp 171:172

or Kalam in his “*Min al-‘Aqida ila al-thawra*” in five volumes, rebuilding wisdom or philosophy in his “*Min EI-Naql ila al-Ibda*” in nine volumes rebuilding Uṣūl al-fiqh and “*Min al Nas ila al Waqi’ya*”, the third science from among the ancient sciences that are rebuilt after “*Min al-‘Aqida ila al-thawra*” for rebuilding Uṣūl al Din and “*Min EI-Naql ila al-Ibda*” for rebuilding wisdom. As for the motives and objectives for the relationship between heritage and reality, the legitimacy of this renewal of heritage and the need for it in reality and the realistic ambitions it fulfills, he says” if the audience constitutes part of the discourse, the letter is a message from writer to reader, and within the revolutionary “*Min al-‘Aqida ila al-thawra*” he aims at rooting his revolution and extending its roots to the cultural heritage, for the conservative person to contribute to the social progress, and for the secular one to know that the heritage he turns down may help his objective, and for the believer in ancestral heritage who views faith to be his entire world that contains facts and not just instruments for making change to reality and its development, and for the theologian *so that there is no holy knowledge but ideological and scientific knowledge that enter into the clash of ideas as a part of the social conflict, and for the social scholar to know that the ideological clash in traditional communities is the most critical factor on settling the social clash.*

“*Min EI-Naql ila al-Ibda*” was written for all those who desire to judge the Arab Islamic “self”, its value between tradition and innovation, within which stage or

science, through which text in order to limit passing judgments, either for limiting the judgment on tradition completely as was done by some Orientalists, or on innovation as was done by some Arab researchers who are enthusiastic about heritage and its civilizational role.

“*Min al Nas ila al Waqi’ya*” is being currently written for the jurist so that he may improve his mode of reasoning in which he proceeds from the given facts or effects to the inference of their causes and to give priority to the common interest which constitute the basis of jurisprudence for a literal reading of texts and giving priority for reality over the text. Each attempt was written with a view to refute a set of allegations announced by the Orientalists or some Arab researchers influenced by Orientalism, correcting prior rulings either for total tradition or one of its sciences. “*Min al-‘Aqida ila al-thawra*” was written with a view to refute and disprove the allegation that Islam is the cause of Muslim backwardness and underdevelopment, and that Islam is ideologically unable to enter into the age of modernity, the age of reason and human rights.

“*Min El-Naql ila al-Ibda*” was written in order to refute the allegations that Muslim scholars were just interpreters of the Greeks, translators of their sciences, explainers of their compilations and opponents to them, and that philosophy is Greek and that Sufism is Christian, Persian, Indian or even Greek, and that scholastic theology is Christian or Jewish and that Uşūl al-fiqh is Greek, as if

Muslims never created anything, but were just memorizers, interpreters who misinterpreted and mixed between Aristotle and Plato, and between Plato and Aristotle distorted texts created by original philosophers.

“Min al Nas ila al Waqi’ya” is being currently written to refute the assumption that Islamic legislations are taken literal which adversely affects the common interests, that they are cruel and only know pelting with stones, murder, whipping, torture, severing hands, crucifixion, hanging from palm trees and in general overburden. It is also lamentable that some modern Islamic movements dispense with the literal text and apply their slogans such as "Command is for Allah", "application of Islamic legislation" and "The Islamic alternative" without any consideration for modern reality or sequence in change.²³⁴

B. The opponents of Muṣṭafā ‘Abd ar-Rāziq’s theory:

1 - Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (1917-2002)

The publication of *“Sīrat ḥayātī”*, the biography of Abd al -Raḥmān Badawī, in 2000 was a shock for the Egyptian society . Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī is a great Egyptian philosopher and one of the greatest Arab professors of philosophy in the twentieth century. The painful shock for the community was due to the fact that Badawī attacked a lot of contemporary great figures of Egypt whom he knew personally. Muḥammad ‘Abdū, Taha Hussein, Ahmad Amin, Al-Aqqad, Ahmad

²³⁴ *Min al Nās ila al Waqi’a*. Al Juz’ al ‘Awal: Takwin al Nas; Pp 7:9

Fouad Al Ahwani, Zaki Naguib Maḥmūd and others were among those who were attacked by him, in addition to attacking many politicians and the 1952 Revolution, which he called a coup and not a revolution.

