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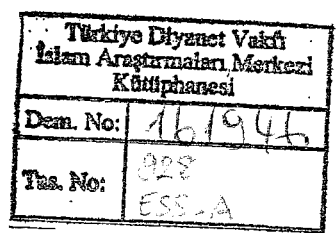
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# Essays in Arabic Literary Biography 1850–1950

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write and re-write a sentence up to thirty or forty times until I reach the appropriate expression that the meaning demands, but only on condition that the words do not betray the sweat and toil of the writer. The style must seem to be absolutely simple. (Kamil 1990, 16)

This lifelong commitment to precision and the power and the beauty of language earned Haqqī the title of *sā'igh al-lughah*: the Arab Word-smith of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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## Muhammad Husayn Haykal

(1888 – 1956)

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22 Mayıs 2015

MÜKDE YATIMLARIKIAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

## Mohamed Hassanein Heikal on the United States: The Critical Discourse of a Leading Arab Intellectual

SAMI E. BAROUDI\* AND JENNIFER SKULTE-OUAISS\*\*

'The only point from which I write is that of an Arab'

A tireless advocate of Arab nationalism, the renowned Egyptian journalist and commentator Mohamed Hassanein Heikal (also written as Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal) is arguably the doyen of Arab writers critical of the United States. Heikal's career as an author (in both Arabic and English) spans over half a century and his access to regional and international audiences has been greatly enhanced in recent years by his regular appearances on the al-Jazeera television station. His sustained and relentless critique of alleged American hegemonic designs on the Third World, especially the Arab world, has influenced generations of younger Arab intellectuals. Drawing on Heikal's extensive published work, this article offers detailed treatment of his views on US history, politics, society and especially foreign policy in order to highlight the elements constituting the image of the United States that he projects. In pursuit of a deeper contextual understanding of Heikal's discourse, this article situates it in its proper geographic and historic contexts: the Arab world (which is part of the Global South) and American policy towards the Middle East since the end of the Second World War, respectively. Equally important, it relates this discourse to its ideational milieu by comparing Heikal's views to those of fellow secular Arab nationalists (such as the Egyptian economist and social scientist Galal Amin and Lebanon's former Prime Minister Salim al-Hoss) and Islamists (primarily Sheikh Yusuf al-Qaradawi and the late Sayyid Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah) who have also written extensively and critically about the United States. The article argues that the critical representation of the United States depicted by Heikal has been central to the discourse of Arab nationalists since the late 1950s as well as a key factor in the reconstruction of Arab nationalist ideology along anti-American lines. The article further argues that Arab nationalists and Islamists subscribe to essentially the

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SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

تصنيف ودراسة

الدكتور

محمد أبو المجد غانج البسيوني

بيلوجرافيا الرسائل العلمية  
في الجامعات المصرية منذ إنشائها  
حتى نهاية القرن العشرين  
الادب العربي والبلغة والتقد الايب

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تصنيف ودراسة

الدكتور

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بيلوجرافيا الرسائل العلمية  
في الجامعات المصرية منذ إنشائها  
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١	إشراف	١	م	ماجستير
٢	كلية	٢	د	دكتوراه
٣	قسم	٣	ج	جامعة
٤	ميدانية	٤	ش	شعبة
٥	مصرية	٥	ح	مصرية

القاهرة ت  
الطبعة الأولى  
١٤٢٢ هـ - ٢٠٠١ م

تصنيف ودراسة

الدكتور

محمد أبو المجد غانج البسيوني

بيلوجرافيا الرسائل العلمية  
في الجامعات المصرية منذ إنشائها  
حتى نهاية القرن العشرين  
الادب العربي والبلغة والتقد الايب

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القاهرة ت  
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م	ماجستير	د	دكتوراه	ج	جامعة
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تصدير

لفضيلة الدكتور الحسينى هاشم  
الأمين العام للمجمع ..

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين ، والصلاة والسلام على المبعوث رحمة للعالمين ، وعلى آله  
وصحبه ومن اتبعهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين .  
وبعد ..

ففى الميدان الذى كرس فيه الأزهر حياته وجهود جميع أبنائه فى شتى أنحاء  
المعمورة منذ ألف عام أو تزيد : انعقد المؤتمر العالمى الرابع للسيرة والسنة النبوية فى  
الفترة ما بين ١٨ - ٢٤ من صفر سنة ١٤٠٦ هـ الموافق ١-٧ من نوفمبر سنة  
١٩٨٥ م .

ويسعد من تشرفوا بالعمل فى الأزهر الشريف فى هذه الحقبة المباركة - وقد قاموا  
ببعض ما يجب عليهم نحو خدمة الإسلام والمسلمين ، علماء وباحثين فى نطاق  
الإمكانات المتاحة لهم ، وقد بذلوا كل ما وسعهم من جهد - أن يقدموا أبحاث السادة  
العلماء فى السنة والسيرة النبوية ، فى كتاب جامع لتكامل الفائدة ويعم النفع .  
ولم يكن الغرض من انعقاد هذا المؤتمر مجرد أبحاث تلقى واجتماعات تعقد ،  
ولكن الغرض الأساسى هو إبراز ما فى السنة النبوية الشريفة - التى هى المصدر الثانى  
للتشريع - من أحكام وتشريعات ، وما جاء فيها من تفسير لما أجمل فى كتاب الله ، وبيان  
منزلتها فى الإسلام ، وأنها وحى من عند الله - جل وعلا - إلى نبيه محمد ﷺ .  
وقد ألفت أبحاث هذا المؤتمر الضوء على مكانة السنة ومنزلتها فى الإسلام ،  
وكشفت عن جوانب عديدة منها تفيد المسلمين فى دينهم ودنياهم .

كتاب

المؤتمر العالمى الرابع للسيرة والسنة النبوية  
والمؤتمر العاشر لمجمع البحوث الإسلامية

Kalime

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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[Basım tarihi yolu]

الاسرة من مؤلفات ووثائق خاصة ، تؤرخ للعراق ورجاله خلال حقبة التاريخية المتأخرة . وقد وعد روفائيل بطسي بان يترجم لسيرته في كتابه الادب العصري في العراق العربي ، في القسم المنشور منه لكنه لم يطبع ، وحسبه ان ساق في قسم الشعر عينات من شعره الفلسفي الرائع . وقد طلق الشعر بعد ان خلص له الاجتهاد ، واكثر علماء الدين يخالون الشعر منافيا لسليقة رجل الفقه والدين .  
د . حميد مجيد هدو

مع المجاهدين في جبهة الشيعية - قرب البصرة - والناصرية ليحول دون الزحف البريطاني العسكري وكانت له مواقف مشرفة سجلها التاريخ : استمر المترجم له يواصل جهاده القلمي جنباً الى جنب مع جهاده الديني يدير حلقات الدرس في مدرسته الدينية حتى وفاة اخيه الشيخ احمد ( ١٩٢٦ ) حيث كانت نقطة تحول كبير في حياته العامة انتقل فيها الى المرجعية الدينية والزعامة الروحية ليحل مكان اخيه الراحل ، في ( ١٩٣١ ) دعي للمؤتمر الاسلامي في القدس وكان له دور متميز ومؤثر في المؤتمر مع مفتي فلسطين امين الحسيني ، ودعي للمؤتمر الاسلامي في كراچي عاصمة الباكستان ( ١٩٥٢ ) وهو اخر مؤتمر يحضره في حياته ، انشطته الثقافية والدينية تجلت في مؤلفاته المطبوعة التي ناهزت الخمسين ، والمخطوطة بقدرها ، ابرز مطبوعاته : الدين والاسلام ( ١٩١٢ ) ، المراجعات الريحانية ( ١٩١٣ ) ، الايات البيئات في قمع البدع والضلالات ( ١٩٢٧ ) ، الميثاق العربي الوطني ( ١٩٤٠ ) ، تحرير المجلة ١ - ٧ ( ١٩٤١ ) - ( ١٩٤٤ ) ، المثل العليا في الاسلام لافي بحدود ( ١٩٥٤ ) . والذي اعلن فيه موقفه المناهض لمعاهدة الدفاع عن الشرق الاوسط التي عرفت بحلف بغداد بعد ابرامها وفرضها على الشعب بالقوة ، وفي الكتاب ردود شتى على الوزير العراقي موسى الشابندر !! اما المخطوط فمنها : نقد كتاب ملوك العرب ، للريحاني ، النفحات العنبرية ، ومراسلاته مع رجال الفكر والسياسة والادب ، رحلاته العديدة خارج العراق ، ديوان شعر ، ...  
ذكرته مصادر كثيرة ووثائق وطنية واجنبية اشادت بدوره المتميز في الاصلاح الديني والاجتماعي والسياسي ، ترك مكتبة غنية بامهات المصادر والمطبوعة والمخطوطة ، ضمت الى جانبها تراث



محمد حسين هيكل  
(١٨٨٨ - ١٩٥٦)

كاتب وقاص وسياسي مصري . دكتوراه في القانون والاقتصاد . استوزر عدة مرات ، ورأس مجلس الشيوخ المصري . ولد في قرية كفر غنام بمحافظة الدقهلية . وفي القاهرة اكمل دراسته الابتدائية والثانوية وتخرج في مدرسة الحقوق ( ١٩٠٩ ) . التحق بجامعة السوربون ونال الدكتوراه ( ١٩١٢ ) في موضوع " دين مصر العام " ، عاد الى مصر ليزاول المحاماة في مدينة المنصورة . بدأ النشر مبكراً في جرائد : ( الجريدة والسفور والاهرام والمقتطف ) . وحين الف حزب الاحرار الدستوريين ( ١٩٢٢ ) انضم اليه وتولى رئاسة تحرير صحيفته السياسة ، ثم السياسة الاسبوعية . عين وزيراً للمعارف عدة مرات ، ووزيراً للشؤون الاجتماعية ، واختير سوا بمجمع القاهرة ( ١٩٤٠ ) . وبين

THE IDEOLOGICAL REVOLUTION IN THE MUSLIM WORLD. By Muhammad Yadgari. ATP: Indiana, 1983. Pp. 142.

