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## THE IDEOLOGY OF REFORM AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM OF MUHAMMAD ABDUH, AHMAD AMIN AND SAYYID QUTB

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### Abstrak

Reformasi adalah seruan untuk pembaruan dan modernitas. Oleh karena itu, banyak kajian dan penolakan yang ditujukan padanya. Dibandingkan dengan konsep lain, reformasi selalu membutuhkan penetapan dan definisi yang jelas, bukan karena kesulitannya semata, tetapi karena keterkaitannya dengan ideologi para pendukungnya serta proyeksi konotasi dan makna dalam isi proyek dan visi mereka. Karena alasan inilah muncul dilema di kalangan pendukung reformasi dalam mendefinisikan konsep ini secara tepat. Dilema tersebut memiliki dimensi yang menjadi lebih jelas apabila kita menyoroti ideologi reformasi dan kritik historis terhadap “Muhammad ‘Abduh, Ahmad Amin, dan Sayyid Qutb”. Kita akan menemukan bahwa visi mereka bertujuan pada reformasi. Penelitian ini memfokuskan pada tiga pemikir besar dengan ideologi berbeda. Penelitian dimulai dengan Muhammad ‘Abduh, salah satu reformis paling terkemuka dan pendukung reformasi di era modern. Beliau berkontribusi dalam membebaskan pemikiran Arab dari kebekuan yang telah melanda selama berabad-abad dan membangkitkan kesadaran budaya bangsa, serta menghidupkan kembali ijtihad dalam aspek intelektual dan budaya. Kemudian, Ahmad Amin memulai perjalanan intelektualnya melalui penelitian dan eksplorasi kehidupan historis, religius, dan intelektual bangsa Arab. Ia menghasilkan sejumlah karya sejarah yang mencerminkan ideologinya dalam bidang reformasi dan kritik historis. Terakhir, Sayyid Qutb menulis banyak buku, risalah, dan artikel yang merupakan tulisan reformis dalam berbagai bidang, termasuk bidang sejarah.

**Kata Kunci:** *Ideologi, reformasi, arah perubahan, kesesuaian intelektual, kritik.*

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### Abstract

Reform is a call for renewal and modernity, therefore. Much study and refutation were attributed to it, in comparison with others, it always needs to be set and defined, that's not for its difficulty but it's connected to its concept with the ideologies of its advocates and their projection of its connotations and meanings on the contents of their projects and visions. For this reason, there was a dilemma among the advocates of reform in defining this concept accurately, this dilemma has dimensions that made it more obvious, by shedding light on the Ideology of reform and historical criticism of "Muhammad 'Abduh, Ahmad Amin, and Sayyid Qutb", we will find that their visions were for the aim of reform, the research has focused on three great thinkers with different ideologies, it started with Muhammad 'Abduh, one of the most prominent reformers and advocates of reform in the modern age, He contributed in liberating the Arab mind from its stagnation which inflicted it for centuries and awaken the nation's culture awareness, reviving the Ijtihad in the intellectual and cultural aspects. Then, Ahmad Amin who started his journey through research and exploration of the historical, religious, and intellectual life of the Arabs, produced several historical writings that reflect his ideology in the field of reform and historical criticism. Finally, Sayyid Qutb wrote many books, treatises, and articles that were reformist writings in various fields, including the historical field.

Keywords: *Ideology, reform, change direction, intellectual compatibility, criticism.*

### INTRODUCTION

The research attempts to bring together the divergent views of the three thinkers, "Muhammad 'Abduh, Ahmad Amin, and Sayyid Qutb ", Muhammad 'Abduh established an Islamic renewal movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries aimed at eliminating intellectual stagnation and promoting rational thinking at both the theological and theoretical "historical" levels. Ahmad Amin was the founder of a moderate intellectual current that viewed theological and intellectual events from a literary, intellectual, and critical perspective. And he employed these mechanisms in his historical reform movement. Sayyid Qutb raised the banner of jihad al-Talab (struggle for demand) and was a major creator of Islamic thought

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and an inspiration for various Islamic groups. He is one of the most famous Islamic ideologues of the 20th century.

The research aims to establish the ideology of reform and historical criticism depending on reading through the heritage of the three thinkers, with looking into the issue of their intellectual compatibility, the flow of the ideas and the change of the intellectual path among some of them to link the movement of the ideological construction influence on the historical text from one side, and the development of their reform vision and how their ideology has differed among the reform issues and Islam history on the other side.

The reform vision of *Muhammad ‘Abduh* in religious sciences and the events in the history of Islam, differs from the beginning formation of *Muhammad ‘Abduh* with his teacher *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, then his ideology and intellectual path changes during his second interval with his student *Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā* who transferred this transformation, *Aḥmad Amīn*, also adopted some orientalist’s ideas, that he included in his reformist ideology and his critical vision of history which he gained through dealing with the intellectual institutions and academic circles, then his ideology changes in demonstrating some religious ideas with neutrality, such as Al-Wahabia movement, then, *Sayyid Qutb’s* intellectual beginning was different from his end.