Amid these ethics of opportunism and occupational jealousy – as Badawī writes- Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq seems as the guardian angel to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī. Badawī provides more wonderful details²³⁵ about this ‘angelic’ personality along with his indignation and anger directed at everyone. Badawī recognizes the grace of ‘Abdel-Rāziq, at the same time he not only completely rejects the intellectual trend of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq, but also aims the arrows of bitter diatribe against Muḥammad Abdū, the teacher of ‘Abdel-Rāziq. Badawī leads quite a different trend which will be discussed below.

Badawī has described the lessons received from ‘Abdel-Rāziq and also explained that he was not intellectually convinced by most of the ideas proposed by ‘Abd ar-Rāziq, who firstly taught him logic while ‘Abdel-Rāziq studied it from the book, "al Baṣā’ir al-Nuṣayriya " written by ‘Umar bin Sahlān Al-Sāwī, which was the book preferred by Muḥammad ‘Abdū, and he considered it the best book to be taught at Al-Azhar. Badawī did not express his admiration for this book; in particular because he had read a book of logic before joining the university and felt that the logic that he knew was not like the logic taught by ‘Abdel-Rāziq. He

235 Badawi, ‘Abdel Rahman. (2000). Seerat Hayāti. First Edition, Volume 1. Beirut: Al Mu’asassat al Arabiya lil Dirassat WA al Nashr. P 56 p 117 and pp 133:135

also studied with him ‘Ilm al-kalām (Islamic speculative dialectical theology) in the second year.²³⁶ Then he described the Sheikh's lessons in the fourth year and this pertains to this study because it is about the theory of ‘Abdel-Rāziq in al-manhaj al-uṣūlī. "Then we studied in the fourth year - - uṣūl al fiqh and Sufism. As for uṣūl al-fiqh - although we were students of philosophy not students of Islamic law, Sheikh Mustafa believed – as European researchers such as Renan and Gaultier and others - that the so-called Islamic philosophy is in fact Greek philosophy written in Arabic according to Renan, i.e. the Muslim philosophers had no real creativity in philosophy but Sheikh Mustafa taught us that he found the real innovation of Muslim thinkers in uṣūl al-fiqh, but when he tried to explain this alleged innovation of uṣūlīyūn, he could not prove the validity of his claim. This becomes clear when reading the second section of the book, "tamhīd li tarīkh al-falsafa al-islāmiyya" (Introduction to the History of Islamic Philosophy). No one could show the validity of this claim and the reason for this is clear; ‘ilm *uṣūl al-fiqh* in which thought is related to valid texts (Quran and Sunnah) and whatever the jurists thinks, he will not be able to depart from this specific context taken by him and the best for himself is to work hard in interpreting the text by means of different interpretations-, till he becomes close to what the free mind provides. He reaches to what is achieved by the philosophical reason, free of any restrictions except those required by the actual absolute logic free of any

²³⁶ The previous reference. Pp 58:59

constrains that may be imposed by any text".²³⁷ This statement written by Badawī at the end of his life reflects his philosophical trend pursued since the beginning. This trend is completely different from the trend of ‘Abdel-Rāziq. It is helpful to use a comparative perspective between the thought of Badawī and ‘Alī Samī al-Nashar's thought because the latter is the one who expressed the theory of his teacher, ‘Abdel-Rāziq and his general philosophy. Badawī has a completely different philosophical trend, but there are many joint factors between them. This will make the comparison between them indicative in showing the philosophical and intellectual reactions to the theory of ‘Abdel-Rāziq in al-manhaj al-uṣūlī. The comparison between Badawī and Al-Nashar will be beneficial: The two were born in the same year in 1917, and were taught by Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq in the same University. Badawī graduated in 1938, while Al-Nashar graduated in 1939 and both of them graduated first in their respective classes. They also studied the latest developments related to the scientific empirical methodology through lectures of Andre Laland, the French professor of philosophy, who worked in the Egyptian university from 1926 up to 1930 and then from 1937 up to 1940. His lectures in both Egypt and the Sorbonne were about scientific methodologies. He wrote a book in scientific methodologies titled, "Theories of induction and empiricism".²³⁸ Both of them worked using completely different trends but they