ISLAM AND THE SEARCH FOR SOCIAL ORDER IN MODERN EGYPT: A BIOGRAPHY OF MUHAMMAD HUSAYN HAYKAL. By Charles D. Smith. State University of New York: New York, 1983. Pp. 249. HB \$44.50; PB \$14.95.

The Muslim world encompasses a large geographic area that contains a multitude of ethnic, linguistic and racial groups. Yet, generally speaking, throughout history there have been recognisable religious and cultural patterns that have differentiated Muslims from non-Muslims. The religious and cultural patterns unique to Muslims are due to the immutable laws of the Islamic revelation that constitute the core of Muslim beliefs and practices. Despite the uniformity of Islamic culture as a whole, different historical, socio-economic and political circumstances have given rise to specific sub-cultures that account for much of the richness and diversity of Islamic thought. The two books under review illustrate this clearly.

Yadgari's *The Ideological Revolution in the Muslim World* is an intellectual biography of a very influential thinker of modern Iran, Ali Shariati. Smith's book, similarly, deals with the life and ideas of another influential thinker of Egypt, Muhammad Husayn Haykal.

Yadgari considers Shariati to be a thinker firmly anchored within the modern Islamic revivalist tradition that is represented by, among others, Afghani, Abduh, Mawdudi and Iqbal. Or, in the author's own words: 'Shariati is part of the Islamic resurgence which began with al-Afghani, [and which] had the following characteristics: it advocated the unity of the Muslim world in general; it avoided antagonism between Shi'ites and Sunnites; it asserted for a sociology of Islam; it did not create a new sect or religion, and, most importantly, it called for a deep-rooted and profound change in Muslim society' (p. 31).

The thesis advocated by the author that Ali Shariati is part and parcel of the same intellectual tradition as modern Muslim revivalism is hard to accept. It is true that Shariati calls on Muslims to reassert their tradition in the modern environment, but he never calls, for example, for the establishment of an Islamic state or for a full application of the *Shari'ah* as Mawdudi and Khomeini do. Above all, Shariati is not a man of action or a leader of a political or social movement. He defines himself as a free thinker and claims that a free thinker's function is 'not to lead society. This is one of the serious mistakes that free thinkers around the world commit'. (See Ali Shariati's *Man and Islam*, p. 110.) This clue, given by Shariati himself, is important for understanding his thought and mission.

Yadgari outlines the basic themes of Shariati's thought as: the removal of oppression, the cultural liberation of Muslims, the use of religious symbolism, the role of the masses in the historical process, and the rejection of the ethnocentric, Western interpretation of world history. The author does not perceive any Western, mainly Marxist, influences in Shariati's thought, instead he advocates the idea that Shariati 'came

to regard Islam as a complete philosophy and guide for living which could stand on its own, apart from the political schools of capitalism and socialism'. No doubt, Shariati found his main inspiration in Shi'ite Islam, and this is especially true when one considers his use of radical Shi'ite symbols, but he also used much of Marxism. Marxism for him meant, however, not a universal ideology explaining the metaphysical aspects of life, but a political and social tool explaining society and history.

Shariati's first and foremost concern is with Muslim society in general, though Iranian society is of particular importance to him. It is thus not unnatural for an ideologue like Shariati to make use of Marxist idiom in order to explain the praxis of his society. It is also noteworthy that Shariati does not use theological terms, nor is he interested in the metaphysical and philosophical aspects of Islam; his interest is only in its anthropological and social facets. Thus, it may be said as a summary, that in his 'philosophy of praxis' Shariati utilises popular language and 'common sense' in order to make people conscious of their situation and critical of themselves and their external circumstances.

But this is also the powerful legacy of Marxism to the modern world and Shariati has undoubtedly come under its influence and applied it in his own special way. Furthermore, the influence of Marxist methodology on Shariati's ideas and his analytical apparatus is quite clear from the way he conceives of the relationship between the intellectuals and the masses. True, he does not go as far as to mention 'class struggle' but it is also undeniable that he views society as a unit polarised between two major groupings: the dominant élite on the one hand, and the dominated masses on the other. The concept of the 'intellectual' which Shariati is so fond of, may, in my opinion, be derived from that of 'the organic intellectual who moves the masses' which is from Antonio Gramsci. Yadgari, however, does not view Shariati in this light. It is true, he says, that Shariati places 'great emphasis on the masses as the prime movers of revolution', but this inspiration does not come to him from Marx. Though Yadgari insists that Shariati is solely inspired by the Qur'an and *Sunnah*, I believe that he has totally accepted the whole gamut of Marxist theory of history. With his use of Shi'ite symbolism, the language of the masses, however, Shariati's goal is merely to draw out and make coherent the latent potentialities of the Shi'i masses. Thus, I see Shariati as 'Islamic' in his ideas, but 'Marxist' in his methodology.

Yadgari's book lacks a coherent analysis of Shariati's thought. For instance, he does not view Shariati's intellectual development against the backdrop of the religious, social and political forces that have shaped Iran since 1950. Such an analysis, the intellectual set in relief against the changing socio-economic order, would certainly have helped us comprehend the baffling phenomenon of Islam and the revolution in Iran and its repercussions in the rest of the Muslim world.

Unlike Yadgari, Smith's *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt* offers a comprehensive account of the social and political development of Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The book is extremely well-documented, and important. First of all because Smith makes great efforts to chart the development of

ratur; sich selbst zitiert er als *Aḥad al-udabāʾ al-muʿāṣirīn*). — 2. *Al-ʿAbarāt*, K. 1916, 2. Dr. 1922. — 3. *An-Naḡarāt*, 3 Bde, 1902/10, 3. Dr. 1920, 5. Dr. 1925. — 4. *Aš-Šāʿir au Cyrano de Bergérac wahya ḥulāṣat ar-riwāya al-tamṭīliya allatī waḍaʿahā aš-šāʿir al-ʿaẓīm E. Rostand*, 3. Dr. K. 1925. — 5. *Maḡdūlīn au taḥt ẓilāl as-saizafīn taʿlīf al-kātib al-Fransī aš-šahūr Alphonse Karr mulahḥaṣa*, 4. Dr. K. 1923, 5. Dr. 1928. — 6. *Riwāyat fī sabīl at-tāḡ wahya ḥulāṣat riwāya tamṭīliya biḥāda ʿl-ism lil-kātib al-Fransī aš-šahūr François Coppée maʿa baʿd taṣarruf*, 4. Dr. 1925 (mit Vorrede von Ḥ. aš-Šarīf v. 1. 6. 1920). — 7. *Al-Faḍīla au Paul wa Virginie lil-kātib al-Fransī aš-šahūr Bernardin de St. Pierre mulahḥaṣa*, 2. Dr. K. 1924, s. E. Saussey, Bull. d'Etudes de l'Institut Français de Damas I, 49/80. — 8. *Al-Qaḍīya al-Miṣriya min sanat 1921 ila s. 1923*. — 9. *Al-Intiqām*, K. 1923. — 10. *Kalimāt al-M.* Auswahl von A. ʿUbad, Damaskus 1343. — Eine Skizze von ihm in engl. Übersetzung bei Trowbridge Hall, Egypt in Silhouette, New York 1928.

8. Den ersten entscheidenden Antrieb zu einer von der europäischen Literatur technisch beeinflussten, ihrem Geist nach aber echtägyptischen Erzählungskunst ging von *M. Ḥu. Ḥaikal* aus, der selbst zwar in seinen weiteren Werken andre Bahnen einschlug, aber auch auf diesen der Literatur neue Wege wies.

Am 20. 8. 1888 geb., studierte er 1905/9 in Kairo und 1909/13 in Paris, wo er den Grad eines Dr. oec. pol. erwarb. Er liess sich dann in Kairo als Rechtsanwalt nieder, betätigte sich aber mit besonderem Eifer im Dienst der Presse und der Politik. 1922 übernahm er die Schriftleitung der *as-Siyāsa*, der er 1926 die *as-S. al-usbūʿiya* angliederte. Am 29. 12. 1937 trat er in das Ministerium M. Maḥmūd Pašas zunächst als Minister ohne Portefeuille ein und übernahm später das Unterrichtsministerium (Portrait Apollo I, 101).