He went through many stages the mere literature stage in which he was influenced by *‘Abbās Maḥmūd al-‘Aqqād*, then came to his Marxist intellectual stage, later in his second interval, he changed his intellectual path and turned to Islamic literature, then to the political field until he became a pioneer of the Islamic Movement thought or what we called “*al-Qutbiyah*”, later his reformist and critical historical vision was subjected according to his Islamic ideology, and he interpreted history according to his concepts, so we find differences in each of them apart from the other.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1. The Ideology of Reform and Historical Criticism of “Muhammad ‘Abduh”

- (a) The Source Structure that Forms the Ideology of Muhammad ‘Abduh:



*Muhammad 'Abduh* is one of the symbols of the modern mental reform school, this school in its essence is the same as the mental school in the West, they both agree on one result, though there may be some differences, that result is "developing religion and thought to cope with the contemporary civilization", the founder of this school is *Al-Sayyid Ahmad Khān al-Hindāwī* (Amīn, 2012), *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī* was the first to set the features of this school, then it was established by his student *Muhammad 'Abduh* (al-Ghāmidī, 1436H/2014).

When reading in the heritage of *Muhammad 'Abduh*, it may be noticed that he doesn't belong to the school of *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī*, but belongs to the school of *Rifā'ah al-Tahtāwī* concerning reform; this result is built panoramically as circles lead to one another, *Muhammad 'Abduh* is a student of *Sheikh Hasan al-Tawīl* who was contemporary to *Ahmad Bik 'Ubayd*, who was one of those close to *Al-Tahtāwī*, consequently, *'Abduh* belongs to the school of *Al-Tahtāwī*, and this is a problem that confuses some, this research deals with this problem through discussing the source structure that helped to form the intellectual side of *'Abduh* and they are defined in the following points:

- (1) *'Abduh* wasn't from the close students of *Hasan al-Tawīl*, whose close students were Professor "*Ahmad Taymūr Bāshā*", "*Sheikh Ahmad Abū Khaṭwah*", "*Sheikh Muhammad al-Mahdī*", "*Sheikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjār*" "*Sheikh Hasan Manṣūr*" and "*Sheikh Muhammad al-Khudārī* (al-Ziriklī, 2005; 123), but *Hasan al-Tawīl's* interest in maths, philosophy, and politics (al-Ziriklī, 2005; 183), may influence partly in the formation of *'Abduh* ideology.
- (2) *Hasan al-Tawīl* did not mention that he was educated at the hands of *Ahmad Bik 'Ubayd al-Tahtāwī*, but he was a student of: "*Sheikh Hasan al-'Adawī al-Hamzāwī*", "*Sheikh al-burhān al-Saqqā*", "*Sheikh Muhammad al-Ushmūnī*", "*Sheikh Ahmad Sharaf ālmrsfy*", "*Sheikh 'Abd al-Hādī Najā al-Abyārī*", "*Sheikh al'nbāby*", "*Sheikh Muhammad 'Ulaysh*" (al-Ziriklī, 2005; 123, Mujāhid,pt:295-296).
- (3) *Hasan al-Tawīl* didn't join the faculty of *Al-Asun* which was established by *Rifā'ah al-Tahtāwī*, but when he joined it, it was a



translation house not an intellectual house as Al-Azhar institution, it was all that *Aḥmad Bik 'Ubayd al-Ṭaḥṭāwī* was the one that employed him as a translator in Jihadi court, because his mastery in language, only. When he examined him, he said: "... you're a precious diamond that was hidden from us" (Bāshā;2), he means here what is related to translation not thought, because *Aḥmad Bik 'Ubayd* was a translator and wasn't known as a thinker or something like that.

- (4) *Aḥmad Amīn*, one of the symbols of the modern rational school, mentioned that *'Abduh* grew in Egypt noticing the teachings of *Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb* surrounded him, teachings which dates back to the era of the messenger, to *Ibn Taymīyah*, then to *Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb*, *'Abduh* greatest hope was to do a good deed for the Muslims, his diligence and research led him to two basics that *Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb* set up his teachings upon: fighting heresies and polytheisms, and he began Ijtihad and reformist renaissance" (Amīn, 2012), The reform of *Muḥammad 'Abduh* in Egypt was similar to The one of *al-Sayyid Aḥmad Khān al-Hindāwī* in terms of education, discipline and dealing with religion in tolerance and ease (al-Ghamidi, 2014:174), *'Abduh* has met Sheikh Sufi *Darwīsh Khidr* his uncle to his father who had the most important influence in changing his life path, Sheikh *Darwīsh* was influenced by the Senussi teachings which agrees with *al-Wahhābīyah* in calling for returning back to the mere origin of Islam and purify it of the heresies and superstitious (Riḍā, 2006).
- (5) The reform that *'Abduh* went on wasn't heresy, but he was preceded by sheik *Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār* (Ḥasan, n.d: 11), and he was one of the prominent teachers of *Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī*, and he was the one who prepared *Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's* thought to accept the modern sciences (Ḥasan, n.d: 74) and sent him abroad (al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 1265H;7), so how do we relate *'Abduh* to *Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī* school, not *Al-'Aṭṭār's* or what followed *Al-'Aṭṭār*?
- (6) *Al-Afghānī* had a reform vision of injustice ( fields of education and politics (Shāhī, 2002:38-39), his educational vision depends on the mind, and it was identical to *Al-Mu'tazilah*, he had some



interpretations of some verses of The Holy Quran, such as his interpretation of the verse: (Oh, you who have believed, do not consume usury multiplied) (Al-Imran:130), he said: that reasonable usury is illegal as long as it isn't doubled, Also, the verse: (And if you fear that you will not do justice, then marry one) {Al\_Nisa:3}, he said that it isn't illegal to marry more than one because there's a fear of doing injustice (al-Rūmī, 1403H: 98), *Muhammad 'Abduh* was similar to him in this educational views (alṡnāy, n.d: 19-20). So, *Al-Afghānī* and *'Abduh's* vision is to raise the minds to show the people that Islam calls for research and reflection (Faraj, 1407H: 6-7, 'Abd al-Āl, n.d: 20, 60-61), some even said: that *Muhammad 'Abduh* is one of the most prominent students of *Al-Afghānī* in his educational vision. But for the political vision, it's *Sa'd Zaghāl* (Ghazāl, 1403H: 381-387). *'Abduh's* ideology in political reform was different from *Al-Afghānī's*. He believed that radical reform is from the inside, but *al-Afghānī* believed in revolutionary reform ('Abd al-Āl, n.d: 78).