²³⁷ The previous reference. P 60

²³⁸ The previous reference. Pp 62: 63

were scientifically brilliant and worked to push forward this trend. It is interesting that their intellectual difference extends to the political thought as while Badawī opposed the Egyptian Revolution strongly; Nashar was a consultant of the Revolution Council. Badawī determined his rational affiliation to western philosophy commencing from its origins and declared his firm belief in "the Greek miracle" to the modern age in the philosophies of Nietzsche and existentialism. He completed his dissertation in 1941 on "Death in Modern Philosophy". Most of the dissertation's examples were from existentialists. Badawī mentioned that he was influenced by Laland to a great extent in his scientific formation, "to be taught by Laland was a gift that I can never forget nor fulfill its due thanks and gratitude", While Al-Nashar declared - as mentioned above - his complete belonging to the new thought of his teacher, 'Abdel-Rāziq, and prompted the modern Islamic school, Badawī said that the true philosophy is the western philosophy and believed in the so-called Greek miracle that means that Greece has created the philosophy without parallel i.e. they innovated. Hence, Badawī rejected the views that state that Greece has been affected by the ancient eastern thought because this thought was pragmatic, while Greek philosophy was based on the abstract thought. He also deemed that the stoic philosophy was the reason for the fall of Greek thought, because eastern impacts reached it. Badawī considered that philosophy is free rational thought, unrestricted neither

by any precedent introductions nor by any practical purposes. The reason behind his rejecting to the methodological thought of ‘Abdel-Rāziq is that al-manhaj al-uṣūlī does not comply with the requirements of philosophical thought, because this methodology is linked to textual introductions. Western civilization is the cradle of philosophy, in the past and today. So Badawī devoted his scientific efforts to authorship in the history of philosophy, in the past and present. While ‘Alī Sāmī Al-Nashār was continuing his attack on Aristotelian logic, stressing that the Islamic civilization has rejected this sterile logic, Badawī did something different; he examined the old Arabic interpretation of the Aristotelian logic through his eight books in France, as he said, all the researchers were unable to achieve that; they could only examine 5% of the manuscripts,²³⁹ "by this great work that is incomparable in the history of the manuscripts all over the world and in any language, I did a great job".²⁴⁰ In fact, Badawī implemented this work due to what he thought and believed, namely that the value of Islamic philosophy is due to the preservation of Greek heritage and what was added to it by Islamic philosophers was little, because of the incompatibility between the Islamic spirit and philosophy. In his views, philosophy is contrary to the nature of the Islamic spirit, therefore this spirit could not produce a philosophy, and it was not able to understand the spirit of Greek philosophy and it was confined to its literal

²³⁹ The previous reference. P 205

²⁴⁰ The previous reference. P 206

meaning. No one of those interested in Greek philosophy from the Muslim scholars had a philosophical spirit in a true sense, otherwise they could understand it, rush into real production within it and create a new philosophy; whether they wanted that or not."²⁴¹ So he was keen to provide an accurate picture of the Greek heritage, as known by the Muslims and facilitated to those researchers in the history of Islamic philosophy to find the translation of the Aristotelian logic of into Arabic in the third and fourth centuries after Hijra. This is the basis of the researches in the history of Islamic philosophy and the impact of Aristotle". ²⁴² Thus according to Badawī, the Islamists have not created anything new in the field of Philosophy according to neither the Greek mode nor any other mode. He refused to consider al-manhaj al-uṣūlī as a philosophical creativity of Muslims, but the great contribution by them was in keeping the Greek heritage and when Badawī wrote, "the Arab role in the formation of European thought", he wrote about some findings, which benefited the European science from the Arabs, such as the decimal system of numbers and some questions of astronomy, chemistry and medicine. He also talked about the pragmatic knowledge learned by Europeans from the Arabs, such as chess, soap, paper

²⁴¹ Badawī, ‘Abdel Rahman(1940). *Al Turāth al Yunāni fi al Hadāra al Islāmiya: Dirāsāt li Kubār al Mustashriqin*. Editing and commentary by ‘Abdel Rahman Badawī. Cairo: Maktabat al Nahda al Misriya. The translator’s introduction

²⁴² *Seerat Hayāti* . v 1.p 206

and sugar.²⁴³ He did not mention the participation of Muslims in the issues of methodology and did not mention any contribution by the Arabs in the issue of scientific empirical methodology. He also rejected the methodological thought of ‘Abdel-Rāziq completely.

