

## ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHICAL TRENDS IN THE MODERN ARAB WORLD

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"In speaking and thinking for himself, the philosopher speaks and thinks from a particular position in his society, and he does so with the material transmitted and utilized by this society. But in doing this, he speaks and thinks into a common universe of facts and possibilities. Through the various individual agents and layers of experience, through the different "projects" which guide the modes of thought from the business of everyday life to science and philosophy, the interaction between a collective subject and a common world persists and constitutes the objective validity of the universals"(1).

"It is philosophy that makes man understandable to man, explains human nobility, and shows man the proper road. The first defect appearing in any nation that is headed toward decline is in the philosophic spirit. After that deficiencies spread into the other sciences, arts, and associations" (Jamal al-Din al-Afghani) (2).

### Introduction

This article explores Islamic "philosophical activity" in the Arab world since late nineteenth century. A convenient overview of the field is provided by Jamil Saliba's classic article on philosophical production

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- 1) Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man : Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*. Boston : Beacon Press, 1964, p. 217.
  - 2) Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani, "Lecture on Teaching and Learning", in Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism : Political and Religious Writings of Sayyid Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1983, 105.

in the modern Arab world (3). However, any cursory reading of this article and other studies in the field confronts us with a major problem. The problem, put more specifically, is a dearth of committed and articulate interpretations of Islamic philosophical thinking in the modern Arab world. Most existing studies are primarily confined to describing tendencies that have had a living presence in the Arab world without shedding enough light on how to treat the philosophical questions at hand theoretically and conceptually. In view of the above, a series of questions may arise : First, how do we define Muslim philosophical thinking in the Arab world over the past century ? Second, is there a need for a reassessment of the relationship between philosophy and religion in Arab society, And, third, what is the relevance of the Muslim religious and philosophical heritage to modern Arab intellectual history ? (4).

Philosophy is by definition a mental human product, and in our case it is part and parcel of modern Arab intellectual history. As such philosophy is the product of intellectuals who belong to different and

3) J. Šal ba, "al-Int j al-falsaf : al-falsafah 'umūman wa falsafat al-'ulūm", In Khalil al-Geour and al., *al-Fikr al-Falsafi fi Mi'at 'Ām*. Beirut : American University, 1962, pp. 393-446. Since then, several short studies have appeared : G. Atiyeh, "Another Aspect of Philosophy : Modern Arab Philosophy", In Therese-Anne Drurat, ed., *Arabic Philosophy and the West : Continuity and Interaction*. Washington, D.C. : Georgetown University's Center for Arab Studies. S. Binsa' id, "al-Ṭayar t al-falsafiyah fi l-fikr al-'arab al-mu' šir", In Ibrahīm Badrān et al., eds., *al-Falsafah fi l-waṭan al-'arabi al-mu' āsir*. Beirut : Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiya. J. Charnay, "Courants réformateurs de la pensée musulmane contemporaine", In J. Berque and J. Charnay, eds., *Normes et valeurs dans l'islam contemporain*. Paris : Payot, 1966. J. Charnay, "L'intellectuel arabe entre le pouvoir et la culture", *Diogenes*, N. 83, July-September 1973. A. Chejne, "Intellectual Revival in the Arab World : An Introduction", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. II (4), 1963 : 413-437. L. Gardet, "Philosophie arabo-musulmane et philosophie européenne d'aujourd'hui", In I. Madkour, ed., *Dirāsāt falsafiyah muḥdat ilā ruḥ Uthmān Amin*. Cairo, pp. 129-141; A. Šubḥi, "Ittijahāt al-falsafa al-islāmiya fi l-waṭan al-'arabi, 1960-1980", In Ibrahīm Badrān et al., eds., *al-Falsafah fi l-waṭan al-'arabi al-mu' āsir*. Beirut : Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiya, 1985, pp. 101-122. A good bibliography on modern Arab thought is in P. Khoury, *Tradition et modernité : Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de la pensée arabe actuelle*, Munster, 1981.

4) In the course of his comments on what he calls "the problem of Islamic philosophy" facing him as a graduate student at the University of Chicago in the late 1940 's, Muḥsin Maḥdi says : "here was also a more general problem that had to be faced : whether the study of Islamic philosophy or of the philosophic sciences that flourished in Islamic civilization is a legitimate subject for Islamic studies at all... Therefore, the problem of Islamic philosophy became crucial for me : what it is, its relation to the Islamic revelation, its role in Islamic society" (M. Maḥdi, "Orientalism and the Study of Islamic Philosophy", *Journal of Islamic Studies* [Oxford University], Volume 1, 1990,

often competing intellectual, religious, and political camps. In recent years, there has been a significant shift in Western studies of the Muslim world from a course of study emphasizing the role of the elites and the benefits of modernization to a "scholarly concern with the Islamic roots of culture and politics" (5). A parallel shift from liberal, nationalist, and secularist philosophies to the Islamic roots of modern Arab philosophy is highly needed. This is by no means an attempt to advocate a reductionist approach in the study of the intellectual history of the modern Arab world, but rather to stress the significant role "the Islamic attitude" still plays in shaping Arab philosophy. It is true that the historians of ideas of the modern Arab world have used a variety of methods in studying the complex structure and the salient features of Arab thought, culture, and philosophy. But the majority who write on philosophy in the Arab world have followed a dismissive attitude vis-à-vis the Islamic roots of philosophical activity.

Most specifically, the renaissance/decline, decadence/renewal, and stagnation/revival dichotomies have been used as a method in order to discuss movement and growth in Arab intellectual history (6). In delineating the main issues and themes of modern and contemporary Arab/Islamic thought, a serious scholar, besides taking note of the diverse data in the field, must consider the question of method or of "correct" interpretation. But the task of the methodological explication of the main themes of Islamic philosophy in the modern Arab world becomes quite difficult in view of the fact that methodological studies of modern Arab/Islamic thought are rare, and, in many instances, are only partially adequate (7). Hamilton Gibb's observation of 1947 remains,

p. 87).

5) E. Burke, III, "Islam and Social Movements : Methodological Reflections". In E. Burke, III and I. Lapidus, eds., *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1988; p. 17.

6) A good example of this method is illustrated in, G. Shukri, *al-Nahdah wa l-suqūṭ fi l-fikr al-miṣri al-ḥadīth*. Beirut : Dār al Ṭalī'a, 1976).