*The source structure* that formed *'Abduh's* ideology, is the aforementioned school, the prevailing atmosphere among scholars in this age, is a preoccupation with science, thought, and culture, the similarity of *'Abduh's* reform vision with others, is a similarity in the view, not the conclusion text to demonstrate the idea, there can't be an identical similarity between two without any influence, the effect here is by the surrounding environment that has the same thoughts and visions.

To notice the change of *Muhammad 'Abduh's* intellectual path, we must differentiate between his first part of life with *al-Afghānī*, and his second part of life with his student *Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā*, *'Abduh* has transferred a lot from *Al-Afghani* and he said at the beginning of his treatise: "Our instructor *Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī* clarifies and gave us lots of comprehensives and I called the treatise *alwrādāt fī Sirr al-Tajalliyāt* ('Abduh, 1334H:2), then we find *Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā* transfer what indicates *'Abduh's* retreats in his thoughts (al-Dhahabī, n.d : 405-406), and he says in the footnote of his book *al-Wāridāt*: "I know that he-may God bless him-has retreated about lots





of these theories that he wrote down in this treatise, then it appeared to him that it wasn't invalid, of them: Everything that is based on estimating the knowing of the almighty God compared to the knowing of his creation, and we will mention some of them" ('Abduh, 1334H: 36), this is an evidence that 'Abduh retreated for some of his concepts, also his interpretation to the verse 32 of Al-Imran: (Whenever Zakariyya enters the sanctuary, he finds provision with her." (Al-Imran:37), he said, it's a miracle, Mariam had a sanctuary for praying, Zakariyya used to pledge her worshipping, he sees a dignity for her that she had fruits in the off-season." ('Abduh, 1334H:186).

(b) The reformist ideology of Muḥammad 'Abduh:

'Abduh's vision of reform and renewal went beyond the reforming of religious institutions like *Al-Azhar*, to be a greater center for reform in fundamentals, branches, jurisprudence, Sufism theology and interpretation, with the practice of Ijtihad in a form that he set to two determiners:

- (1) The first determiner: the need should be the basis of renewal, and it should be suitable and compatible with the Holy Quran and Sunnah.
- (2) The second determiner: is the assurance of the necessity of renewal and work on this with gradual reform, 'Abduh has clarified for *Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā* on their first meeting that he works for religious reform on two parallel sides, which are the line of doctrinal, jurisprudential, and intellectual reform, and the side institutions' reform which he outlined in three items: *Al-Azhar*, endowments, and the Sharia courts ('Abd al-'Āl, n.d : 82-84)

The reformist vision of 'Abduh relied on the concept that reason is the base of knowledge, and everything that contradicts reason, should be rejected. Consequently, 'Abduh denied all the narrations that contradicted reason, so he interpreted the verses of the Holy Quran and the sayings of *Muḥammad* the prophet, which is a modern vision of *Al-Muatazila* Ideology, that's called the issue of "improvement and ugliness", which means that everything that



reason agrees with, is acceptable, and what it disagrees with, should be interpreted or rejected (‘Imārah,1979: pt.3, p298, pt.4, p.252-274, pt.5, p14, p.428, Umāmah, 1424H: 360-362, Zahrah, n.d:124-127), then he started interpreting the Quran in a rational approach, he implemented his instructor *Al-Afghani's* approach, that even the enlightened Christians gathered by the Masjid's door to listen to him (‘Abduh, 1334H: 39). He also mentioned that the religion is received by minds from the missionaries and warners (‘Abduh, n.d: 8) on the contrary this is solidness that shouldn't be related to Islam (‘Abduh, 1346H: 9), he considered the Quran as a book for religious sciences, not the universe's sciences, he wanted to imitate the messengers who ask the people to use their senses and minds (‘Imārah, 1979;486-487), this can be clarified through the following:

- (1) The first part of the fourth verse of Surat Al-Fil: (striking them with stones from Sijjil) (Al-Fil:4), it's the story of *Abrhh al-Ḥabashī* who wanted to destroy the *Al-Ka'bah*, so God sent them Papal birds that threw his army with stones from Sijjil, the army perished, ‘Abduh interpreted that Sijjil stones here are “smallpox and measles” (‘Abduh,1341H:157), this interpretation was criticized by many (Tāj, 1972: 18-20).
- (2) He dealt with The prophet *Muḥammad* life and rejected the hadith of “the prophet's childhood and chest shattering”; that *Gabriel* or some angels shattered the prophet's chest and took out the clot of Satan's luck from his heart then they washed his heart in a golden basin with *Zamzam* water, then they returned the heart in the prophet's chest (al-Bukhāri), he said: this hadith contradicted the Quranic verse; (you have no authority over my servants) [Al-Hijr:42], so, how God said that the Satan has no authority over the believers of God, then he touches the prophet *Muḥammad*, and he added, “this hadith is speculative news because it's a single narration” (‘Abduh: 1367, 290-292)
- (3) He dealt with the prophet *Muḥammad* call in its first stages and said that it dealt only with rational evidence, and people should investigate the Quran in their minds (‘Imārah, 1409: 279).