Als Student in Paris schrieb er um sein Heimweh zu stillen, *Zainab, Manāẓir waʿahlāq rifīya, biqalam Miṣri fallāḥ*, K. *Maṭb. al-Ġarīda* o. J. (1914), die er 1929 unter seinem Namen, K. o. J. (*Maṭb. al-Ġadīd*) neu erscheinen liess. Es ist der erste Versuch, das Leben der Landbevölkerung zu schildern, wie es ist.

Die Titelheldin des Romans hat der Verf. vielleicht etwas zu sentimental für ein einfaches Fellāhenmädchen gezeichnet (s. K. V. Ode-Vasilieva in Zap. Koll. Vost. V, 300/1). Neben ihr steht der junge Mann aus der Herrenschicht (Ḥāmid), der sich zunächst in eine Verwandte verliebt, aber durch die Sitte gebunden, nicht dazu kommt, ihr seine Liebe zu gestehn, und dann von ihrer Verheiratung mit einem andern überrascht wird. Auf dem Lande sucht er Trost in der Liebe zu der schönen Zainab, findet aber kein Gehör, da sie doppelt gebunden ist, durch ihre Pflicht gegen einen ungeliebten Gatten (Ḥasan) und durch ihre Liebe zu dessen Freund Ibrāhīm, der als einziger aus dem Dorfe zum Militärdienst nach dem Südan geschickt wird. Nach endlosen sentimentalischen Betrachtungen über die Unnatur der sozialen Ordnung verlässt Ḥāmid seine Familie, um in der Hauptstadt ein neues und selbständiges Leben zu beginnen. Zainab geht an der Schwindsucht zugrunde, die nach dem Muster der französischen Literatur auch in den türkischen Romanen der Zeit als Mittel, unglücklich Liebende von der Last des Lebens zu befreien, sehr beliebt war.

Ist die Zeichnung der Charaktere noch etwas schematisch geblieben, so entschädigt der Verf. den Leser durch die reichen Schilderungen der Landesnatur, die von seinem Heimweh diktiert und verklärt das ganze Buch durchziehn. Daneben steht manche gelungene Schilderung des Dorflebens; gut gezeichnet ist u. a. die Figur des umherstreifenden Mystikers, der sich beim Dorfschulzen bewirten lässt und nach der üppigen Mahlzeit ein *Dikr* mit den Dorfbewohnern veranstaltet. Im Augenblick macht er damit sogar auf den gebildeten Ḥāmid Eindruck, der bei ihm Heilung für seinen Liebesschmerz sucht, aber durch das Formelwesen bald enttäuscht wird. Im übrigen bleiben auch die Charaktere der Nebenpersonen reichlich schematisch; kein Wunder, da der jugendliche Verfasser noch keine tiefere Menschenkenntnis besitzen konnte.

Nachdem das Buch zum zweiten Mal erschienen war, rief es eine lebhafte Diskussion in der Presse hervor, über die Gibb, BSOS, VII, 12ff berichtet. Al-Māzinī eröffnete sie in der Wochenausgabe der *as-Siyāsa* und fasste ihre Ergebnisse in den Artikeln vom 27. 4. und 4. 5. 1929 zusammen, nachdem der Verf. und M. ʿAl. ʿInān eb. vom 22. 2, 1. 3., und 8. 3. geantwortet hatten. Mit Recht betont der Verf., dass die Novelle in Ägypten bisher keinen rechten Boden hatte finden

واستمع الى قصيدته البليغة بعنوان ( النفس الالية ) .

ويضفو الصبى عن جانبيه فنكثسي  
ونشفي صدانا من سقاءه وأكؤس  
فأعقبن من حدثان دهر بأبؤس  
يقابا قلوب جازعات وأنفس  
يعقى بها آثار ملهى ومجلس  
وبدلت منها موحشاً بعد مؤنس  
فاطمع في ماضٍ من العيش مؤنسي  
فقد عاد يرميني بسيدٍ عملس  
مكانك إن النفس بالنفس تأنسي  
يدور، وان الصفو نغبة محتمس  
تعاقي عن الامر المروم وتحبسي  
بقيت ووجهي وافر لم يضرس  
على ما يرى من طيب عودي ومغربي  
الى الناس يزجها بضاعة مفلس  
أصادي به نفعاً ولا يمدلس

ذكرت الهوى ايام يصفو فنحتسي  
نقضي منا من رياض وأوجه  
لذاذات عيش صالح كن أنما  
طوينا بقاياها فغاضت من الاسى  
خلت أربع الاهواء إلا من البلى  
تعوضت عنها بالياً بعد موتي  
ألا هل لايام الشبية رجعة  
تمتعت من دهري بطبي مرتب  
أقول لنفسي والاسى يستيرها  
ألم تعلمي ان الزمان بأهله  
متى تطلبي ماليس للدهر شيمة  
ومنها اذا ضرس اللؤم الوجوه فشانها  
وما راعني إلا حسود يعينني  
ومنها ولست كساع بالباطيل والرقي  
متى ما أفل قولاً فلست بكاذب

وفاته - قبض إلى رحمة ربه على الفراش الذي ينسجه القدر للادباء الاحرار الصابرين من الفاقة والمرض والوحشة ، بعد ان ظل اسمه لامعاً في سماء الأدب العربي زهاء نصف قرن ، والنظر في تاريخ الشعر الحديث ، يراه في الرعييل الاول من شعراء الاحياء الذين خلفوا البارودي على إرث الشعر ، فجددوا باليه وأنعشوا ذاويه ، ثم تحظفهم المنايا واحداً بعد واحد ، وما يؤخذ على أحمد شوقي امير الشعراء محاربه للشاعر المترجم في مواهبه وعبقريته ، بدلاً من تخفيف وطأة بؤسه وسقائه .  
وفي اليوم السابع من شهر رجب سنة ١٣٦٤ هـ - ١٣ حزيران سنة ١٩٤٥ م وافاه الأجل .

## الدكتور حسين هيكل ١٨٧٨ - ١٩٥٦

هو العلامة العربي والاسلامي الكبير ، والأديب العبقري ، استاذ هذا الجيل ، الذي عطر ادبه ارجاء العالم العربي ، بما أسداه للقومية العربية في تاريخها المشرق من جليل الخدمات ، وصاحب القلم النضيد ، الذي ذلل فيه كل صعب في سبيل الغايات القومية النبيلة .

لقد كان المترجم من اعلام العروبة الحفاقة ، ومن اساتذتها وموجهيها ، ويدين الجيل العربي له بكثير من الفضل ، وتخرج من مدرسته الأدبية خلق كثير .  
لقد تعذر علينا معرفة تاريخ ولادته ، واكد الذين كانوا على صلة به انه كان في أواخر العقد السابع من عمره عند وفاته ، فتكون ولادته في سنة ١٨٧٨ م على وجه التقريب .



(\*)  
المرحوم الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل  
للدكتور طه حسين

عند ما كان مديرا للجريدة . كنا نختلف إليه في الضحى بين حين وحين ، فنشهد عمله في إدارة الجريدة وتحريرها ، ونسمع أحاديثه العذبة في السياسة والفلسفة والمنطق وفي الأدب العربي أيضا . وكنا نتخذة نموذجا لأنفسنا ، ونقيس المثل الأعلى به عند ما كنا نطمح إلى المثل العليا في الحياة ، وعرفته حين كنا تلميذين في الكتابة الأدبية والصحفية لأستاذنا « أحمد لطفي السيد » . كان كلانا يكتب في الجريدة . كان طالبا في كلية الحقوق ، وكنت مجاورا في الأزهر ، ثم طالبا في الجامعة المصرية ، وافرقتنا حين نشب « هو إلى فرنسا ليتيم فيها درس الحقوق ، ثم التقينا وقتا غير طويل ، ثم افرقتنا بعد ذلك حين ذهبت أنا إلى فرنسا لأتم درسي للآداب . ثم عدنا فالتقينا مرة أخرى ثم اشتركنا في العمل في جريدة السياسة . كان لي رئيسا أو كان لي زميلا ، فلم يعرف قط للرياسة معنى ، وإنما كان « هيكل » صديقا للذين يعملون معه سواء أكان رئيسا أم مرءوسا . كنا نلتقي مساء كل يوم ، فنتحدث ويجادل بعضنا بعضا في تحرير صحيفة الغد ثم نقاسم ما يكتب في هذه الصحيفة من الفصول ويخلو كل منا إلى فصله ، حتى إذا آتته التقيينا فقرأ ما كتبه كل واحد منا ، وأقرناه جميعا .

إنا إلى الله راجعون لقد  
أصبح حزني عليك ألوانا  
حزن اشتياق وحزن مرزئة  
إذا انقضى عاد كالذي كانا

بهذين البيتين تمثل أستاذنا الجليل « أحمد لطفي السيد » منذ قريب من نصف قرن في رثاء فقيد فقدته مصر ، وكان من عظمائها . وهو مصطفى كامل رحمه الله . وفي هذا اليوم أتتمل أنا بهذين البيتين حين أبدأ الحديث عن أخي وصديقي وزميلي محمد حسين هيكل رحمه الله .

وعزير عليّ أن أذكر هذا الزميل العزيز ، وأن أقرن ذكره بهذا الدعاء الذي نذكره حين نغني من سبقونا إلى الآخرة . وكنت أتمني أن أذكره دائما وأن أضيف : « حفظه الله » ، ولكن قضاء الله لا يرد ، كما أن نعم الله لا تعد ، وليس بد مما ليس منه بد .