7) It was hoped that Issa Boulata's latest work would fill this lacuna. See, I. Boulata, *Trends and Issues in Modern Arab Thought*. Syracuse : State of New York University Press, 1990. See the following critical review of the book : Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', "Trends and Issues in Contemporary Arab Thought". *American journal of the Isla-*

more or less, true in the 1990's : "One looks in vain for any systematic analysis of new currents of thought in the muslim world" (8).

Therefore, one must learn to ask smaller as well larger questions in order to provide an accurate interpretation of intellectual activity and its reflection of the needs, aspirations, and goals of present Arab society. One of these questions is the historicity of this thought. Thought, including the most speculative, abstract, and metaphysical never arises in a vacuum, but is organically connected to a set of conceptual, social, and historical precedents and processes.

Therefore, it is possible to consider philosophical thinking in the modern Arab world as a reflection of the maturity of thought, consciousness, logic, and wisdom that the Arabs achieved over the centuries. It is true that one has to grapple with the history of philosophy in order to grasp the philosophical issues and problems of the past; but there is no return to the past. It is historically unfeasible to go back to the days of Kindi or Farabi or Avicenna in philosophy. The modern Arab probably need not to be a Kindi or a Farabi. Their issues belong to a historical and social formation that is different in nature and complexity than that of the present. Yet our learning from this past philosophy is essential, since philosophy, besides being particular and social, can also be universal and abstract.

Our postulate that philosophy is historical leads us to question the state of philosophy in the Arab world on the eve of the Western intervention. Scholars have agreed that both philosophical and theological thinking, far from thriving before the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, was in a state of stagnation and decline. Therefore, the first

*mic Social Sciences*, Volume 8 (1), March 1991, pp. 151-166.

8) H. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1947, p. ix. Gibb claims that the main reason for the decline of Islam and Muslims is the aversion to rationalism in the Muslim world : "The Student of Arabic civilization is constantly brought up against the striking contrast between the imaginative power displayed, for example, in certain branches of Arabic literature and the literalism, the pedantry, displayed in reasoning and exposition, even when it is devoted to these same productions. It is true that there have been great philosophers among the Muslim peoples and that some of them were Arabs, but they were rare exceptions. The Arab mind, whether in relation to the outer world or in relation to the processes of thought, cannot throw off its intense feeling for the separateness and individuality of the concrete events. This is, I believe, one of the main factors lying behind that "lack of a sense of law" which Professor Macdonald regarded as the characteristic difference in the oriental" (Ibid. : 7). Also, "The rejection of rationalistic modes of thought and of the utilitarian ethic which is inseparable from them has its roots, therefore, not in the so-called "obscurantism" of the Muslim theologians but in the atomism and discrete-

tentative conclusion we may draw is that the reclaim and revival, if not the genesis, of critical and rationalistic philosophy in the modern Arab world has been mainly due to the military and political catastrophe resulting from the violent encounter between the Arab world and Western colonialism.

Undoubtedly, the traditionalist Arab intelligentsia at the time were alerted to the enormous gaps existing between their Arabo-Islamic culture and the Western one. The answer given by some was not to seek refuge in the past achievements of the ancestors, but to study the Islamic heritage with a critical eye. The Lebanese philosopher Nassif Nassar argues to that effect and contends that,

"In effect the renaissance of the Arab world has never been the resurrection of the Medieval Arab world, just as it is not a simple consequence of contact with modern Western civilization. The renaissance of the Arab world signals the entry of the Arab world, after a long period of stagnation, into a new historical period... This historical phase is distinguished by a confrontation between two civilizations : the Arabo-Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages and the modern Western one. The historian-sociologist should investigate this confrontation at all levels of the social system, economic, political and cultural" (9).

Therefore, philosophical renaissance is still a historical necessity today simply because, "the renaissance of philosophy in modern Arab culture is a central problem that indicates the degree of conscience and independence attained by [that] culture"(10). It is true that most philosophical production in the Arab world is that of the history of philosophy and not philosophical thinking itself. But since,

"Philosophy has become a central cultural factor; it is necessary that philosophy liberate itself from the control of the history of philosophy, and that it ponder living historical issues in a philosophical spirit. In that sense, it seems to us that the basis of spiritual and philosophical renewal in Arab culture should not be the theory of knowledge so much as the theory of the historical being. This theory necessarily implies a theory of knowledge, but above all it implies a theory of socio-historical existence, as well as moral and political action" (11).

ness of the Arab imagination" (Ibid. : 7).

9) N. Nassar, "Remarques sur la renaissance de la philosophie dans la culture arabe moderne", In N. Nassar, A. Abdel-Malek, and H. Hanafi, eds., *Renaissance du monde arabe*. Paris : Duculot, 1972, p. 331.

10) Ibid., p. 332.

Any actual renaissance of philosophy in the modern Arab world, therefore, can succeed only if it is accompanied by a critical perspective. Though critical and philosophical thinking is much more developed in the West than in the Arab world, "The rights and the tasks of critical thinking for these two types of societies are nevertheless the same" (12). As we shall see later, critical thinking has marked the most well developed Islamic form of philosophical reflection in the modern Arab world.

### BEGINNINGS

The gestation of modern Muslim philosophical activity must be understood against the backdrop of the Arab *Nahḍa* [rebirth, renaissance] (13) of the nineteenth century. *Nahḍa* is, "a vast political and cultural movement that dominate [d] the period of 1850 to 1914. Originating in Syria and flowering in Egypt, the *Nahḍa* sought through translation and vulgarization to assimilate the great achievement of modern Eu-

ropean civilization, while reviving the classical Arab culture that antedates the centuries of decadence and foreign domination" (14).

Generally speaking, the *Nahḍa* movement stood against the degeneration of Islam, which, according to Gibb, "stayed put - that is it remained fixed in the molds created for it by the scholars, jurists, doctors, and mystics of the formative centuries, and, if anything, decayed rather than progressed" (15).

The modern period of Islamic history, says Smith, "begins with decadence within, intrusion and menace from without; and the worldly glory that reputedly went with obedience to God's law [was] only a distant memory of a happier past" (16). At about this time "Western civilization was launching forth on the greatest upsurge of expansive energy and power vastly accumulated. With them the West was presently reshaping its own life and soon the life of all the world" (17). The *Nahḍa* intelligentsia, therefore, reacted to Islamic decline and theorized on the options for renaissance, while not neglecting Western possibilities for such a renaissance.