2. Aṭif al-‘Iraqī (1935 - ...)

A professor of philosophy at Cairo University published his book " Al 'Aql wa al Tanwir fi al Fikr al 'Arabi al Mua'aser " in 1995 and dedicated it to the spirit of Taha Hussayn, "our great thinker who bravely fought many intellectual battles armed with weapons of thought and reason ... which spread the light and brightness throughout the Arab nation from its east to the west I dedicate to the spirit of Taha Hussayn from my intellectual sanctuary in which I live alone for this study that seeks to enlighten based on reason".²⁴⁴ He devoted one of the chapters of the book to the thought of Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq. In 1997, he published a book commemorating Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq to mark the fiftieth anniversary of his death. The book is lead by an introduction written by ‘Iraqī. The fact is that the introduction of this book is roughly identical to the chapter in his first book, mentioned above; with most paragraphs being almost the same with

²⁴³ Badawi, ‘Abdel Rahman Dawr al-arab fi takwīn al-fikr al-urūbb Beirut, Manshūrāt Dār al-Ādāb. Pp: 17-22 and Pp: 37- 42

²⁴⁴ Al 'Iraqi, 'Atef (1995). Al 'Aql wa al Tanwir fi al Fikr al 'Arabi al Mua'aser. First Edition. Beirut: The University Association for Study, Publishing, and Distribution. P 5

very little changes in total. What is presented by ‘Iraqī about Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq is a historical narration of the most important aspects of his life and references to the most important of his books, his most important opinions and some words that show the gratitude to Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq, but in fact, ‘Iraqī has made great efforts through his words and statements so as not to assign a specific doctrine explicitly to the school of thought founded by ‘Abdel-Rāziq. However, there are scattered statements that reveal his true position, in addition to his repeatedly explicit declaration expressing his general philosophical position, which explains his stance on the thought of ‘Abdel-Rāziq in general and his theory in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* in particular . The expressions of praise did not prevent Aṭif al -‘Iraqī who was away in his intellectual sanctuary and proud of following the path of his teacher, Taha Hussayn, the founder of academic secularism, from expressing his real opinion about Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq and his ideas and school: "We believe that Sheikh Mustafa ‘Abd ar-Rāziq when he saw it fit to introduce uṣūlī trends within the framework of philosophy of which philosophy is disassociated,. made a great mistake. His view was wrong and caused a big catastrophe within philosophy." ²⁴⁵ This view is not debatable, and it suffices to point out that a great teacher in philosophy claiming that he is an advocator of reason and enlightenment mixed between the *uṣūlī* term in the scientific fiqhi sense that has been stable in the heritage for twelve centuries and

²⁴⁵ The previous refrence. P 203

the *uṣūlī* term in a political sense now, containing connotations linked with terrorism and religious extremism. ‘Iraqī also felt that ‘Abdel-Rāziq included numerous errors, such as including that his judgments about the Orientalists are cruel and I say that many of the judgments and theories espoused by the Orientalists are completely correct and we should have done like the Orientalists!"²⁴⁶ We will not discuss his opinion as the book, "*tamhīd le tarīkh al-falsafa al-islamiyya*" is available and contains ‘Abdel-Rāziq's refutation to the views of the Orientalists and he has also thanked them for their efforts and gave them some excuses if there was a lack in their researches. He set a very good example in the etiquettes of dispassionate scientific debate and the language that is free from cruelty and abuse. It was not the first time that Iraqī attacks the theory of ‘Abdel-Rāziq in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī*. He said in another book published in 1994, "it is not feasible in my doctrine and belief to neglect the logical aspects in the works of Arab thinkers and. I am convinced that if we studied the works of logic, the situation would be different. The wrong judgments and spread views, including the attempt to introduce *‘ilm uṣūl al-fiqh* within the framework of the Arab philosophy and it is completely innocent of it, because its properties are different from the characteristics of philosophical thought. Commonly, the attack on civilization and the fight against the golden path of immortal reason

²⁴⁶ The previous reference.p 203

prevailed."²⁴⁷ In fact, the true explicit attack on the theory of ‘Abdel-Rāziq by ‘Iraqī happened in the 1990s and the reason for this is that Department of Philosophy at Cairo University - the true home of the thought of ‘Abdel-Rāziq and also the place where ‘Iraqī learned and worked - introduced the study of *uṣūl al-fiqh* represented in *al-manhaj al-uṣūlī* into the curriculum in the early 1990s and it was a new victory of ‘Abdel-Rāziq's school, and an application of his theory nearly fifty years after his death.