لا يلبث القرناء أن يتفرقوا  
ليل يكر عليهم ونهار

ولقد كان « هيكل » زميل الشباب ، وصديق الكهولة ، وأخا الشيخوخة ، تعارفنا حين كنا ناشئين في مكتب أستاذنا « أحمد لطفي السيد » ،

Dr. H. G. ...  
 ...  
 Haykal, ...

## LOVE, PASSION AND CLASS IN THE FICTION OF MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN HAYKAL

CHARLES D. SMITH  
 SAN DIEGO STATE UNIVERSITY

Haykal's fiction dealt consistently with love relationships and their potential fulfillment in Egyptian society. His treatment of these relationships varied according to his sense of his ability to gain political leadership and guide Egypt toward progress on Western lines. The clash between *ḥubb*, true love, and *hawā*, passion, was also one between the intellectual and mass interests, serving as a metaphor for Haykal's opinion of his career. An examination of this fiction suggests the use of literature as an index of the intellectual's self-image in a modernizing society and his response to the social impact of modernization.

IN A RECENT ARTICLE, John V. Fleming called for the greater utilization of literature by historians as a means of understanding the culture of a specific age or region. Fleming used the example of medieval literature as a source of specific information regarding military, economic, and social practices of the period in question.<sup>1</sup> In this article I wish to consider the use of literature as evidence in an interior manner, indicating personal evaluation of circumstances and feelings associated with specific historical situations. The fiction of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal is an index, varying according to the period of his life considered, of his sense of his own ability to realize his self-image as an intellectual and leader on the basis of ideas derived from European thought but refracted through a sense of status gained in his traditional social milieu. Haykal's fiction spans the period from his young manhood to his retirement. It incorporates a personal evaluation of his feelings in responding to socioeconomic and political developments in a transitional society through the metaphor of love relationships. In addition to tracing Haykal's changing opinion of the possibility of finding love in Egyptian society, symbolizing his attempt to gain political as well as intellectual leadership in Egypt, the article suggests the possible uses of fiction as supplementary evidence based on the writer's consciousness of his intent and his conceived role rather than viewing him as a product and reflection of society alone.<sup>2</sup>

Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888-1956) was born in a village in the Egyptian delta to a "rural family with a tradition of local leadership" as well as of "learning and piety," a group which Albert

Hourani rightly considers "the creative class of Egypt" at the turn of the century.<sup>3</sup>

He attended secular schools in Cairo from the age of seven. Initially intending to become an engineer, he traveled to Europe where he studied law, receiving his doctorate from the Sorbonne in 1912. During these years in Paris, 1909-1912, he wrote his novel *Zaynab*, considered generally to be the first modern Arabic novel because it broke with the *maqāma* (rhymed prose form) literary style and used narrative prose.<sup>4</sup>

After World War I, Haykal abandoned his legal career for journalism and politics, becoming in 1922 editor of *al-Siyāsa* which advocated reform along Western lines and was the organ of the Liberal Constitutional Party which opposed the more popular Wafd and its national hero, Sa'ad Zaghlūl. *Al-Siyāsa* and Haykal personally argued for the rule of the Western-educated elite they associated with the Liberals, the "most capable" because of this education, and condemned the Wafd's appeal to popular emotions and reliance on popular support. Such a stance did not bring victory in open elections, leading them to ally with palace and British elements at times to oust the Wafd and gain power themselves during the 1920s. A particularly abrasive issue in the latter half of the decade was the charge of atheism hurled against the Liberals because of their attacks on Islamic authority and influence in Egyptian society. These charges led the Liberals, Haykal in the lead, to gradually shift to an Islamic orientation in the 1930s, giving up the specific advocacy of Western ideas and secularism found most clearly in the weekly *al-Siyāsa*, founded

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M.J.L. YOUNG

### al-Haydarī, Buland (1926–96)

Iraqi poet. Born in Baghdad to a Kurdish family, al-Haydarī was largely self-educated. As a young man, he was a political activist, intellectually open to leftist and existentialist ideas. In the 1940s, he founded the Lost Time Group, which consisted of artists and poets who met in the Wāq al-Wāq Café in Baghdad to discuss avant-garde art and thought. Opposing the Iraqi monarchy no less than the Iraqi republic that succeeded it, he lived in exile in Beirut between 1963 and 1976, working in turn as a schoolteacher, a journalist and a bookstore manager, before returning to Baghdad. After 1980, he lived in London where in 1981 he founded and edited a short-lived magazine called *Funūn 'Arabiyya*.

In addition to two collections of essays on art and literature, al-Haydarī published nine volumes of poetry. His first volume, *Khafqat al-ṭīn* (1946), was written in a Romantic vein, but his later ones exhibit an existential realism that expresses his deep political and social alienation in free verse with vividly flowing images and sprightly rhythms. His poems have a quiet, sad tone about them as they portray his inner private world, his pain for the suffering of others, and his quest for a better world. There is in them a recurring *Angst*, often expressed in the form of interior monologue and wistful musings on the human condition, the destiny of humankind and the Arab homeland. Although al-Haydarī's poetic language is plain, almost conversational, it conceals a masterful control of linguistic elements and imaginative speech.

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I.J. BOULLATA

— Haykal, M. Husayn

### Haykal, Muḥammad Husayn (1888–1956)

Egyptian novelist, critic, journalist and politician. Haykal, who was born into a rich, land-owning family, was sent to study for a doctorate in law in Paris. While in France he wrote his most famous work, *Zaynab* (published in 1913), which represents an important step in the development of the Arabic novel in Egypt. Full of nostalgic descriptions of the countryside and of homiletic passages concerning the rights of women, it tells the story of an Egyptian peasant-girl who, because of the poverty of her true love, is forced to marry another. The story is filtered through the consciousness of Ḥamid, a young university student who clearly represents the sentiments of the author.

Haykal was a vigorous participant in Egyptian journalism and politics during the turbulent 1920s and 1930s, later becoming Minister of Education on two occasions. In his critical writings he showed the influence of his period in France by advocating the need for objective standards in evaluation; he was also an advocate of 'national literature' (*adab qawmī*) and of the continuity of the Egyptian tradition from ancient times to the present. These views were expressed in his most important collection of critical articles, *Thawrat al-adab* (1933).

During the 1930s Haykal turned to the Islamic aspect of the Egyptian heritage in penning a series of biographical studies, the first of which was *Hayāt Muḥammad* (1935). This was followed by studies of the lives of Abū Bakr (1944), 'Umar (1945) and 'Uthmān (posthumously published in 1964).

It was also later in his long career that he published a second novel, *Hākadhā khuliqat* (1955). A semi-educated Egyptian woman living in Cairo manages to destroy the life and career of her husband, a doctor of peasant origins. The work reflects the disillusion of an author who had witnessed profound transformations in Egyptian society during the course of its confrontation with Western culture. His sentiments in this ephemeral work are those of a generation that had seen itself replaced.

## ۱۰۷ - محمد حسين هيكل

(۱۸۸۸ - ۱۹۵۶)

ولد المرحوم الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل باشا بقرية كفر غنام من محافظة الدقهلية في سنة ۱۸۸۸ ، وحفظ القرآن الكريم في كتاب القرية . ثم بُعث إلى القاهرة ليتابع دراسته فحصل على الشهادة الابتدائية من مدرسة الجمالية الابتدائية سنة ۱۹۰۱ ، وشهادة الدراسة الثانوية من المدرسة الخديوية سنة ۱۹۰۵ ، والتحق بعد ذلك بمدرسة الحقوق ، وبعد تخرجه منها سنة ۱۹۰۹ سافر إلى فرنسا ليواصل الدراسة العليا فالتحق بجامعة السوربون واختار لرسالة الدكتوراه موضوع دَين مصر العام ، فقرأ كل ما أتيج له عن تاريخ مصر الحديث ، ونال الدرجة العلمية سنة ۱۹۱۲ . وعاد عقب ذلك إلى مصر ليشغل بالمحاماة فاتخذ له مكتبا بالمنصورة .

ولقد بدت موهبة الكتابة عند الدكتور هيكل مبكرة ، فكان وهو طالب يقضى إجازته الصيفية في قريته ويصدر مجلة يطبعها على مطبعة الغبراء سماها الفضيلة ، وكان يوزعها على القراء في قريته وفي القرى المجاورة . ثم أخذ يكتب في «الجريدة» منذ إنشائها إلى أن احتجبت سنة ۱۹۱۵ ، فتابع بعد ذلك نشاطه في جريدة «السنور» الأسبوعية ، يتناوب هو والدكتور طه حسين والشيخ مصطفى عبد الرازق والدكتور منصور فهمي كتابة مقال لكل عدد ، فضلا عن كتابته في عدة جرائد ومجلات أخرى مثل الأهرام والمقتطف . ولما تكون حزب الأحرار الدستوريين سنة ۱۹۲۲ كان المرحوم هيكل أحد أعضاء مجلس إدارته ، وعهد إليه حينذاك برياسة تحرير صحيفة الحزب ولسان حاله «السياسة اليومية» . ومنذ هذا الوقت ودع حياة المحاماة وتوفر بقية حياته على الصحافة والسياسة والتأليف : وظل رئيسا لتحرير السياسة حتى بعد أن تحولت إلى أسبوعية سنة ۱۹۲۶ . وقد شغل بعد ذلك عدة مناصب : اختير وزيرا للمعارف عدة مرات ، ووزيرا للشئون الاجتماعية ، وعين رئيسا لمجلس الشيوخ (من سنة ۱۹۴۵ إلى سنة ۱۹۵۰) وقد اختير سنة ۱۹۴۱ بعد وفاة المرحوم محمد محمود باشا نائبا لرئيس حزب الأحرار الدستوريين ، ثم تنازل له المرحوم عبد العزيز فهمي باشا عن رياسة الحزب ، فأصبح رئيسا له حتى ألغيت الأحزاب بعد قيام ثورة ۲۳ يوليو سنة ۱۹۵۲ .