(4) He said that the Quran has mentioned the equality of man and woman, which is the basis of unity, and the preacher of affinity and sympathy with humans, depending on his interpretation of the Quranic verse: (O mankind, fear your Lord, who created you from one soul and created from it its mate and dispersed from both many men and women) ('Abduh, 1334H: 325).

(c) The Ideology of the Historical Criticism of Muhamed Abdo:

'Abduh's historical side was subjected to debate, like his intellectual and doctrinal sides (al-Ja'bari, 1402H:4), 'Abduh's historical vision was according to his reformist ideology, and this can be proved through what follows:

- (1) He indicated that science may spread in times of discord, he indicated what happened twenty years after the death of the prophet, when 'Alī Ibn Abī Ṭālib began to urge teaching Arabic literature and asked for setting rules for it when he realized the people's need for that, and Muslims began to feel the light of knowledge in the shade of these disputes over caliphate which spread in the countries ('Abduh, 1334H: 102).
- (2) He referred to the difference between the Umayyad's caliphate life and the right caliphs, they weren't apathetic. *Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān* created a new system for the mandate of the covenant ('Abduh, 1334H: 103) as if he hints that this pattern of change or political development was a part of the reform.
- (3) 'Abduh saw that the reform should be calm and, on the inside, his knowledge of the colonists through the historical side was through his indulging in supporting the *al-Thawrah al-Urābiyah*, which he believed as a path of proceeding towards reform (al-Dūrī, 2020: 190-191), 'Abduh's commitment to deepening the patriotic spirit and striving for the colonists in a reformist approach depends on education and bringing up was contrary to his instructor *al-Afghānī's* political reform ideology ('Abd al-'Āl, n.d: 76)
- (4) He referred to the nations' ideology through history to reject the oppose, he said that throughout history, nations used to refuse to submit to those who oppress them, the more they



refuse it, the more they don't incline to them, at that time they despise them, and spit it out as a kernel (al-Afghānī, 2015: 34).

- (5) He said that the reason for the Muslims' unity weakness in the early Islamic Eras, was the attitudes of some caliphs towards the hostiles, as *al- 'Alawīyīn wāltturk* and *wālddaylam* and others, the caliphs thought that they were enslaving them with their power and favor, to guarantee that they wouldn't revolt against them ('Abduh, 1334H: 118-119). 'Abduh's vision here was an interpretation of the historical event in an analytical form more than an intellectual one.
- (6) He referred to the division of the Islamic unity into peoples and sects, and he found an obvious gap among the speakers which he traced throughout history and found the strongest of them was on the side of the masters of reason and philosophy against the masters of jurisprudential schools, he defined them as eras of hateful fanaticism arose from the raging partiality (al-Bahī, n.d: 127)

## RESEARCH METHODS

### The Ideology of reform and historical criticism of "Aḥmad Amīn"

- (a) The source structure that Forms the Ideology of Ahmad Amīn:

*Ahmad Amīn* joined the university that *Tāhā Ḥusayn* recommended him to teach in the Faculty of Arts, it was his first step in research according to the modern approach, and the introduction for his project about the mental life in Islam in his series of writings *Fajr al-Islām*, *Ḍuḥā al-Islām* and *zhr al-Islām*, he demonstrated the analytical writing of the Islamic nation mind and he was the ensign to those behind him towards the history of Islamic mentality, and he wrote a chapter about the prophet's hadith and its inscription, the reasons and the state of Al-Hadith.

Some scholars of his age didn't agree with him such as *Muḥammad Abū Zahrah*, and *Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī*, they criticized him and accused him that he questioned the narrators' efforts (Amīn, 2008:266-270), his views in some issues clear that the accusations weren't true, like his saying about *al-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb* who is said to be the origin of *al-Wahhābīyah* movement: "*al-Wahhābīyah* doesn't admit the



time and its effect, or the new Islamic traditions or positions, it says there is no God but Allah, and no one is infallible except the messengers" (Amīn, 2012: 41) *bin Abdulwahab* adopted *Ibn Taymīyah* teachings, *Ibn Taymīyah* was in the 7<sup>th</sup> H century, in the time of *al-Sulṭān alnāṣr*.

Though he is *Ḥanbalī*, he adopted *Ijtihad*, even if it contradicted the teachings of *al-Ḥanābilah*, he thought freely but in the limits of the Holy Quran and Sunna, so he attacked the jurists and the sifis together (Amīn, 2012: 9), he was influenced by accompanying *āl'stādh 'Āṭif Bāshā Barakāt* for 18 years in which he learnt justice, firmness and persistence, and his work in judiciary made him know the various experiences of people and political issues, consequently he didn't make a decision without study and research (Amīn, 2010: 70-77, 91-93), this was reflected on his ideology, in dealing with Islamic history and some issues of reform.