One can easily argue that the *Nahḍa* phenomenon is based on a complex epistemological structure, which has both Islamic and Western components. As such, *Nahḍa* was translated by the Arab intellectual pioneers of the nineteenth century into a powerful historical and social movement, and has, consequently, revived a significant number of issues and debates revolving around the Islamic heritage and the challenges of the present; Islam and the question of Arab cultural identity; Islam and the West; the question of women, and the issue of freedom of expression. According to Arkoun, the encounter between the Arab world and the West created new conditions to which Arab and Muslim thought responded by creating new expressions (18). These expressions

11) Ibid., pp. 340-1.

12) M. Arkoun, *La pensée arabe*, Paris PUF, 1985, p. 98.

13) See the following on the meanings of *Nahḍa*, decadence and stagnation (S. H. Nasr, "Decadence, Deviation and Renaissance in the Context of Contemporary Islam", In Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Ishaq Ansari, eds., *Islamic Perspectives : Studies in Honor of Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi*. Leicester : the Islamic Foundation, 1980; pp. 35-42). Nasr argues that, "The modernists never tire of speaking of nearly every form of activity in the Islamic world as a renaissance, whose Arabic translation, *al-nahḍah*, has become such a prevalent word in contemporary Arabic literature. There is something insidious about the carefree usage of the word renaissance, for it recalls the Renaissance in the West when the re-birth of spiritually deadly elements of Graeco-Roman paganism... dealt a staggering blow to Christian civilization and prevented it from reaching its natural period of flowering as a Christian civilization" (ibid. : 37). The modernist attitudes that Nasr criticizes are represented by the following : F Rahman, *Islam and Modernity : Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1982; M. Siddiqi, *Modern Reformist thought in the Muslim World*, Islamabad : Islamic Research Institute, 1982; O. Turan, "The Need of Islamic Renaissance", In M. A. Khan, ed., *Proceedings of the International Conference*. Islamabad : Islamic Research Institute, 1970, pp. 24-31.

14) A. Laroui, *The Crisis of the Arab Intelligentsia : Traditionalism or Historicism ?* Berkeley : University of California Press, 1976; p. vii. From his side the Tunisian philosopher H. Djait comments on the phenomenon of *Nahḍa* by saying that, "It Must be acknowledged that the cultural phenomenon of the *Nahḍa* (renaissance) paved the way for both these forms of development by reconstructing the Arab heritage, by restoring the connection to the splendors of an age now given classic status, in a word, by spreading an atmosphere and ideology of renaissance. The immediate consequence of this movement, whose vital center lay in Egypt and Syria, was the emergence of a modern Arabic language and literature, hence a re-Arabization by the core of the Middle East". (H. Djait, *Europe and Islam : Cultures and Modernity*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1986; pp. 137-8).

15) Gibb, *ibid.*, p. 1.

16) W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*. New, 1956; p. 16.

17) *Ibid.*, pp. 45-6.

18) Arkoun, *ibid.*, p. 90.

represented the new philosophical, socio-cultural, psychological, and linguistic orientations of the modern Arab world. In order to understand the background of these new expressions, one must take into account the rise of Western modernity - its nature and the impact it had on modern Arab/Islamic thought (19). "The historian of thought", in Arkoun's words, "is bound to go deeper and analyze the re-

19) Much has been written about modernity. The following is a select bibliography on the meaning and history of modernism in both the West and Islam :

- I] Modernity and Western Thought : P. Ackroyd, *Notes For a New Culture : An Essay on Modernism*. New York : Barnes and Noble, 1976; B. Andrew, (ed.), *The Problems of Modernity : Adorno and Benjamin*. New York : Routledge, 1989; C. Baudouin, *The Myth of Modernity*. London : Allen and Unwin, 1950; D. Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*. New York : Basic Books, 1976; P. Berger, *Facing up to Modernity*. New York : Basic Books, 1977; M. Bertram, *All That Solid Melts Into Air : The Experience of Modernity*. New York : Simon and Schuster, 1982; R. Bernstein, *Habermas on Modernity*. Cambridge : MIT Press, J. Collins, *Uncommon Cultures : Popular culture Post-modernism*. New York : Routledge, 1989; H. Foster, (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic : Essays on Postmodern Culture*. Port Townsend (Washington) : Bay Press, 1983; D. Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity : Theories of Modernity in the Works of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 1985; S. Gablik, *Has Modernism Failed ?* New York : Thames and Hudson, 1984; C. Grana, *Modernity and Its Discontents : French Society and the French Man of Letters in the Nineteenth Century*. New York : Harper and Row, 1967; R. Gray, *The Imperative of Modernity : An Intellectual Biography of Ortega y Gasset*. Berkeley : University Of California Press, 1989; A. Huyssen, *After the Great Divide : Modernism, Mass Culture, Post-Modernism*. Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1986, F. Jameson, "Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late capitalism", *New Left Review*, Number 146, July-August 1984, pp. 53-94; A. Kaplan, *Rocking Around the Clock : Music television, Postmodernism, and Consumer Culture*. New York : Methuen, 1987; D. Kolb, *The Critique of Pure Modernity : Hegel, Heidegger and After*. Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 1986; J. Lyotard, *The Post-Modern Condition : A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1984; S.A. McKnight, *Sacralizing the Secular : The renaissance Origins of Modernity*. Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University, 1989; A. Megill, *Prophets of Extremity : Nietzsche, Heidegger, Foucault, Derrida*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1985; W. Nicholls (ed.), *Modernity and religion*. Waterloo (Canada) : Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1987; T. Reiss, *The Discourse of Modernism*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1982; A. Ross (ed.), *Universal Abandon ? The Politics of post-modernism*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 1988, and G. Vattimo, *The End of Modernity : Nihilism and Hermeneutics in Postmodern Culture*. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
- II] Modernity and Modern Islamic Thought : C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*. London : Oxford University Press, 1933; Adonis ('Alī Aḥmad Sa'īd), *al-Thābit wa l-mutaḥawwil*, 3 volumes. Beirut : Dār al-'Awda, 1974-1979; J. Ahmad, *The Intellectual Origins of Egyptian Nationalism*. London : Oxford University Press, 1960; M. Arkoun, *la Pensée arabe*, Paris : Vrin, 1975; M. Arkoun, *Essai sur la pensée islamique*. Paris : Vrin, 1973; L. Binder, *Islamic Liberalism : Critique of Development Ideologies*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1988 [See the following critical review of this book by the author : Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', "Is Liberalism in the Muslim Middle East Viable ? A Critical Essay on Leonard Binder's Islamic Liberalism : A Critique of

lations between material and intellectual modernity" (20).