وكان رئيس وفد مصر إلى الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة سنة ۱۹۴۶ وما بعدها ، وكانت له مواقف جليلة في قضيتي مصر وفلسطين :

## مؤلفاته :

أثرت المكتبة العربية بكتب الدكتور هيكل ، ونخص من هذه الكتب بالذكر :

١ - قصة زينب وهي تعد باكورة إنتاج القصة في الشرق العربي ،

# محمد حسين



سمعت المكتبة النبوية بهذا الكتاب  
حقا ، لأنه أعظم تاريخ للنبوّة صدر  
باللسان العربي في عصره ، وقد جذب  
الأنظار جنبا قويا لأمر لم تكذ تتوفر  
لسواه ، إذ كان صدوره عن الكاتب  
الكبير الأستاذ الدكتور محمد حسين  
هيكل أحد زعماء الأدب البارزين في زمنه  
كافيا لأن يثد إليه انتباه العازفين عن  
حياض السيرة المطهرة ممن أولعوا  
بأعلام الأدب الأوربي ، وما أكثر  
ما تصدت عنهم المتحدثون ونقل آثارهم  
الكاتبون . أما الذين أحبوا التراث  
الاسلامي ، وأكبروا الأدب العربي فقد  
كان صدور حياة محمد صلى الله عليه  
وسلم بهجة لنفوسهم ، ومسرة لقلوبهم ،  
وموردا غنيا يستقون من سلسله الدافق  
فيستعدون .



لقد أحدث صدور حياة محمد هذا الدوى  
الرنان لأسباب شتى تتعلق بمؤلفه الكبير ،  
وبموضوعه الخطير وبمنهجه الفكرى السديد ،  
ولابد لنا أن نقف أمام هذه الاسباب بعض  
الوقت لنسلط الأضواء قدر الطاقة على هذا  
العمل الجيد ، فنندعو الشبيبة الى قراءته  
واستيعابه ليكون طريقهم المهد الى استرواح  
عبير السيرة المطهرة ثم الى اطراد السير في  
مراجعة تاريخ السابقين الأولين من أبطال  
الاسلام وما منهم الا الصادق الأمين .  
أما المؤلف الكبير الأستاذ د/ محمد حسين  
هيكل ، فقد كان ذا صوت جهير بين أعلام

## محمد حسين هيكل

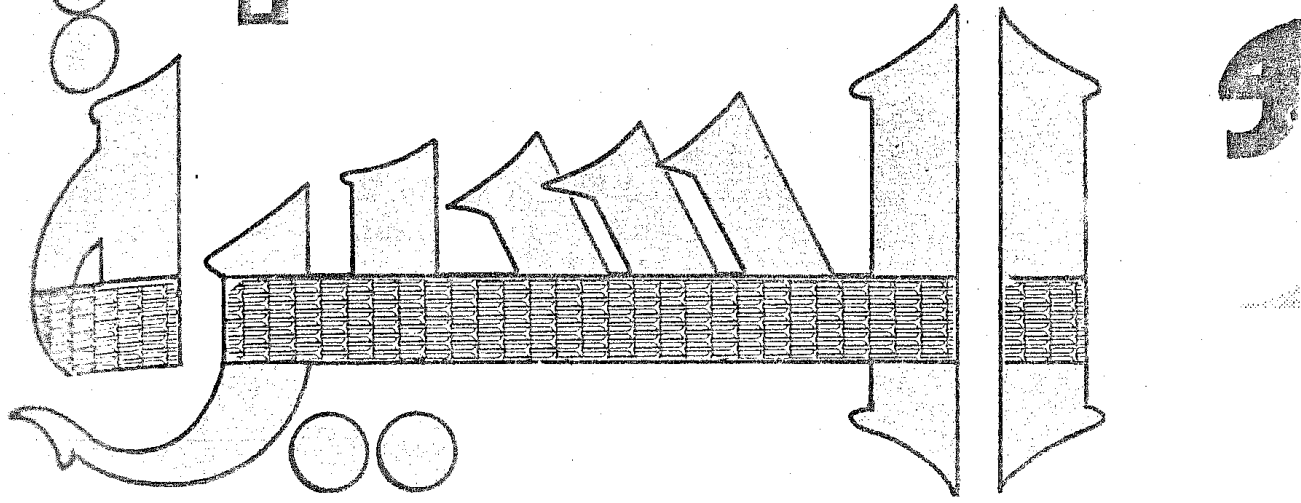
# والسيره النبويه

للككتور محمد رجب البيومي

بالنتائج ، ولئن كانت هذه الاحداث غير جديدة على القارئ فان تفسيرها المنطقي هو الجديد ، وفي نطاق هذا التفسير تكمل صورتها على وجه واضح القسما ، ساطع الملامح حتى لتري من خلفه نبضات الدم واختلاج الاسارير ، وقد تعمق المؤلف في دراسة اليهودية والمسيحية ليتحدث عنها في مجال المقارنة بما جاء به الاسلام ، وظهر هذا الحديث المقارن في أكثر من موضع من مواضع الكتاب ونستشهد لذلك بما علق به الكاتب على معاهدة الرسول نبيهود بالمدينة في أول عهده بيثرب حين دعا صلى الله عليه وسلم الى حرية الاعتقاد ، وصدقة الارتباط ، متطلعا الى تمكينه السريع العاجل من نشر دينه واقامة دولة تحميه ، وكان

فاذا تركنا تحفظا المذر على بعض التحليلات النفسية التي سجلها المؤلف الكبير الى تحنيلات الاجتماعية والسياسية فاننا لا نرى سوى الاعجاب المطلق بما يبدية الكاتب من عمق دقيق فهمه الصحيح للأحداث ، والغوص على فلسفة عامة تنظم مجريات الامور انتظاما طبيعيا لانشاز فيه ، وقد استوعب المؤلف الاصول التشريعية والخلقية للاسلام استيعاب أخذ يفسر به كل موقف من مواقف الدعوة الاسلامية في طورها الاول ، وهو بهذا الاستيعاب البصير لا يخطيء موضع النظر السديد ، وقد تتابعت فصول الكتاب حافلة بشتى النظرات الفكرية الناصئة بحيث تتسلل الاحداث منطقيا يبدأ بالمقدمات وينتهي

# محمد حسين هيكل



تلاءمت عناصره أكمل التلاؤم ، واتسمت دائرته حتى شملت ما يتطلبه الموقف من نقاط تاريخية توغل في القديم من ناحية وتمضى الى الحاضر من ناحية ثانية ، وحين ألم بقصة ذهاب ابراهيم الى مكة مع ولده اسماعيل وأمه هاجر ، عرض لما ارتاب فيه المتشككون بشأنها ، وهي قضية أثارت عجاجة مضطربة حين ردها الدكتور طه حسين في كتاب الشعر الجاهلي نقلا عن مرجليوت ووليم موير وغيرهما ممن أرادوا أن يكذبوا ما قال القرآن بغير علم ولاهدى ، وقد ناقشها الذين نقضوا كتاب الشعر الجاهلي مناقشة حاسمة في صفحات طوال ، ولكن الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل قد اهتدى الى الحق في سطور قليلة أجهزت عليها بما لا يدع مجالا للارتياب في وضوح (1) .

( يرتاب السير وليم موير في ذهاب ابراهيم واسماعيل الى الحجاز وينفى القصة من

يقع كتاب حياة محمد في ستمائة صفحة تشمل واحدا وثلاثين فصلا غير مقدمتين كبيرتين وخاتمة في مبحثين جيدين عن الحضارة الاسلامية وموقف المستشرقين منها واذا كان للبيان الديني في عصرنا هذا أنموذج يحتذى فان بيان هيكل في حياة محمد من نماذج الاسلوب الادبي للدراسات الانسانية اذ يسوق حقائقه التاريخية في نسج متين قوى الاسر بالغ النفاذ ، واذا استطاعت عاطفته الدينية أن تتوهج في سطوع في كثير من مواقف البطولة الرائعة ، أو مناحي الانسانية الناهضة بثتى الاعباء والآلام فان تفكيره الرصين قد ألزمه بابداع الحجج الفاصلة والبراهين الناقدة يسوقها هادئة دون صخب أو انفعال وقد اختص الفصل الاول بالحديث عن بلاد العرب قبيل الاسلام طبيعة وتاريخا وتجارة ومعتقدات ، كما أحسن توضيح العلاقات السياسية بين شسبه الجزيرة وماجاورها من الممالك والشعوب ، وفي الفصل الثانى تحدث عن مكة والكعبة وقريش حديثا

millenium BC, to the court archives of Ottoman Damascus, one is constantly reminded of the mass of material which has still not been fully exploited. At the same time, the uncertainty associated with the sources for the early Islamic period in particular is highlighted by the inconclusive nature of several of the papers in the second part. Space and ease of access elsewhere are presumably the reasons for the lack of any survey of the Fatimid period and the associated Geniza material.