(b) The Ideology of reform according to Ahmad Amīn:

(1) Ahmad Amīn's vision of the Quran and the Hadith:

*Aḥmad Amīn* criticized the old interpretations of the Quran, (what was narrated about the prophet, his companions, and followers in the interpretation like the hadith in *al-Bukhārī was-Muslim*) he believed in the mental interpretation, as *al-Mu'tazilah* relied on the various mental methods in dealing with The holy Quran's verses through the ancient transfer methods (Amīn, 2013: 293), he states that the understanding of the Quran and its texts needs special mind because the revelation of the Quran in the language of the Arabs doesn't mean that all the Arabs understand its vocabulary and structures (Amīn, 2011: 215-216).

He dedicated a section of his book "*Fajr al-Islām*" to the prophet Hadith, about sixteen pages (Amīn, 2012: 229-245), he strives to chronicle the Sunnah and the method of its writing down after he demonstrated the Sunnah meaning and its importance in Sharia, he mentioned that Hadith wasn't written down in the prophet *Muḥammad* Age, the companions divided into two groups after the prophet's death. Some of them hated to be a narrator of the prophet, some others narrated much. As a result, there was no hadith written



down. And forged hadith became a lot, especially after the entry of the non-Muslim peoples into Islam, consequently, Hadith was written down in what was known as *Al-Sihah* because of specific historical, and political conditions (Amin, 2012: 232-241).

We can find that *Ahmad Amin's* ideology was materialistic in interpreting the historical event of writing down forged. (according to a critical vision, a lot have followed him in his ideology, maybe the most famous of them, is one of the great secular writers of his age, "*Ismā'īl Ad'ham*" 1940 CE= 1359 AH, who was accused of atheism as a result of what he published about the issues of writing down the Sunnah, he wrote a treatise about the history of Sunnah, he declared in it that this great wealth of The prophet's hadith isn't set on foundations or pillars, but it's doubted and most of it is forged (al-Sibā'ī, 2008: 499).

(2) Ahmad Amin's position on juristic disagreements:

We can identify the reasons for the disagreement between the jurists and *Sufis* as follows:

- There are differences between the tendencies of jurists and *Sufis*. It means the Sufis have a spiritual point of view, in which they rely on heart taste, and knowledge through inspiration, so they philosophized asceticism and divided it into shrines and sections, they wore coarse wool as the Christian monks do, as a kind of asceticism, and because of that, they were called *al-Ṣūfīyah* (Amin, 2012: 308).
- The saying of *Waḥdat al-wujūd* prevailed among the *Ṣūfīyah* long ago, it's a matter of precision, it may be explained by saying that the lover would perish in his beloved until there is no difference between them (Amin, 2012: 853), the *Ṣūfīyah'* definition of "Al-Qutb, Al-Ghouth, and Al-Abdal which are the same as what *al-Mahdīyah* theorists say that *al-Mahdī* was enlightened by God, and got a portion of God's light (Amin, 2012: 63).
- *al-fuqahā'* rely on the apparent *al-Qur'ān wa-al-sunnah* and mental deduction, the disagreement was at its highest point among *al-matshafh wa-al-Hanābilah* because *al-Hanābilah* strongly adhered to the apparent meaning of texts, they, and they accused Sufis of



heresy (Amīn, 2012: 56) and exaggerated in the religious issues, the meanings and fancies (Amīn, 2012: 30), on the other side, *al-Şūfiyah* accused *al-fuqahā'* that they are shallowly minded who follow only the shapes and forms, so the dispute between the *al-fuqahā'* *wālşwfyh* was a great calamity (Amīn, 2012: 56).

- *Ahmad Amīn* dealt with that dispute between *Almḥddthyn wa-al-fuqahā'* and indicated that *Almḥddthyn* raised the dispute, and they scolded the opinion holders because they derived rules relying on opinions and measuring and they lowered the narration of hadith. The appearance of this dispute was at its highest among Hijazis and Iraqis in the era of *Mālik wa-Abī Ḥanīfah*, *ālḥjāz* people are often the people of hadith, and Iraqis are often the people of opinion, and this continues in the later ages, that the narrators don't even narrate for *lḥnfyh* people (Amīn, 2012: 485).

(c) The Ideology of Historical Criticism of Ahmad Amīn:

*Ahmad Amīn* relied on a new technique in demonstrating history, he considered that reason and sharia are identical, and he inferred the story of *Ḥayy ibn Yaqzān* by the philosopher *Ibn Ṭufayl*, which concluded the moral that reason and sharia are one (Amīn, 2012: 26). He interpreted the *al-Qarāmiṭah* movement as an economical interpretation and considered it a movement that revolted against injustice that prevailed in the *al'bāsy* Era, it was an economic movement calling for reform and it wasn't *ishtirākīyah* socialism one, such as *kārl Mārks*. The economic factor had a great influence on the intellectual, social, and political changes since the beginning of time (Amīn, 2012: 31), and the economic factor was a reason for the emergence of the *ālmḥdwyh's* opinions in *Sudan* (Amīn, 2012: 54).

*Ahmad Amīn* has dealt with the states and their phases in a realistic, dramatic way, he may have imitated *Ibn Khaldūn*, who said: "A state has an age just like the people, it has a childhood, adolescence, youth, middle age, and finally old age, but some states are born weak and sick, so they die in their cradle, or shortly after it, some may suddenly die, and others may have long or shortage. The modern Western countries learned from the causes of the Greek and Roman Fall and were careful not to fall in the same diseases, so they had long ages." (Amīn, 2012: 12).