Arkoun sets forth to explore the impact of modernity on Arab thought and philosophy. He maintains that the Arab world accepted Western modernity and its educational and cultural underpinnings only "slowly and reluctantly". One of the main consequences of the interaction between Arab and Western thought is a new philosophical thinking characterized by criticism, innovation, and a futuristic orientation. Arkoun does not reflect much on the present conditions of Muslim philosophical thinking in the Arab world. He nonetheless calls for a critique of Islamic reasoning as a means of reviving contemporary Arab thought (21).

Development Ideologies". *Hamdard Islamicus*, Vol. XII (4), Winter 1989, pp. 15-30; C. Bouamrane, *le Problème de la liberté humaine dans la pensée musulmane*. Paris : Vrin, 1978; H. Djait, *Le personnalisme et le devenir arabo-islamique*. Paris : Vrin, 1974; H. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1947; Y. Haddad, *Contemporary Islam and the Challenge of History*. Albany : State University of New York Press, 1982; H. Hanafi, *The Origin of Modern Conservatism and Islamic Fundamentalism in Egypt*. Amsterdam, 1979; H. Hanafi, "Des Idéologies Modernistes à l'islam Révolutionnaire". *Peuples Méditerranéens* 21, October-December, 1982; A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939*. London : Oxford University Press, 1970; T. Husayn, *The Future of Culture in Egypt*. Cairo, 1936; 'Imarah, M., *Tayārāt al-fīkr al-islāmī al-ḥadīth* (Trends of Modern Islamic Thought) Cairo, 1987; M. Jābirī, *al-Khitāb al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir* (Contemporary Arabic Discourse). Beirut, 1982; M. Jābirī, *Ishkālīyat al-fīkr al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir* (The Problematics of Contemporary Arabic Thought). Beirut Markaz Dirāsāt al-Waḥda al-'Arabiya, 1989; F. Jada'an, *Uṣūl al-taqaddum 'inda mufakkirī al-islām fi l-'ālam al-'arabī al-ḥadīth* (Principles of Progress As Viewed by Muslim Thinkers in the Modern Arab World). Beirut, 1979; M. Lahbabi, *Le personnalisme musulman*. Paris : Vrin, 1962; M. Lahbabi, *Le monde de demain : Le Tiers-monde accuse*. Casablanca : Sherbrooke, 1980; A. Laroui, *Islam et modernité*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 1987; S. Mahmassani, "Muslims : Decadence and Renaissance-Adaptation of Islamic Jurisprudence to Modern Social Needs", *The Muslim World*, XLIV : 186-201 (1954); Z. Maḥmūd, *Tajdid al-fīkr al-'arabī*, (Renewal of Arabic Thought) Beirut : Dar al-Shurūq, 1971; R. Martin (ed.), *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 1985; F. Rahman, *Islam and Modernity : Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1982; H. Sharabi, *Arab intellectuals and the West : The Formative years, 1875-1914*. Baltimore : the John Hopkins Press; J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le Miroir de l'Occident*. The Hague : Mouton and Co., 1963), and A. Zein, "Beyond Ideology and Theology : The Search for the Anthropology of Islam". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6, 1977 : 224-54.

20) Arkoun, *ibid.*, p. 93.

21) M. Arkoun, *Essais sur la pensée islamique*. Paris : Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1977, and *Pour une critique de la raison islamique*, Paris : Editions Maisonneuve et Larose, 1984.

The *Nahḍa* thinkers, most notably Ṭaḥṭ wī, (22) Afgh ni (23) and 'Abduh (24) were confronted with the problem of how to interpret the vast Islamic tradition of *Qur'ān*, *Hadith*, and philosophy in a socio-political and scientific environment dominated by the West. It is somewhat true that these thinkers "lived and acted in an Islamic community that was intellectually still relatively coherent and united", (25) but it is equally true that the pre-modern notions of Islamic philosophy and religion were inadequate to meet the challenge perpetuated by an aggressive Western world-view. The essential question posed by these thinkers was how Muslims can be authentic and modern at the same time. They saw the need for a total revitalization of Islam in the face of encroaching Western culture, since "the attack of the West on the Arab world, aside from its political effects, was also a direct attack against Islam as a religion" (26).

The *Nahḍa* intellectuals attempted to salvage "Islamic Reason" from many centuries of slumber and decadence. They argued for the viability of Islamic reasoning in the modern age, since they believed that Islam was inherently rational. Arming themselves with what they considered to be authentic Islamic criteria for thinking and discourse, they sought to fight both internal Muslim decadence and external Western cultural and political encroachment (27). Thus, historical continuity with the Islamic tradition was hailed as an answer to historical, cultural, and religious rigidity and stagnation.

- 22) See J. Crabbs, *The Study of History in Nineteenth Century Egypt: A Study in National Transformation*, Detroit, 1984.
- 23) See N. Keddi, *Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani: A Biography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- 24) On M. Abduh, see E. Kedourie, *Afghani and Abduh: An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam*, New York: The Humanities Press, 1962; C. Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1933; U. Amin, *Mohammad Abduh: essai sur ses idées philosophiques et religieuses*. Cairo, 1944; R. Caspar, 'Un aspect de la pensée musulmane moderne: Le renouveau du Motazilisme', *Mideo*, Volume 4, 1957; M. Kerr, *Islamic reform: the political and legal theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida*. Berkeley: University of California Press; D. Khalid, "Ahmad Amin and the Legacy of Muhammad Abduh", *Islamic Studies*, Vol. IX (I), March 1970; R. Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh*. Cairo: Matba'at al-Manār, 1933, and H. Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- 25) M. Mahdi, "Islamic Philosophy in Contemporary Islamic Thought", In C. Malik, ed., *God and Man in Contemporary Islamic Thought*. Beirut: American University Press, 1972; p. 105.
- 26) S. H. Nasr, *Islam and the Plight of Modern Man*. London, 1975; p. 90.
- 27) Concerning, this issue see L. Gardet, "De quelle manière s'est ankylosée la pensée religieuse de l'islam", In G. E. V. Grünebaum and R. Brunschwick, eds., *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'islam*. Paris: Mouton, 1957.