Secondly, the emphasis on land and social relations strikingly underlines the elements of continuity which are otherwise easily ignored in the more traditional military and political history. This point is especially usefully made in the papers dealing with Syria around 1858 and with Egypt around 1798 and 1952. However, a paper on Iraq after 1958 would have provided a useful comparison with postrevolutionary Egypt.

Thirdly, the collection is a fruitful collaboration among scholars of several distinct scholarly traditions. The work of German universities, particularly in medieval Islamic history, comes into its own here, especially when U. Haarman puts to such excellent use the collection of Mamluk *iqta'* data produced by H. Halm for TAVO. Likewise, work at Arab universities has a significant contribution to make, especially in the modern periods.

It would be a surprise were there not cause for minor complaints. F. M. Donner's paper on tribal settlement in 8th century Basra ignores any relationship between the migrants and already settled Arabs. M. G. Morony almost exclusively relies on al-Baladhuri's *Futuh*, which must cast doubt on some of his conclusions. The relevance of the extensive table appended to M. A. al-Bakhit's article on the Hanash family in 15th and 16th century Damascus is tenuous. A. el-Dessouki's table (p. 443) fails to relate cash rent to price movements generally and, in any case, does not illustrate his claim of the "growing value of cash rent". The index includes a reference to women, but several of the articles have references to women which are not indexed.

But these are minor points. Regardless of provenance, this volume must be judged a distinct success — coming out of a symposium held in Beirut in 1983, it is a minor miracle.

Birmingham

Jørgen S. Nielsen

Charles D. SMITH: *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal*. Albany, N. Y., 1983: State University of New York Press (= SUNY Series in Middle East Studies, ed. Sh. Akhavi); XI u. 249 S.

Das vorliegende Buch geht zurück auf eine Dissertation, die der Verfasser (geb. 1936) im Jahre 1968 bei der Universität von Michigan eingereicht hat (*Muhammad Husayn Haykal: an intellectual and political biography* [392 S.]). Ein Jahr zuvor war Baber JOHANSENS Buch *Muhammad Husain Haikal. Europa und der Orient im Weltbild eines ägyptischen Liberalen* erschienen (s. Rez. in *Der Islam* 46 /1970/ 137-39). Dies mag einer der Gründe dafür gewesen sein, daß SMITH seine Dissertation erheblich verändert und erweitert hat, bevor er sie schließlich veröffentlichte. Was

Fu'ad Sayyid (Kuwait, 1961), pp. 299-300, 44, n. 2.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn al-Jawzi, *Tabṭis Ibtis*, ed. Muḥammad Munir al-Dimashqi (Cairo: Idarat al-Ṭibā'a al-Muniriya, 1928), p. 169. Al-Muḥasib had criticized his disciple Abū Ḥamza for giving the impression of being an incarnationist. Al-Hujwiri, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, trans. R. A. Nicholson ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," XVII; London: Luzac, 1967), pp. 182-83.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. al-Dhahabī's notice on an Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Isbahānī in *Ibar*, III, p. 282. Ardastān is a town in the area of Isfahan. The identification is uncertain.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. *Maṣāriʿ*, pp. 8-9, 12, 20-22, 28-29, 67-68, 68, 130, 142-43.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 141-42. On al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad (al-Nisābūrī) and his work, including al-Sarrāj's role in its redaction, see Giffen, *Theory*, pp. 26, 73-74, and Paul Loosen, "Die Weisen Narren des Nisābūrī," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXVII (1912); pp. 184-229, especially p. 193.

<sup>83</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, X, p. 468.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. *Maṣāriʿ*, pp. 24-25, 26-28, 72-73, 73, 75, 139-40, 142, 191.

<sup>85</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IX, p. 409.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Ṭabaqāt*, I, p. 21, title: "*al-Ṭabaqa al-ala mim-man rawā 'an imāminā, raḥimahu 'llah.*"

<sup>87</sup> Cf. al-Burjulānī's *akhbar* from Rābi'a al-Adawīya and Mu'adhā al-Adawīya mentioned below and n. 91.

<sup>88</sup> See Ibn Abī Ya'la, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, 290-91.

<sup>89</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, II, p. 223.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. *Maṣāriʿ*, pp. 26-28, 33-38, 416, 126-27, 127, respectively.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47, 147, 147-48, 195. Al-Nadīm mentions among the works of al-Burjulānī one entitled *The Enslaved by Love (Kitāb al-mutayyamīn)*. *Fihrist*, trans. Dodge, I, p. 458; Tijāriya ed., p. 262.

<sup>92</sup> Vadet, "Littérature courtoise," pp. 151-52; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, p. 645.

<sup>93</sup> Ibn Abī Ya'la, *Ṭabaqāt*, I, pp. 192-95; Vadet, "Littérature courtoise," p. 150.

<sup>94</sup> *Maṣāriʿ*, pp. 159, 254, 195-96.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 215-18, 311-12, 338-41.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Abū 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), IV, pp. 7, 1.1; 9, 1.4; 12, 1.9, on Abū 'l-Atāhiya; III, p. 342, 1.8, on 'Umar b. Abī Rābi'a; and XIII, p. 339, 11.5, 10, 16, on Ibn Kunāsa.

Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), in his apology for historiography *al-I'ṭlān*, states that Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā wrote on the "passionate inamorati" (*al-mutayyamān*, i.e., "those enslaved by love"). *Al-I'ṭlān*, trans. Franz Rosenthal in his *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), p. 358. Most probably, the author in question is the one with whom we are dealing. In view of al-Burjulānī's interest in the subject it is not at all unlikely that Ibn Abī 'l-Dunyā also wrote a book on the enslaved by love, although no title alluding to the topic is attributed to him by al-Nadīm.

<sup>97</sup> *Aghānī*, XIII, p. 302.

<sup>98</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, II, p. 253.

<sup>99</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, VIII, pp. 86-87. Al-Kawkabī's transmission is largely secular. Cf., however, *Maṣāriʿ*, pp. 105, 232.

<sup>100</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, III, p. 47.

<sup>101</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, IV, p. 324; al-Dhahabī, *Ibar*, III, p. 199. Vadet terms al-Tawwazī a Ḥanbalite jurist (*L'esprit courtois*, p. 418, n. 15 cont.). Perhaps this description is correct, but it is not explicitly confirmed by the sources I have consulted. In any event—unless I have been guilty of an oversight—al-Tawwazī has no biographical notice in the Ḥanbalite *ṭabaqāt* literature.

<sup>102</sup> Al-Khaṭīb, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, VI, pp. 308-309.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. *Maṣāriʿ*, pp. 22-23, 32, 81-82, 85-86, 86.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 126-27, 127, 127-28, 136-39, 146-47, 147, 147-48, 159, 159-60, 195, 195-96, 254—thirteen out of thirty traditions examined.

## LOVE, PASSION AND CLASS IN THE FICTION OF MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAYN HAYKAL

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Haykal's fiction dealt consistently with love relationships and their potential fulfillment in Egyptian society. His treatment of these relationships varied according to his sense of his ability to gain political leadership and guide Egypt toward progress on Western lines. The clash between *ḥubb*, true love, and *hawā*, passion, was also one between the intellectual and mass interests, serving as a metaphor for Haykal's opinion of his career. An examination of this fiction suggests the use of literature as an index of the intellectual's self-image in a modernizing society and his response to the social impact of modernization.

IN A RECENT ARTICLE, John V. Fleming called for the greater utilization of literature by historians as a means of understanding the culture of a specific age or region. Fleming used the example of medieval literature as a source of specific information regarding military, economic, and social practices of the period in question.<sup>1</sup> In this article I wish to consider the use of literature as evidence in an interior manner, indicating personal evaluation of circumstances and feelings associated with specific historical situations. The fiction of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal is an index, varying according to the period of his life considered, of his sense of his own ability to realize his self-image as an intellectual and leader on the basis of ideas derived from European thought but refracted through a sense of status gained in his traditional social milieu. Haykal's fiction spans the period from his young manhood to his retirement. It incorporates a personal evaluation of his feelings in responding to socioeconomic and political developments in a transitional society through the metaphor of love relationships. In addition to tracing Haykal's changing opinion of the possibility of finding love in Egyptian society, symbolizing his attempt to gain political as well as intellectual leadership in Egypt, the article suggests the possible uses of fiction as supplementary evidence based on the writer's consciousness of his intent and his conceived role rather than viewing him as a product and reflection of society alone.<sup>2</sup>

Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1888-1956) was born in a village in the Egyptian delta to a "rural family with a tradition of local leadership" as well as of "learning and piety," a group which Albert

Hourani rightly considers "the creative class of Egypt" at the turn of the century.<sup>3</sup>