It is strange that ‘Iraqī called for studying the logic of the Islamic philosophers like Ibn Sina and Al-Farabi, while Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq has already done so decades ago. According to Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq himself, he has taught that type of logic for several years at the beginning of his work at the university, and according to the previous testimony of Abd al -Raḥmān Badawī, Mustafa ‘Abdel-Rāziq has taught logic from the book of Omar ibn al-Sahlan al-Sawi who adopted the logic of Ibn Sina. ‘Iraqī has already rejected through his writings that ‘ilm al-kalam (Islamic speculative dialectical theology) and Sufism are considered as parts of Islamic philosophy, which was a part of the philosophy studies sections since ‘Abdel-Rāziq founded studies of Islamic philosophy in 1920s. He always referred to what was not philosophical and was inserted in Islamic philosophy" If we want

²⁴⁷ Saqr, Ibrahim Mohammed Ibrahim (1994). *Dirāssāt Mantiqiya ‘and Falasifat al Islām*. Fayoum, Egypt: New Umm al Qura Publishers. P 7

Arabic Philosophy to be stagnant or remain dormant or if we want it to have it in a closed isolated way, there will be no impediment to inserting all opinions and theories that I do not know their basis".²⁴⁸ These theories "are topics that have been inserted into philosophy without justification. The topics of 'ilm al-kalam, 'ilm uşūl al-fiqh and Sufism have been forcefully inserted."²⁴⁹ The basis for his objection is to find a special classification of the field of Islamic philosophy. This philosophy is limited to the Islamic philosophers borrowing from Greek philosophers such as al-Kindī, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd; with their thoughts reflecting the characteristics of their philosophical position. Thus he is honest, because of his belonging to Taha Hussayn's school of thoughts. According to this school, there was no clear Islamic innovation in the field of philosophy and science. Our ancestors borrowed from the Greek civilization and we too have to also take in our cue from the West, the heirs of the Sciences of Greece. The methodology of continued borrowing from the West is the ideal methodology for us. 'Iraqī expressed the same ideas and believed that the French Revolution and the French occupation of Egypt in the period from 1798 to 1801 to have had great advantages of enlightenment, clarity and openness which are largely reflecting the benefit of the spirit of the French Revolution. The French campaign, which came to Egypt led by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 after the French

²⁴⁸ Al 'Iraqi, 'Atef (1984). *Al Nazā'a al 'Aqliya fi Falsafat Ibn Rushd*. Fourth Edition. Dar Al Ma'aref. P 24

²⁴⁹ Al 'Iraqi, 'Atef (1983). *Madhāheb Falasifat al Mashreq*. Seventh Edition. Dar Al Ma'aref. P160

Revolution, regardless of its disadvantages and negativities, reveal to the minds of Egyptians the new faces of culture and thought."²⁵⁰ 'Iraqī completely refused the so-called cultural invasion; as there is no real presence of the phrase:" He was wondering about the logic used by the persons who attack Western civilization by describing it as cultural invasion. Ironically, we exaggerate in the creation of terms, slogans and phrases that do not reflect the reality, just as we say cultural invasion and re-building of the Arabs as if the Arab peoples' bodily parts have been scattered and need to be rebuilt or repaired! The cultural invasion is an illusion. It is, as we believe, a myth and does not form a danger at all on our culture and personality."²⁵¹ We must continue in our intellectual renaissance which began a century ago by translating from the West. If we want to pursue the trend that emerged in some Arab countries in the Arab world a century ago, which is in essence a declaration of the beginning of a new era in the intellectual life of Egypt? For the Intellectual Renaissance Age will be inevitable to move towards translations; accurate enlightened translations."²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Al 'Aql wa al Tanwir fi al Fikr al 'Arabi al Mua'aser. p 77