But, as a matter of fact, two different options presented themselves to and were pursued by the *Nahḍa* thinkers: the Islamic model, which took its historical shape in the experience of the Prophet and his companions, and whose theoretical foundations are derived from both the *Qur'ān* and the *Sunna*, (28) and the "Western model", (29) which stressed the ideas of liberalism, rationalism, and secularism. Many influential *Nahḍa* thinkers considered the latter model as the cultural expression of Westernization in Muslims lands (30).

It should be noted, however, that both decadence and colonization brought about a conflict-ridden and often explosive situation in the second phase of the *Nahḍa*, which began in the early twentieth century. Theoretically speaking, the problem of the *Nahḍa* can be viewed in terms of three major interrelated components of discourse: 1) doctrinal discourse; 2) philosophical discourse, and 3) historical/political discourse.

To begin with, *doctrinal discourse* concerns the purification of the fundamentals of religion. As Laoust aptly puts it: "No doctrinal reform is possible without return to an original source (31). Reform or *Iṣlāḥ* is the return to the just form of religion, and the affirmation of transcendent truth in a modern setting. This reformist program has dominated Arab intellectual activity up to the present time. It revolves around the affirmation of "a traditionalist method and language" in a modern setting. Therefore, contemporary Muslim philosophers and intellectuals find themselves face to face with a set of social and historical questions

- 28) According to Laroui, the Arab intellectuals of the 19th century posed the question: What is the West? The opposing other - the West - according to Laroui developed two forms of hegemony. In the first instance, the West began to impose its arms, gods, and laws and cultures on the orient. The indigenous cry against "the imported ideologies of the West" was a last attempt to assert tradition in the face of the invader. Tradition became part of the ideological conflict between East and West. The second form of hegemony, according to Laroui, began with the development of the industrial revolution, and attained its apogee in the mid-nineteenth century. The world was rounded into final shape, divided among the principal European powers; Asia was said to be sleeping, the East was decadent, and Turkey a sick man.
- 29) S. Mūsa, *al-Nahḍah al-urūbiyyah*. Cairo: Dar al-Nashr Wa-l-Tawzū', 1934.
- 30) Muslim travelers to the West in the nineteenth century recorded their fascination with Western culture and civilization. See R. R. al-Taḥṭawī, *Kitāb takhlīs al-ibriz fi talhīs Bārīs*. In M. 'Imrah, ed., *Al-a'māl al-kāmilā li-Rifā'a Rāfi' at-Taḥṭawī*. Beirut, 1973. French translation by A. Louca, *L'or de Paris: Relation de voyage, 1826-1831*. Paris, 1988. See also, S. G. Miller, *Disorienting Encounters: Travels of a Moroccan Scholar in France in 1845-1846: The Voyages of Muhammad As-saffar*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- 31) H. Laoust, "Le Réformisme orthodoxe des 'Salafiyya', et les caractères généraux de son organisation actuelle", *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, VI: 175-224 (1932); p. 185.

that await a theological answer. It is clear that many a Muslim intellectual remains faithful to his vision of past Muslim history - a vision based on the significant role Revelation plays in the process of history. But as a result of the rise of political secularization in the Arab world in the wake of Western colonization, "the reign of the *faqih*s [jurists and theologians] was substituted, for better or worse, by that of the (technical) experts and the leaders of the masses. This new situation necessitated a new mental attitude and new criteria" (32).

The objective of *philosophical discourse*, as it appears in the early writings of the noted Egyptian philosopher, Shaykh Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-R ziq, (33) is to show the authenticity of traditional Islamic philosophical discourse, and its relevance to the modern needs of Muslim societies.

The *historical/political discourse* of the *Nahḍa* describes the religion-state relationship. This relationship has undergone many transformations since the nineteenth century. In the first phase of the *Nahḍa*, Islam assumed a nationalistic meaning, the purpose of which was to build a strong state able to compete with the West. In the second phase, Islam was expressed by Afghānī, 'Abduh, and Riḍā in pan-Islamic terms. The goal was to reinstitute the Muslim *umma* [community of believers] in the image of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, "Islamic fundamentalism" (34) rose in the form of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. Hasan al-Banna, the founder, opted to create an Islamic state. His program attempted to assert the sacred law in all walks of life. Politics, as a result, dominated philosophy and theology. A rupture between the 'Ulamā' [Muslim theologians], as the custodians and defenders of the classical Sunni tradition, and the *Ikhwan*, as a mass-based

32) M. A. Lahbabi, *Le personnalisme musulman*. Paris : PUF 1964; pp. 100-101.

33) See our discussion of M. 'Abd al-R ziq below.

34) On the explication of the term, fundamentalism, see D. Eickelman, "Changing Interpretations of Islamic Movements", In W. R. Roff, ed., *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning*, Berkeley : university of California Press, 1970; M. Marty and R. S. Appleby, eds, *Fundamentalisms Observed*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1991; Y. Haddad, "Muslim Revivalist Thought in the Arab World : An Overview". *The Muslim World*, Volume LXXVI (3-4), July-October 1986; F. Rahman, "Roots of Islamic Neo-Fundamentalism", in P. Stoddard, ed., *Change and the Muslim World*, Syracuse : Syracuse University Press, 1981; W. R. Roff, 'Islamic Movements : One or many ?', In W. R. Roff, ed., *Islam and the Political Economy of Meaning : Comparative Studies of the Muslim Discourse*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1987; W. Shepard, "Islam and Ideology : Towards a typology", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 19 (3), 1987, and J. Voll, "Revivalism and Social Transformation in Islamic History". *The Muslim World*, Volume LXXVI (3-4), July-October 1986.

movement, was inevitable. The *Ikhwan* looked on the 'Ulamā' with great suspicion. In the *Ikhwan*'s view, the 'Ulamā' were upholders of the same *status quo* that the *Ikhwan* were attempting to abolish. It not clear, however, whether the *Ikhwan*'s thought should be considered philosophically.