He attended secular schools in Cairo from the age of seven. Initially intending to become an engineer, he traveled to Europe where he studied law, receiving his doctorate from the Sorbonne in 1912. During these years in Paris, 1909-1912, he wrote his novel *Zaynab*, considered generally to be the first modern Arabic novel because it broke with the *maqāma* (rhymed prose form) literary style and used narrative prose.<sup>4</sup>

After World War I, Haykal abandoned his legal career for journalism and politics, becoming in 1922 editor of *al-Siyāsa* which advocated reform along Western lines and was the organ of the Liberal Constitutional Party which opposed the more popular Wafd and its national hero, Sa'ad Zaghlūl. *Al-Siyāsa* and Haykal personally argued for the rule of the Western-educated elite they associated with the Liberals, the "most capable" because of this education, and condemned the Wafd's appeal to popular emotions and reliance on popular support. Such a stance did not bring victory in open elections, leading them to ally with palace and British elements at times to oust the Wafd and gain power themselves during the 1920s. A particularly abrasive issue in the latter half of the decade was the charge of atheism hurled against the Liberals because of their attacks on Islamic authority and influence in Egyptian society. These charges led the Liberals, Haykal in the lead, to gradually shift to an Islamic orientation in the 1930s, giving up the specific advocacy of Western ideas and secularism found most clearly in the weekly *al-Siyāsa*, founded

Haykal Muh. Husayn

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- Sheehan, Edward R.F. (The Most powerful Journalist in the World) xi-xxxv.
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Haykal, Dr. Muhammad Husayn

هيكل ، د. محمد حسين

٢٠ أغسطس ١٨٨٨ - ٨ ديسمبر ١٩٥٦

كاتب، وسياسي، ومحام. ولد في (كفر غنام - قرب السنبلوين - (دقهلية) لأسرة من ملاك الأراضي، وتعلم في كتاب القرية، (مدرسة الجمالية الأولية) و (الخدوية الثانوية) في القاهرة، ومدرسة الحقوق الخديوية في ١٩٠٩ ، (وجامعة باريس) في ١٩٢١ ، حيث كتب رسالته للدكتوراه في الاقتصاد السياسي عن (الدين المصري العام). كان يشعر بالغربة بينما كان يعيش في مصر، كتب أيضاً [رواية] ريفية قصيرة باسم (زينب) نشرها في ١٩١٤ دون ذكر اسمه (منذ ذلك الوقت أعيد نشرها باسمه مرات عديدة وظهرت منها ترجمة إنجليزية في ١٩٨٩). ولدى عودته إلى مصر في ١٩١٣ مارس المحاماة في (المنصورة)، وكتب (للجريدة)، ونشر مجلة باسم (السفور) أثناء الحرب العالمية الأولى، وعلم في مدرسة الحقوق من ١٩١٧ حتى ١٩٢٢ . عندما اندلعت ثورة ١٩١٩ ساند (هيكل) (الوفد) و (سعد زغلول) ، لكنه اختلف معهما حول محادثات (عدلى - كيرزون) في ١٩٢١ . شكل في ذلك الوقت هو و (عدلى يكن) وبعض المثقفين المصريين الآخرين (حزب الأحرار الدستوريين). في ١٩٢٢ أصبح (هيكل) محرر جريدة الحزب (السياسة)، التي أنشأ لها فيما بعد طبعة أسبوعية ذات تأثير، هي (السياسة الأسبوعية). واطب المترجم له على نشاطه الأدبي فأصدر دراسة من جزأين (لجان جاك روسو) Jean-Jacques Rousseau ، و (في أوقات الفراغ)، و (تراجم مصرية وغربية) و (ولدى) وهي رثاء محرك لابن توفى في طفولته. في ١٩٣٤ في وقت كان (الأحرار

Heykel Muh. Hussein

## محمد حسين هيكل

(١٣٠٥ - ١٣٧٦هـ = ١٨٨٨م - ١٩٥٦م)

من الصحافة منبراً له فكتب فى شتى المجالات السياسية منها والعلمية، ثم أنشأ عام ١٩٢٦م مجلة السياسة الأسبوعية التى لعبت دوراً كبيراً فى الحياة الفكرية والأدبية. وتولى تدريس القانون المدنى بالجامعة المصرية. ثم اختير وزيراً للمعارف عدة مرات، وتم اختياره عام ١٩٤٥م رئيساً لمجلس الشيوخ.

وقد مثل مصر فى أكثر من مؤتمر برلمانى وعالمى، كما رأس وفد مصر فى هيئة الأمم المتحدة أكثر من مرة.

من المعروف أن محمد حسين هيكل كان رائد كتاب الرواية العربية، ولكنه كان فى الوقت نفسه مهتما بقضايا الفكر والفلسفة، كما كان له باع طويل فى التراجم والسير، وكان علماً بارزاً من أعلام السياسة على المستويين النظرى والعملى، وكان مع ذلك كله غزير الإنتاج فى الإسلاميات، كما كان بالإضافة إلى ذلك رائداً له مكانته فى تاريخ الصحافة العربية فى مصر.

أما تكوينه الثقافى فقد جمع بين الثقافتين

هو محمد بن حسين بن سالم هيكل، ولد عام ١٣٠٥هـ = ١٨٨٨م بقرية كفر غنام إحدى قرى محافظة الدقهلية لأب يتمتع بكثير من مظاهر الوجاهة الاجتماعية والاقتصادية، فقد كان عمدة قريته كفر غنام مركز السنبلوين.

التحق هيكل بالمدرسة الابتدائية، وحصل على شهادة إتمام الدراسة بها عام ١٩٠١م، وهو فى الثالثة عشرة من عمره، ليواصل بعد ذلك إتمام دراسته الثانوية بالمدرسة الخديوية. وبعد حصوله على شهادة البكالوريا عام ١٩٠٥م اتجه إلى دراسة الحقوق، مضيفاً إلى ذلك الولع بدراسة الآداب العربية ثم الغربية بتوجيه من أستاذه أحمد لطفى السيد، وبتشجيع منه أيضاً بدأ هيكل يكتب فى صحيفة حزب الأمة.

وسافر هيكل إلى باريس بعد حصوله على الليسانس عام ١٩٠٩م وبعد ثلاث سنوات حصل على درجة الدكتوراه فى الاقتصاد السياسى عام ١٩١٢م، وكان موضوع رسالته (دين مصر العام)، ثم عاد إلى مصر متخذاً

و استلهاهما لتكون مصدرا للنهضة الجديدة في الفكر و الأدب التي  
يرغب في قيامها .<sup>١</sup>

فتحدث محمود تيمور عن كتابيه « جان جاك روسو » و  
« تراجم مصرية و غربية » قائلا « يكشفان لنا بواكير زوجه و تطلعه  
إلى دراسة الشخصيات التاريخية الحافلة بعظائم الأمجاد . فلما تمت تلك  
التزعة أثمرت فيها بعد أسفاره القيمة في سيرة رجالات الاسلام ، وما  
عناية بأولئك الأبطال إلا إبراز لهدفه الأكبر في الإصلاح الاجتماعي .  
فان الكشف عن جوانب هذه الشخصيات و مناهجها في بناء الأمة و  
ممارسة الحياة ، جد يرأن يهدى الناس فيصيرهم بأسباب القوة ، و  
العزة و يجنبهم عوامل الضعة والاضمحلال » .<sup>٢</sup>

و بعد ذلك لما رأى المبشرين في مصر في السنوات الأولى من  
ثلاثينيات هذا القرن بهجومون على التراث العربي و الاسلامي ، تحول  
رأيه مرة ثانية و دفعه تفكيره لمقاومة هذه الفكرة التبشيرية بالطريقة  
المثلى كما عنى الى هذا اكثير من المفكرين و الأدباء في مصر . فقدم  
العقاد سلسلة عبقرياته ، و كتب الدكتور طه حسين « على هامش السيرة »  
و أصدر توفيق الحكيم « محمد » بأسلوب تمثيلي . و رأى هيكل أن  
الوسيلة الوحيدة لمقاومة هجوم الطاعنين على الاسلام يكون أن يبحث  
عن حياة محمد و دعوته بحثا علميا ، فأصدر كتابه « حياة محمد » و  
« في منزل الوحي » و كتابيه عن ابي بكر و عمر .

١ . طه عمران وادى : الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل ص ١٢١

٢ . محمد عبد المنعم خنكجي : صور من الأدب الحديث ج ، ٤ ( الدكتور هيكل  
بقلم محمود تيمور ) ص ٦٧ ، مكتبة الانجلو المصرية .

Mecelle't-Mecma'i'-Ilmiyyi't-Hindi, cilt. 13,  
Aligarh  
sayı: 1-2, ~~Bethi~~ 1411/1990, s. 82-150.

Ircica Kitp.

## منهج الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل في كتابة السير و التراجم

الدكتور محمد صلاح الدين العمري \*

إذا درسنا كتب هيكل التي درس فيها الشخصيات المتنوعة و حللها  
تحليلا علميا و نقديا نجد فيها التاريخ الزمني ، كه ندرك فيها تطور  
منهجه و اتجاهه حول الكتابة عن الشخصيات . فنرى انه كان متأثرا في  
بداية حياته من الثقافة الغربية و الفرنسية و كان يحاول ان يخلق تمازجا  
فكريا بين الشرق و الغرب . فبعد أن أصدر زينب في سنة ١٩١٤ م ،  
ينشر الجزء الأول من كتابه عن جان جاك روسو في سنة ١٩٢١ م  
ليقيم « الصلة بين الشرق و الغرب على أساس التفاهم الحر المخلص » .  
فكأنه يرى في البداية ان الوسيلة الوحيدة إلى إقامة بحث فكري يمكن أن  
تحصل بحدو أسباب الغرب الفكري و الحضاري .