*Ahmad Amīn* indicated that the Easterner religion is deep inside their souls and almost penetrates all their deeds and behaviors whereas the Westerner's religion is almost superficial (Amīn, 1995: 84), what distinguished the Islamic Kingdom from medieval Europe was that it had many non-Muslims, but tolerance which used to be like that, also, it was a must that the Jews and Christians lived side by side with Muslims and this helped to establish an atmosphere of tolerance which didn't exist in Europe in the middle ages" (Amīn, 2012: 293)

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 1. The Ideology of Reform and Historical Criticism of "Sayyid Quṭb"

The source structure that Forms the Ideology of "Sayyid Quṭb", We can point out the structure that formed *Quṭb's* ideology in several points:

- (a) What *Quṭb* wrote about himself in his book *Spirits, in Alqryt'*, and about customs, traditions, and superstitions that prevailed the Egyptian society and formed his thoughts and beliefs about the world of spirits, for example, his poetry was centered on death and the hereafter (Syd Quṭb, 1429: 7-39), this was reflected in his ideology, this also may have been among the main reasons that made him not neglect the spiritual side in interpreting the historical incidents and he rejected being colored by Western materialism.
- (b) *Quṭb's* contact with 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād (Syd Quṭb, 1936, 936-938) and his love for him influenced his ideology and, consequently his writings, after that, when *Quṭb's* intellectual path changed, he was one of the fiercest critics of 'Aqqād (ālkhāldy, 2000, 125-135)
- (c) There was a struggle in the Arab world among the intellectual currents, some of them had modern tendencies, and others with religious ones which had influenced *Sayyid Quṭb*" and turned him into one of the worst enemies of the West, he even predicted the fall of the West's civilization and the rise of the Islamic Civilization under the leadership of Muslims (Syd Quṭb, 2001:6), especially since it follows the spiritual approach which deals with various human problems.

### 2. Sayyid Quṭb's reformist ideology in the Islamic history.

*Quṭb* could transfer the Islamic concept a quantum leap, as he was a writer and critic, he knew that Islam was a political religion, therefore his critical vision of history was reflected as follows:

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## (a) Sayyid Qutb's "ideological vision in interpreting historical incidents

- (1) Some historians focused in their interpreting of the historical incidents on the role of the material in forming it at the expense of the spiritual side, whereas Qutb's vision of Islamic history was an Islamic vision that gave the spiritual side a role in interpreting the historical incidents, he referred: it's difficult to imagine the possibility of studying the whole Islamic life without realizing the whole spirit of the Islamic creed (Syd Qutb, 2004:46). When Islam introduces the idea, it introduces its practical form in the image of society, this is what happened in *al-Andalus* history and the Crusades, and other images that were introduced by Islam and fascinated The Europeans at that time (Syd Qutb, 1993:44, *Māliyah*, 1993:71).
- (2) *Qutb* believes that there is a fundamental difference between the Islamic interpretation of history and other interpretations that were made by priests and cheaters, he pointed out that reasons alone don't create results, that's "God's will", also relying on God and submitting to his will doesn't prevent taking actions, also the natural laws don't have its independent inevitability, but everything is attributed only to God, the scholars of Islam made great efforts in applying, measuring and branching which guaranteed the rules of Islam to fulfill the renewable needs of the society at that time (Syd Qutb, 1995: 58).
- (3) All prevailing religions assure that doctrine is a means to achieve successful social solidarity in this part of the world (Syd Qutb, 2006: 58). Therefore, the Islamic approach is not a historical system for a period of history, nor is it a system of enlightenment for a group of humans in one generation or one environment. Rather, it is the constant approach that God has chosen for the renewed life of humans (Syd Qutb, 1993: 10). This is contrary to what *al-Shuyū'īyah* ideology adopts, which represents the development of the idea of European material civilization (Syd Qutb, 1995: 27). The task of Islam is always to push life toward renewal, development, and Advancement, and to push human energies toward establishing, launching, and elevation. The Islamic theory does not believe in



humans' negativity on this earth or in the meagerness of their role in developing life. The axis that the development movement revolves around in Islamic thought is the development of all humanity (Syd Qutb, 1995: 16-19).

(b) The vision of Sayyid Qutb in rewriting Islamic history:

Qutb had known efforts with some of his companions who were interested in Islamic history, including "*Muhammad al-Ṣādiq Ibrāhīm 'Urjūn*", "*Muhammad Yūsuf Mursī*", and "*Muhammad al-Ṭayyib al-Najjār*", to rewrite Islamic history according to an authentic Islamic methodology (Khalīl, 1994: 6). Qutb's research "*fi al-tārīkh fikrat wa-minhāj*" provided a glimpse into the Islamic methodology that should be adopted; this glimpse is a focused try to rewrite Islamic history throughout its Eras. This essay served as a guide for dealing with Islamic history in terms of composition, presentation, analysis, and interpretation. He may aim to shed light on the working methods that a group of Muslim historians should adopt in rewriting Islamic history (he was one of them). His famous book "*Ma'ālim fi al-ṭarīq*" included 12 chapters apart from the preface, four of which were extracted from his interpretation of the Quran "*fi zilāl ālqr'ān*" with some modifications. The other eight chapters were written along different periods (Sayyid Qutb, 1979) between the unique Quranic generation and the believing community (Sayyid Qutb, 1432H:442), between *al-Hākīmīyah* (Sayyid Qutb, 1979) *wa-al-jāhiliyah* (Sayyid Qutb, 1432H: 307), and emotional isolation (Sayyid Qutb, 1432H: 11). Demonstrated that there was a complete emotional isolation between the past Muslims in his ignorance and his present Islam. This isolation led to complete isolation from his ignorant society and his social ties because he was completely separated from society and was connected completely to his Islamic environment. Every society has its ignorant customs, and we are now facing the ignorance that Islam encountered or may be darker. Everything around us is ignorance, people's beliefs and perceptions, their customs and traditions, their cultural resources, arts and manners, their beliefs, and regulations" (Sayyid Qutb, 1432H: 10).