²⁵¹ Al 'Aql wa al Tanwir fi al Fikr al 'Arabi al Mua'aser. p 95

²⁵²Al 'Aql wa al Tanwir fi al Fikr al 'Arabi al Mua'aser. p 84

Conclusion

The primary aim of this study was to research the theory of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq (1885-1947) regarding *al manhaj al uṣūli* which he identified as being the real creative innovation of Muslim philosophy as encompassed in *uṣūl al fiqh*. This discipline is a systematic methodology that provided scientific research with a methodology applicable in all sciences. The research investigated his theory by using the analytical as well as the historical approaches to understand the proposed theory itself and to analyze its primary elements to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of its roots of knowledge. Furthermore it aimed at understanding and exploring the motivation behind it and its intellectual as well as realistic underlying incentives. Before listing the results of this research, it has to be noted that there is a fundamental similarity between the theory itself and the intellectual life and its evolution of the author of this theory.

This parity makes us say that the intellectual development of the theory’s author was the realistic embodiment of the essence of his theory in methodology. ‘Abdel-Rāziq began his intellectual life and emerged in public life as a practical reformist thinker indulging in the problems of space and time and evolved into a philosopher and academian whose intellectual ideas transcended the restrictions

of his time and location to continue with the vision of his thoughts, a practical and realistic vision of reform that lives on.

This life of the theory's author, as for the theory itself by what he says is that the beginning of Muslim *manhaj al uşūli* was with practical thinking seeking to respond to the problems of life of the Arabs since Jahiliya. Then Islam came to give a binding theoretical and practical rooting to the kind of thinking and encouraged and supported it, while at the time forbidding theoretical dogmatic dialectical thinking.

As a result of this support and encouragement, a transformation happened and the development of practical thinking and scientific experimental method that looks at the ills and causes happened as well. This is *al manhaj al uşūli*, which has become the dominant approach in the Islamic Civilization.

Out of this symmetry we can conclude that the theory of Muşţafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq the academian emerged from the heart of Muşţafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq the practical reformist thinker. The essence of his thought and his reformist vision are one. However, it expanded and increased and turned into a realistic civilized vision that emerged from the reality of living in a specific place and time. It also extended to the reality of the Islamic civilization in the depths of history. His respond was to the challenges of a whole *umma* suffering from cultural challenges of underdevelopment, foreign occupation and political servility,

military and economic colonialism and the loss of self-identity and pessimism regarding the future.

The problems did not only lie in the challenges, but also in response to them. There were many answers and solutions that offered conflicting trends with regard to the way to salvation. Two main roads crystallized, to either return to the golden past or to explore the present turning towards the European model. Europe was the disease and at the same time the remedy. European occupation could not be eradicated except through borrowing the full European codes represented in their civilization, their political and economic philosophies and scientific theories.

The response of ‘Abdel-Rāziq was sheer genius, as his vision was not about returning to a glorious golden past in a naive sense; it was about the search for a cultural self that was established over time. It was an exploration of the Islamic spirit that transcends variables and symptoms. It was also a search for a durable substance, continuous and inherent qualities that remain always.

Some say that the suffering from a cultural inferiority complex always leads Islamists to try attributing all that is new back to Islam and its civilization. They say that the temptation of the scientific method in Europe, namely the experimental method, as well as the dramatic developments in natural sciences,

were the impetus for Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq to claim that this methodological approach is not a new approach and that it is old and Islamic.

The response to them is that Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq was not looking for a methodology as an experimental approach for the application in the natural sciences and in the laboratory. It was not at all Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s intention to focus on such a limited small point. He has done much more, as he was looking to explore the spirit of Islamic civilization, the essence of the established core of Islamic civilization and the cultural self which was evident for centuries. He found the spirit of the methodology and substance that was scientifically based on research in the causes and the reasons.

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq’s theory was a search for an approach to life and reality, an approach for the advancement of civilization and to heal the spirit of civilization from decline, division and an estrangement from itself. It was also a return to the past because the past continues to the present and will continue in the future, because the core remains constant. Only the symptoms or manifestations change, but never the core. His response was to the challenges of the present, the factual and cultural ones. It was a choice for the continuation of the cultural self and re-uniting it with its spirit instead of healing by estrangement, through uniting it with the stranger and occupier. It was also an anticipation of a present

and future, as humanity had been guided to the fact that a methodology is the cornerstone in building science and constructing reality.