To conclude, any intellectual reflection on the state of the *Nahḍa* in modern Arab/Islamic thought must take into account the present meaning of tradition, the problematic of the state-religion relationship, and the current situation of Islamic culture. By the same token, any economic, political, and social analysis of the current state of affairs will be methodologically deficient if a proper treatment of Islam and Islamic culture is lacking.

#### MUṢṬAFA 'ABD AL-RĀZIQA AND HIS SCHOOL

In the above discussion of the philosophical dimension of *Nahḍa*, it was suggested that Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-R ziq (d. 1947) played a major role in focusing the attention of Arab thinkers on the importance of philosophy as a medium of intellectual discourse. Although he is considered a reviver of traditional Islamic philosophy, the rediscovery of philosophy in the Arab world in general, and in Egypt in particular, has been only superficially discussed by scholars. There remains little or no analysis of the role Islamic philosophy plays in modern Arab intellectual life, and of the Azhar's [to which 'Abd al-R ziq belonged] contributions to it.

In his major work, *Tamhīd li tārikh al-falsafa al-islāmiya* [Prolegomena to the History of Islamic Philosophy], 'Abd al-R ziq proposes the following : 1) the *Qur'ān*, as the sacred book for Muslims, encourages free rational speculation [*nazar 'aqli ḥurr*]; 2) a literalist interpretation of the *Qur'ān* is inadequate to portray its rationalistic depth and attitude; 3) Islamic rationalism, which is intrinsic to the Islamic revelation, should not be confused with the Greek logic and philosophy that Muslim thinkers adopted and modified, and 4) the Arab race is as capable of philosophy and comprehensive thought as any other people (35). In this, 'Abd al-R ziq goes against the grain of nineteenth century Orientalist thought, whose best representative, Ernest Renan, argued that, "We can not demand philosophical insights from the Semitic race. It is only by a strange coincidence of fate that this race instilled a fine character

35) M. 'Abd al-R ziq, *Tamhīd li-tārikh al-falsafa al-islāmiya*. Third Edition, Cairo : maṭba'at lajnat al-Ta'lif, 1966; p. 5.

of power in its religious creations, [for] it never produced any philosophical treatise of its own. Semitic philosophy is a cheap borrowing and imitation of Greek philosophy. This should be, in fact, said about Medieval philosophy in general". (36) Having this thesis in mind, 'Abd al-R ziq attempts to prove the originality and authenticity of Islamic philosophy by elaborating on the inner theoretical dynamics of Islamic culture and by stressing the strong bond between philosophy, on the one hand, and Sufism, *kalām*, jurisprudence, and the *Shari'ā*, on the other (37). His final aim, however, is to prove the compatibility of traditional Islamic philosophy with the rationalism of modern thought.

'Abd al-R ziq defines philosophy both as the love of wisdom and as a rational method of discourse with which one can comprehend the world and deduce laws by which to govern human society. Furthermore, he postulates that the genesis of Muslim philosophy is to be found in the *Qur'ān* since it encourages rational research (*baḥth naẓarī*). He also contends that the *Qur'ān* consists of : 1) doctrine and 2) *Shari'ā*. He defines *Shari'ā* as a set of rules inspired by doctrine and designed to meet the changing demands of life. In this sense, philosophy is the rational free discussion of the principles of jurisprudence that have a practical aim - to define human behavior vis-a-vis the socio-economic, political and cultural milieu. 'Abd al-R ziq maintains that after the death of the Prophet, Muslims developed a philosophical system with a double aim in mind : 1) to reflect philosophically on the emerging questions and problems in the nascent Islamic empire, and 2) to defend the doctrines of Islam, especially the doctrine of *tawḥīd* [the oneness of God], against competing non-Islamic philosophies and theologues (38). This formally established the science of *kalām* in the formative phase of Islam.

'Abd al-R ziq support the idea that early Islamic civilization was distinguished by a legal and cultural uniqueness, which mainly stemmed from historical specificity of Islam then. And therefore, philosophy took on a legal function and permeated "the science of the principles of jurisprudence" (*'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*). Thus reasoning about legislation was the cornerstone of all Islamic philosophical and rational investigation : "Any scholar of the history of Islamic philosophy must

36) E. Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme : Essai historique*. Paris : Ancienne Maison, 1882; pp. VII-VIII.

37) Muslim thinkers of the Classical Age attempted this synthesis as well. See L. Gauthier, *Introduction à l'étude de la philosophie musulmane*. Paris, 1923.

38) 'Abd al-R ziq; *Ibid.*, p. 144.

first investigate *ijtihād* [exercice of reason] from its naive inception as an individual opinion until it became scientific method of research possessing unique principles and foundations" (39). The different schools of *fiqh* arising during the formative phase of Islam were dependent on *'ilm uṣūl al-fiqh*, and consequently, a large body of rationalist and legalist literature began to appear in Islam.

The formal wedding in early Islam between philosophy and "the science of the principles of jurisprudence" led to the creation of a novel method of analysis, unknown to the Arabs of the *Jāhiliyah* [the pre-Islamic period]. *Ra'y* [individual opinion], *qiyās* [analogy], and *ijtihād* [exercice of reason] were the blueprint of this method. A student of 'Abd al-R ziq, the Egyptian philosopher El-Ehwany, maintains that 'Abd al-R ziq's method stresses the difference between Islamic jurisprudence, as developed by Shafi', and Aristotelian logic, adopted by the Muslim philosophers of the formative phase, "The principles of certainty lie in the sayings of God as stated in the *Qur'ān*. Truth is the conformity of action to these statements, or the statements of the Prophet in his Tradition, or the accord of the community at some time" (40).

'Abd al-R ziq argues that the Prophet used *ra'y* to create laws that were not found in the *Qur'ān*. Highlighting the role of reasoning in the Prophet's time, 'Abd al-R ziq goes against the contention of Joseph Schacht that the Prophet had no reason to alter the customary laws prevailing in Arabia. Though prophetic legislation was brought to an end by the death of the Prophet, 'Abd al-R ziq argues that Muslims had to devise new rules - mainly through consensus - that reflected the early Islamic rational activity.