Qutb introduced an objective and chronological division for writing Islamic history according to the new methodology (the



methodology that the group rewriting Islamic history applied in the early 1950s, and *Qutb* was a member of them) (Khalil, 1994: 6). The group divided the research fields and *Qutb* himself pointed out the following stages: "Introduction to Islamic History," which includes all the conditions and elements that must be adopted in the new methodology, "Islam during the Prophet's era," "The expansion of Islam," "The Decline of Islam," and "The Islamic World Today." (Sayyid Qutb, 1432, 59-61).

This methodology distinguishes itself from both materialistic and idealistic methodologies, which intentionally neglect aspects of spirit, thought, or sense in human beings and human life by dealing with historical facts incompletely. Their movement becomes crippled in corners of time and place. The Islamic vision emphasizes the reality of interdependence, integration, and harmony between elements of human existence and all life components, far from controversy (Khalil, 1994: 12). Therefore, Islamic history must be rewritten on new foundations and with another methodology (Sayyid Qutb, 1432: 42). Scientific research methodologies that emerged under Islam in Andalusian and Eastern universities were adopted by Europe for the first time in its history. And learned something about the experimental doctrine that was later known as Baconism who declared that he borrowed from the Islamic world (Sayyid Qutb, 2005:36).

- (c) Sayyid Qutb's vision for the philosophical interpretation of Islamic history.

*Qutb* indicates that Islamic philosophy appeared as a complete disharmony in the tone of the coherent creed. The clarity of the Islamic perception became shallow and limited in scope. Pointed out that this speech would be met with surprise by many who are engaged in "Islamic philosophy" for several reasons: Firstly, the remnants of *al-Ighrīqīyah* philosophies and Christian theology had a reason to direct the debate between different sects. Secondly, the process of reconciling *al-Ighrīqīyah* philosophy explanations with Islamic perception resulted in great naivety due to their failure to adhere to a single intellectual system. Thirdly, the factual problems in the Islamic world that sparked that debate since the killing of Uthman bin Affan deviated by interpreting



Quranic texts and began supporting different perspectives (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 12-13).

Philosophers tried to take human perception out of its nature, so when some of the philosophers who were influenced by echoes of Greek philosophy - especially - tried to insert into Islamic thinking what is not its nature, and into Islamic perception what is not true, this is the inevitable fate for every attempt by human reason beyond its field and above its nature and formation (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 106). There is no doubt that expressive value (presentation and expression methods) has its value in determining the value of the story, but it doesn't exist alone or independently with evaluation, and it must look at these emotional horizons and how much expressive values match them because some storytellers portray events and characters with extreme accuracy and skill from a narrative perspective but do not exceed us beyond the period in which events take place (Sayyid Qutb, 2003: 90).

### 3. Sayyid Qutb "Ideology of Historical Criticism in Islamic History

#### (a) Sayyid Qutb "position towards Christian history.

*Sayyid Qutb* "compared the conditions and development of Christianity and Islam, stating that Christianity emerged in the *al-Rūmānīyah* Empire and developed into a structured system, not standing with the working class. There was an obvious hostility between *al-Shuyū'īyah* and religion. But we, as Muslims, our historical conditions and the nature of our Islam have nothing to do with all that! Islam emerged in a tribal Bedouin society to establish the society it wanted; it didn't emerge in a specific empire (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 8-11).

He also discussed the conflict between *al-'Almānīyah* power and the church regarding corrupt practices and the issue of indulgences, which was a major crime committed by the church against itself and Christianity and it finally broke off between the belief perception and the social system. The church also monopolized understanding and interpretation of the Bible, then prohibited any non-clerical mind from attempting to understand or interpret it. This led to what is known as religious reform by *Martin*



*Luther and Calvin*, this was the religion that Europe rebelled against (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 35-42)

(b) Sayed Qutb's Vision of the Islamic Conquests.

*Qutb* discussed this era in his lost book "*fi zilāl al-sīrah*", which can be found in parts in "*fi zilāl al-Qur'ān*" as he interpreted verses related to this era. He also discussed this era in his other book "*Ma'ālim fi al-tarīq*", which has extensive passages found in *al-zilāl* as indicated in its footnotes and was extended in the two books together to the pre-Islamic era due to the connection between the two eras, positively and negatively. Whereas, in his early book "*al-'adālah al-ijtimā'iyah fi al-Islām*", he reached the Rashidun era and covered a relatively long period starting from the *Al-Asr al-jāhly* and extending to the *Al-Asr al-Umawī*, passing through the eras of the message and the *al-Rāshidīn* (Khalīl, 1994: 81).

Then, he discussed Islamic conquests (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 37), indicating that after the Prophet's death, *Abū Bakr* and *'Umar ibn al-khiṭāb* assured the stay of *Quraysh* leaders in Medina and did not allow them to roam freely in open land so as not to be tempted by wealth and power. Until the supporter gathered around them because of their relation to the prophet, their courage, and their priority in Jihad. This was not a restriction on personal freedom in Islam, but rather limited freedom was limited for the benefit of the community and advising for it (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 173).