Thus, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq 's answer to the challenges of his times is the most original and genial, while the other answers presented mere metaphors or copying both from the past, the Islamic golden age, or from the European present. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's approach used creativity and innovation; the same result reached by modern Europe. It was through the experimental methodology that modern Europe built its sciences and industries and expanded to turn into a colonial monster.

Methodology is the crucial answer all the time and everywhere. A proper methodology is a research for the causes and reasons, because the universe itself is based on a Sunnen (reasons) and causality. It is a productive methodology that emerges from seeking the causes to controlling them and investing them for the benefit of mankind. This approach with these particular conditions is no stranger to us, but stems from within ourselves and our civilization. It is the result of a mental process and established by the Islamic religion itself and has evolved with the development of civilization.

As much as the theory was an invocation of the philosophical past, as much as it was also anticipation for the present and future philosophy. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's theory was in response to fundamental philosophical changes

experienced by Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq as a professor of philosophy ever since his studies in France. It was in France where he picked up the different directions in modern and contemporary philosophy of excluding metaphysics and everything that is vague, not clear or useless. There he focused his attention on logic, development, research methods and the philosophy of science. This is what happened in the past as well according to Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq. Hence, the overhaul of *al manhaj al uṣūli* is the core of the fundamentalist philosophy in the Islamic civilization.

His theory was inspired by cultural specificity and considers the self distinct from other civilizations. *Al manhaj al uṣūli* is a scientific research methodology that reflects the scientific research on the self of the Islamic civilization as opposed to the so-called Greek logic reflecting the Greek spirit. This result is an implicit one of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's theory. However, he did not care much about elaborating on it or pushing it forward. This was done by his student Ali Sami al-Nashar, because his teacher did not want to turn differentiation to difference and separation.

In addition to the above, Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's theory led to two key things: the establishment of modern studies of ancient Islamic philosophy and the emergence of a new Islamic philosophy. Recent studies on Islamic philosophy, ancient and modern Islamic philosophy are available now. In the first aspect

Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq is the real founder of those studies and his main role was to expand the field of Islamic philosophy to a great the extent so that they include theology and mysticism, and philosophy as well as jurisprudence, which is a new addition. Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq did not call for a differentiation between the different methodologies used by these groups, which would have led to more differences and separation. He wanted to keep and include everything. He wanted Islamic philosophy to be formed out of each of these divergent branches. While Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq the teacher says that al *manhaj al uṣūli* is a real innovation for the Muslims in philosophy, the student al-Nashar pushes his teacher's theory forward to its maximum results and invest it into the violent and decisive exclusion of the Masha'iyā philosophy to consider them strange outcasts from the mainstream of Islamic philosophical thought and intellectual circles.

A deeper look will reveal that Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq exceeded the establishment of Islamic philosophy studies to the establishment of a new Islamic Philosophy based on research in logic, scientific methodologies and science from the perspective of Islamic knowledge.

This incorporation of the new Islamic was carried out primarily based on the revival and renewal of the science of jurisprudence, and change of the qualitative study of primary sources and secondary legislation to focus on the systematic nature of this science. This is one of the main results of Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq's

theory. There has been increasing interest in this discipline and its development over the past decades.

It follows the demolition of the imaginary conflict between transmission and revelation in Islam, as well as the demolition of barriers between transmitted traditional religious sciences and rational sciences, and overcoming the dualism of aql (intellect) and naql (transmitted). Furthermore it allows for a continuation of the previous heritage in naql (transmitted) based on aql (intellect) such as done by Ibn Hazm and al-Ghazali and the agreement of both as by Ibn Taymiyya. Islam is based upon intellect and causation as per the view of al-Afghani and Muhammad Abdu.

This demolition of the perceived barriers both sciences in addition to Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq 's adoption of the view of a methodology of philosophy, removing the sectarian view, made his new philosophical school transcend the historical hostility between philosophy and religion. Ancient Islamic scholars had accused the philosophers of being outside the pale of Islam and sometimes to being infidels. Islamic philosophy after Muṣṭafā ‘Abdel-Rāziq became the strongest opponents of alienation and assimilation into the other and most fierce advocates of a civilized Islam and the distinctive peculiarities of civilization.

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