It should be pointed out that 'Abd al-R ziq was very loyal to the religious tradition of al-Shafi'i, as he was to the Islamic rationalism of Muḥammad 'Abduh. One wonders why 'Abd al-R ziq focused on Shafi's legal philosophy, and not on that of Malik, Abū Ḥanifa or Ibn Ḥanbal, the three other founders of Islamic jurisprudence. One possible answer would be that 'Abd al-R ziq intended to revive the legal tradition of Shafi', who grew up in Egypt, as a means of dealing with the contemporary problems of Egypt. Taha Husayn corroborates this view by saying that 'Abd al-R ziq fell under the unfluence of Shafi', first because "he belonged to the same legal school as did Shafi' and conside-

39) *Ibid.*, p. 123.

40) A. F. El-Ehwany, *Islamic Philosophy*. Cairo : Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop, 1957; p. 140.



red loyalty to him a debt", (41) and, secondly, Shafi'i's Risala "opened up new scientific horizons that had been closed down to many a Muslim scholar" (42). Also, in the eyes of 'Abd al-R ziq, Shafi', in addition to discussing the principles of jurisprudence philosophically, devoted a great deal of time to analyzing the dogmas of early Islam.

Shafi' divides the Islamic religious sciences into "the science of the *Qur'an*" [*ilm al-kitāb*], and 2) "the science of the *Sunnah*" [*ilm al-sunnā*]. These two gave birth to what 'Abd al-R ziq calls the science of the "fundamental principles of religion and law" [*ilm al-uṣūl*, i.e., *uṣūl al-dīn*, and *uṣūl al-fiqh*] and the derivative science of the fundamental principles [*ilm al-furū'*] (43).

To 'Abd al-R ziq, the Qur'an is not solely a book of ethics and morals. It is the basis of all legal, theological, and philosophical activity. Primacy goes to faith and reason combined. The *Qur'an* is a *bayān* [perspicuous declaration] to the people that prescribes "the rules of metaphysics, nature, humanity, ethics and pragmatism" (44). To 'Abd al-R ziq, the Qur'anic theory of man suggests that man is responsible for his actions because he has a mind of his own.

Some Muslim theologians, such as al-Baqillani and Ibn Taymiyya discouraged *kalām* for its supposedly heretical nature. 'Abd al-R ziq, on the other hand, following in the footsteps of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn, maintains that *kalām* provides a rational defense of the main tenets of Islam. Although the Prophet of Islam discouraged arguments that dealt with metaphysics (fearing unnecessary theological arguments and divisions), 'Abd al-R ziq maintains that the *Qur'an* encourages Muslims to comprehend the principles of their religion rationally.

Criticism has been levelled against 'Abd al-R ziq's "philosophical project" by a number of contemporary Arab thinkers. The Lebanese historian of philosophy, Mjid Fakhri thinks that 'Abd al-R ziq was wrong in the choice of his title [*A Prolegomena to the History of Islamic Philosophy*] since his discussion does not center around the type of philosophy traditionally understood. Fakhri argues that, far from being

a theoretical introduction or an endeavor to revive philosophy, this is an exclusively historical account of the development of *fiqh* and Islamic *kalām* (45). On the other hand, the Moroccan philosopher Jābiri claims that 'Abd al-R ziq fails to show the originality of the Greek-oriented Islamic philosophy since he limits himself to *kalām* and *fiqh* (46). For his part, the Lebanese Marxist philosopher Hussain Muruwwa argues that 'Abd al-R ziq's equation of philosophy and religion is a compromising attitude which reflects "the ideological bourgeois attitude, which dominates the activities of other [bourgeois Arab writers'] mental attitudes towards various problems of the modern age (47).

As mentioned above, 'Abd al-R ziq's fundamental contribution to modern Arab and Islamic thought is his emphasis upon rationalism, and the inseparable link he posits between rationalism and revelation in Islam. However, one could question whether 'Abd al-R ziq has contributed in any serious way to the resurgence of Arab/Islamic thought and philosophy. We can perhaps answer this question by comparing 'Abd al-R ziq with his teacher, Muḥammad 'Abduh. The latter tried to liberate Muslim thought and practices from the shackles of blind imitation by giving reason the upper hand over revelation in solving controversial issues. 'Abd al-R ziq, on the other, attempted to strike a balance between reason and revelation. To him, pure Islamic thought is to be found only in the *Qur'an*. Although, generally speaking, both 'Abduh and 'Abd al-R ziq share the same mission - to recreate the early context of thought in a modern setting - their audience is not the same. 'Abduh's philosophical and educational mission was more intricate and dangerous than that of 'Abd al-R ziq. 'Abduh did not write for the theologians and the intellectual elite alone; he aimed at correcting popular beliefs he considered un-Islamic. Another major difference between 'Abd al-R ziq and 'Abduh lies in their respective attitudes towards Sufism. 'Abduh's negative appraisal of Sufism and its association with Islam's political and cultural decline were not accepted by 'Abd al-R ziq, who perceived that Sufism had led Muslims to the highest ethical achievements.

Regardless of these differences, both 'Abduh and 'Abd al-R ziq were in agreement on a number of points. Amn, for instance, maintains that, "Shaikh Abdel-Razek, who was the closest disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduh, thought of putting into practice the principles of his

41) T. Hussein, "Le cheikh Mostafa Abd el-Razeq tel que je l'ai connu", *MIDEO*, Vol. 4, 1957; p. 250.

42) *Ibid.*, p. 250. Taha Husayn says (*ibid.* : 251) that early Islamic philosophy was as simple as Islam itself because it reflected the liberal spirit of the new religion.

43) For an elaboration on this division, see G. Makdisi, "The Juridical Theory of Shafi'i-Origins and Significance of Usul al-Fiqh", *Studia islamica*, Vol. 59, 1984; p. 39.

44) 'Abd al-R ziq; *Ibid.*, p. 273.

45) M. Fakhri, "al-Dirasat al-falsafiya al-'arabiya", In *al-Fikr al-falsafi*, ed. by F. Sarruf. Beirut : American University of Beirut Press, 1962; p. 256.

46) M. 'A. J. bir, *al-Khitāb al-'arabi al-mu'āsir*. Beirut : Dar al-Talī'ah, 1982; p. 236.