In his interpretation of Surah Al-Anfal, considering it as dealing with the Battle of Badr, "the first decisive battle between faith and disbelief," *Qutb* spends a long time presenting and analyzing Islamic jihad theory, dedicating (13 pages) to it (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 1429-1442). It later became an independent topic in his book "*Ma'alim*." He quoted a large section from *Abī al-A'lá al-Mawdūdī's* book "*al-Jihād fi sabīl allh*" (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 1444) in which he says: "This was the first major battle where Muslims faced their enemies from among polytheists. They defeated them in that great defeat, which is what Allah intended for the believing group." He also says: "God Almighty intended this event to be a criterion between truth and falsehood, and discrimination in the history of Islam and therefore a



turning point in the history of humanity." The few confident believers in God ultimately triumph because they represent God's supreme will to eradicate corruption from the earth (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 271, al-Yahūd, 1993:6).

He clarifies that the policy of governance in Islam is based on the principle of one divine authority and one sovereignty, based on justice from rulers, obedience from the governed, and consultation between rulers and the governed. These are fundamental principles (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 80). Islam is a universal belief and a general religion that did not confine itself to the boundaries of the Arabian Peninsula but aimed to spread throughout humanity in all its regions. However, it faced the power of the state in the neighboring empires of *Kisrá* and *qyṣr*, which bordered it and were against it. Therefore, Islam needed to eradicate them. God says: "Fight them until there is no more sedition and religion is entirely for Allah" [Al-Anfal: 39]. Here, religion means divinity, and what is meant by it is that only God's sovereignty should be believed in, by people, and they should come out from under human sovereignty (Sayyid Qutb, 2005: 147). The war that Islam allows is to prove divinity for God alone and refute other claimed divinities. Islam came to all humanity for this purpose (Sayyid Qutb, 2006: 25). The world is divided in Islam and Muslims' view, into two categories: "Dar al-Islam" which includes any country where Islamic laws are applied, whether its inhabitants are all Muslims or Muslims and non-Muslims; and "*Dār al-ḥarb*" which includes any country where Islamic laws and Sharia are not applied, regardless of the religion of its inhabitants. This is considered a state of war for Muslims and the Muslim community (Sayyid Qutb, 2005:874).

(c) Sayyid Qutb's position towards Jewish

*Qutb* has traced Jewish since the start of time. He mentioned the story of David and Goliath, *Dāwūd* was just a kid from Israelis whereas, Goliath was a strong king and frightening leader, but God desired to show the people that issues aren't as they appear but there is an inside truth which God only knows, so a believer should only do his duty and fulfill his tenet with God. God wanted to make the





weak defeat the strong to show people that the titans that you're afraid of can be defeated by small kids, the moral here is *Dāwūd* who took over the kingdom after *Ṭālūt* and was inherited by his son *Sulaymān*, his era was the golden era of *Banī Isrā'īl* (Sayyid Quṭb, 2005: 270). When *Banī Isrā'īl* returned to corruption on earth, God sent Muslims to conquer them and took them out of the whole Arabian island, after they returned to corruption, God sent them other servants of him, and later on, in the recent age, he sent them *Hitlir* (Sayyid Quṭb, 2005: 2214).

## CONCLUSION

*Mohammed 'Abduh's* historical reform and criticism had an ideological character influenced by the Enlightenment movement. He played a role in reforming *Al-Azhar*, endowments, Sharia courts, Arabic language, religious sciences, and others. He also dealt with historical criticism from a modern perspective. The research focused on some ideological aspects that changed his intellectual path to adopt another conservative ideology transferred by *Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā*. It can be said that *Rida's* reformist ideology for Islamic history and thought is a continuation of what *Muḥammad 'Abduh* began, although he deviated slightly from the intellectual path despite being influenced by his teacher *Muḥammad 'Abduh*, even though some Salafi reformers considered him a reformer that belonged to the Salafi school of thought.

As for *Ahmad Amīn*, he was influenced by the modern Western vision in interpreting Islamic history. For example, he applied economic theories to explain the movement of Qarmatians. This is a mental vision for studying Islamic history. *Amīn's* reformist ideology stems from his development of scientific methodological mechanisms that a researcher should have; starting with imposing hypotheses and trying to deduce what supports them, then questioning what is new. His reformist vision often collided with the way Quranic interpretation and Hadith writing was done. On the other hand, he had a different view of *Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-al-Wahhāb's* reformism, saying that Wahhabism does not recognize time and its impact or recognize new Islamic traditions and situations. It only worships Allah and does not consider anyone infallible except prophets. He limited the classification of Wahhabism to this extent without criticizing its ideas.



*Sayyid Qutb* had a different reformist vision than his predecessors. He developed a new approach to writing history, covering the era of the message and the rightly guided caliphs, as well as the pre-Islamic era. For him, Islam did not separate religion from a state like "secularism" does. It was not just a belief and faith system, but also a social system that called for human liberation. He believed that Islam could replace socialist, capitalist, and communist systems. His ideas are centered on the "elitist authoritarian idea" that addressed marginalized groups, "his strong and powerful style", "his persuasive power from an ideological perspective", and "his ability to bring together different ideas". He believed that society needed to be rebuilt through "Islamization," where reform was not just about theories but also about dynamic methodology followed by theories. This is what he called the "collective idea," which he presented in a way that was easy for people to understand.

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