47) H. Muruwah, *al-Naza'at al-mādiyyah fī'l falsafah al-'arabiyah al-islāmiyah*. Beirut : 1988; p. 83.

master, who wanted to reconcile Islam with Western civilization. Also Shaikh Abdel-Razek strove resolutely to rejuvenate the old Islamic university which contained more than thirty thousand students coming from all the corners of the earth" (48). Amin stresses that ethics was promoted at the expense of rationalism in 'Abd al-Raziq's philosophy. He contends that, "The message of Mustafa Abdel-Razek is therefore a message of moral reform : it cultivates the supreme art, that which forms the soul. Shaikh Abdel-Razek summarizes his philosophy in the words of his master Muhammed 'Abduh : love in the human world resembles universal attraction in the universe; it maintains society and preserves it from ruin" (49).

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning that no one has done more than 'Abd al-Raziq to recapture the legal philosophy of Shafi'i and reinterpret it in a modern setting. 'Abd al-Raziq's preoccupation with "Islam rationalism" reflected his concern about the low regard the process of rationalism is accorded in modern Muslim societies.

#### *Philosophical Legacy of Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Rāziq*

The growth and spread of 'Abd al-Raziq's Islamic-oriented philosophy must be understood in the context of other trends of philosophical thinking which have been current, especially in Egypt, since the early thirties. Because of space limitations, I will confine myself to a brief description of the following schools of philosophy :

1) *Ibrahim Madkur's Greek-oriented philosophy* : (50) In his early philosophical work, Madkur discusses the impact Greek philosophy and especially Aristotelian logic had on Muslim philosophers and jurists.

2) *Uthmān Amin's "internalist" [juwāniyah] philosophy* (51). Amin believes that Islamic spirituality can gain a strong presence in the modern world as a theoretical system as well a way of life. He agrees with Muṣṭafa 'Abd al-Raziq that Islamic mysticism is an integral part of Islamic philosophy, and it is the only power capable of transfor-

ming the modern Arab individual.

3) *'Ali Sāmi al-Nashshār's Ash'arite philosophy*. Al-Nashshār follows in the footsteps of 'Abd al-Raziq, and argues that *Kalām* in general, and Ash'arite (*Sunnī* conservative) *Kalām* in particular developed a unique brand of Islamic philosophical thinking (52).

4) *'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī's existential philosophy* (53). In *al-Zamān al-wujūdi* (Cairo, 1957), Badawī attempts to apply modern European existential philosophy to Arab society. Badawī does not believe that Arabs and Muslims possessed a genuine philosophical spirit. He contends that, "philosophy is the negation of the primal nature of Muslim soul" (54).

6) *Zakī Najīb Maḥmūd positivist and empirical philosophy* Maḥmūd's early philosophical works (55) reflected his concern with a positivist and pragmatic philosophy in the mode of William James. His book, *The Myth of Metaphysics*, calls attention to what Maḥmūd perceived as the needs of Third World societies, especially industrialization and modernization in the image of industrial Western societies. Maḥmūd's approach was not without its detractors. A number of influential Arab-Muslim philosophers criticized positivism vehemently, and argued that its main purpose is to destroy Islamic Metaphysics. The Iraqi philosopher, 'Allama Muḥammad Bāqir Al-Ṣadr, for instance, contends that positivist materialism launched a bitter attack against philosophy and its metaphysical subjects. He also argues that "positivism has borrowed a metaphysical notion to complete the doctrinal structure it had established for the purpose of destroying [M]etaphysics" (56).

Aware of its philosophical limitations and non-viability in the modern Arab world, Maḥmūd modified his positivistic philosophical focus by critically examining the Arabo-Islamic heritage as a means of understanding today's malaise. One can notice a clear transition in Maḥmūd's thought in the early seventies to what might be termed,

48) U. Amin, *Lights on Contemporary Moslem Philosophy*. Cairo : Egyptian Bookshop, 1959; p. 115.

49) Ibid., p. 120.

50) See the following by Madkur : I. Madkur, *La place d'al-Farabi dans l'école philosophique musulmane*. Paris, 1938; I. Madkur, *L'Organon d'Aristote dans le monde arabe*, Paris, 1938; I. Madkur, *Fī al-falsafa al-islāmiya : Manhaj wa taṭbīquhu*. Cairo : Dar al-Ma'ārif, 1968.

51) U. Amin, *al-Juwāniyah : usul 'aqidah wa falsafat thawrah*. Beirut, 1960. See also, G. Anawati, "In memoriam : Osman Amine", MIDEO, Vol. 14, 1980.

52) A. S. al-Nashshār, *manāhij al-baḥth 'indā mufakirī al-islām*. Cairo, 1977; A.S. al-Nashshār, *Nashā't al-fikr al-falsafī fī'l-islām*. 3 Volumes. Cairo, 1977.

53) A critique of Badawī's thought is to be found in : M.A. al-'Alim, "Abd al-Rahman Badawī marche-t-il dans une voie sans issue ?", MIDEO, Vol. 8, 1964-66. See also, M. A. al-'Alim, *Ma'ārik fikriya*. Cairo : Dār al-Hilāl, 1970.

54) A. R. Badawī, *al-Turāth al-yunānī fī al-ḥaḍāra al-'arabiya*. Cairo, 1962, p. 111.

55) See the following early works : Z. N. Maḥmūd, *Khurāfat al-mītafiziyya*. Cairo : Maktabat al-Nahḍa, 1953; Z. N. Maḥmūd, *al-Mantiq al-wadī'i*. Cairo : Maktabat al-Anglo, 1956, and Z. N. Maḥmūd, *Nahwa falsafa 'ilmiya*. Cairo : Maktabat al-Anglo, 1953.

56) M. B. Al-Ṣadr, *Our Philosophy*. Translated by S. C. Inati, London : The Muhammadi Trust, 1987; p. 69.

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"philosophical liberalism". This is evident from *Tajdid al-fikr al-°arabi* [*Renewal of Arab Thought*], where Maḥmud turns to the Arabo-Islamic heritage in order to understand the reasons behind the present backwardness of the Arab world. He argues (1) that there is a perceived lack of individual and social freedom in the Arab world, and (2) that modern Arab thought is still dominated by the epistemological and intellectual frameworks of the past. The challenge facing the modern Arab world is, therefore, to go beyond an anachronistic type of knowledge that is based on "speech and rhetoric to a new type based on machine and science" (57).

(A suivre)

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57) Z. N. Maḥmud, *Tajdid al-fikr al-°arabi*. Beirut : Dâr al-Shurûq, 1976, p. 239.