و حين أصدر ( تراجم مصرية و عربية ) في سنة ١٩٢٩ م ، قدّم  
فيه تراجم اديبة لبعض الشخصيات المصرية التاريخية في اكثر من ثلثي  
الكتاب ، كما ترجم لبعض الشخصيات الغربية الممتازة . كأنه تحول  
الى رأى . . « أن البديل الى ذلك يكون باحياء الحضارة الغربية القديمة

\* المحاضر في قسم اللغة العربية و آدابها بجامعة علي كره الاسلامية ، علي كره .  
١ . مقدمة جان جاك روسو ص ( ٥ )

cit: 14, say: 1-2, ~~1412/1991~~, s. 63-102.

التي طبعها عام ١٩٤٨ م تعد أطول و أطرف ماوعاه الادب العربي من مذكرات في القديم والحديث . و لقد جمعت من الاراء ما اثار سخط نفر من رجال العروبة ، الا ان فيها من صدق الرجل و جراته و حسن نيته وعلو اسلوبه و حسن بيانه مالا يجوز لهؤرخ الادب الحديث اغفاله .

لقد رحل محمد كرد على عام ١٩٥٣ م بعد ان خلف تراثا ضخما و ترى أثرا حميدا في ميدان الثقافة و الادب و من مؤلفاته :

غرائب الغرب ١٩١٠

خطط الشام ١٩١٨-١٩٢٥

المذكرات ١٩٤٨

كنوز الاجداد ١٩٥٠

١. محمد عبدالغني حسن، التراجم و السير، ص ٢٦



## الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل: ناقد او اديبا

الدكتور محمد صلاح الدين العمري \*

يعد احمد لطفى السيد الاب الروحي للمصريين و استاذ الجيل للأمة العربية في العصر الحديث ١ فهو احد تلامذة الشيخ محمد عبده ٢ و مدير (الجريدة) اليومية ، التي اصدرت في ٩ مارس سنة ١٩٠٧ ٣ ناطقة بلسان حال حزب الأمة ٤ . يعتبر ظهور هذه الجريدة بداية عهد جديد في الحياة المصرية الثقافية ، فكانت تشخص الاصلاح الاجتماعي و تعنى الى نشر التعليم في الشعب و تشيع فكرة الاستقلال و الحرية بين افراد الأمة المصرية ، كما كانت تحمل لواء الحركة العقلية و الادبية و الثقافية و السياسية و تطالب بالدستور و غيرها من الاهداف الاجتماعية ٥ . و يتبين موقف لطفى السيد نحو المشاكل الاجتماعية و

\* المحاضر في قسم اللغة العربية و آدابها بجامعة علي كره الاسلامية ، على كره .

١. عبداللطيف حمزة : ادب المقالة الصحفية في مصر ، ج ٦ ، ص ٧ و

محمد حسين : الاتجاهات الوطنية ، ج ٢ ص ٣٦٤

٢. Gibb. Studies on the Civilization of Islam P. 270

٣. عبداللطيف حمزة : المصدر المذكور، ج ٦ ، ص ٨٢

٤. قد جاء في بعض المصادر أن الشيخ محمد عبده هو الذي وضع برنامج (حزب الأمة) و (الجريدة) . انظر انور الجندي : النشر العربي المعاصر

ص ١٧٦

٥. عبداللطيف حمزة : المصدر المذكور ، ج ٦ ، ص ٨٩-٩١

Cevabını vererek babasını güç bir duruma sokarak savaşa girmek şartıyla hürriyetini ve oğulluğunu kazanmayı başarmış ve düşmanlarıyla savaşarak ganimet olan bütün mal ve eşyayı tamamıyla ellerinden almıştır.

Başlangıçta ancak bir iki beyit miktarı şiir söylerdi. Bu durumunu ayıplayanlara muallakasını söyleyerek pratik bir cevap vermiştir. Kendisi son derece ömert idi. Hiç kimse tarafından itiraza uğramamış güzel şiirleri vardır.

Annem sabahleyin ölümünden muaf imişim gibi beni ölümünden korkutacak laflarla gözünü açtı. Dedim ki: Ölüm herkesin varacağı bir su başıdır. O sudan içmeden kurtuluş yok. Bil ki ben öldürülmesem de elbette öleceğim. Her gece yattığım zaman yüceliklere nasıl ulaşacağımı düşünmekle meşgul oluyorum." Anlamındaki şiiri Hz. Muhammed'e okuduğunda peygamber efendimiz 'Antera'dan başka hiçbir bedeviye görmek arzulamadığını, fakat bunu görmek istediklerini söylemiştir.

Dudağı yarık olduğundan kendisine 'Antera el-Felhâ denilir.

<sup>30</sup> 'Able'nin künyesidir.

<sup>31</sup> Araplar ateş yakmak için yardıkları kalınca bir değneğin her iki parçasını diğerine hızla sürerlerdi.

<sup>32</sup> Muallakasını 'Amr b. Hind'e hazırlıksız söylediği rivayet edilir. Bu eserinde Bekr ve Tağlib arasında anlaşma olduktan sonra meydana gelen problemleri anlatır.

Yedi perde arkasından şiir söylerken 'Amr b. Hind şiirini beğendiği için perdeleri açtırmıştır. Ebu 'Ubeyde bu muallakayı uzun olmakla beraber güzel olan kasidelerden biri olarak kabul eder. Asma'î'ye göre Haris bu kasideyi 135 yaşında iken söylemiştir. *Edebu'l-Kâtib* şerhinde bir asaya dayanarak bu kasideyi söylemiş olduğu yazar. Süfî yolculuk ve savaş hazırlığını tasvirde muallakasındaki "geceleyin kararlarını verdiler ve hepsi aynı görüşte birleştiler. Sabah olunca aralarında bir gürültü başladı: çağırın, cevap anlatan, at kişnemesi, deve öğürmesi hepsi vardı." anlamında olan iki beyti güzel buluyor.

<sup>33</sup> Hind sevgilisinin adıdır.

## MUHAMMED HUSEYN HEYKEL VE MİLLÎ EDEBİYAT HAKKINDAKİ GÖRÜŞLERİ

Mustafa Köse\*

**Özet:** Mısırlı romancı, eleştirmen, gazeteci ve politikacı. Arazi sahibi zengin bir aile içerisinde doğan Heykel, eğitiminin ilk ve ikinci kademelerini devlet okullarında aldı. Daha sonra hukuk doktorası yapmak için Paris (Sorbonne)'e gönderildi. Fransa'da iken Mısır'da Arap romancılığının gelişiminde önemli bir adımı temsil eden en meşhur çalışması *Zeyneb*'i yazdı. Heykel, 1920'ler ve 30'ların çalkantısı esnasında Mısır gazeteciliği ve politikacılığında etkin bir isimdi. Tenkit yazılarında değerlendirmede objektif ölçülere duyulan ihtiyacı ve aynı şekilde millî edebiyat (el-edebu'l-kavmî)'in ve Mısır geleneğinin geçmiş zamanlardan şu ana kadar devamlılığının savunuculuğunu da üstlenmek suretiyle Fransa'daki döneminin etkilerini gösterdi. Bu görüşler onun en önemli eleştirel makale koleksiyonu *Sevratu'l-Edeb*'de ifade edilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Muhammed Huseyn Heykel, Modern Arap Edebiyatı, Mısır, Millî Edebiyat.

### Muhammad Husayn Haykal and his Thoughts on National Literature

**Summary:** Egyptian novelist, critic, journalist and politician. He was born into a rich landowning family and received his primary and secondary education in governmental schools. Then was sent to study for a doctorates law in Paris (Sorbonne). While in France he wrote his most famous work, *Zaynab*. The novel drew the attention of critics as the first original novel ever written in the Arabic language. Haykal was a vigorous participant in Egyptian journalism and politics during the turbulent 1920's and 30's. In his critical writings he showed the influence of his period in France by advocating the need for objective standards in evaluation; he was also an advocate of 'national literature' (adab qawmî) and of the continuity of the Egyptian tradition from ancient times to the present. These views were expressed in his most important collection of critical articles, *Thawrat al-adab*.

**Keywords:** Muhammad Husayn Haykal, Modern Arabic Literature, Egypt

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A.165956

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Pensée orientale. Pensée occidentale. 20e s. --Pensée occidentale. Pensée orientale. 20e

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(Hayāt Muhammad.)

Marāgi (Muhammad Mostafā) al-. prof. 219. sira

D. 75993

author that he pay personally for all changes in proof (note the price!)? The next volume, eagerly awaited, will require elaborate indexes, for which this volume already cries aloud.

J. DUNCAN M. DERRETT.

A MODERN ARABIC BIOGRAPHY OF MUHAMMED: A CRITICAL STUDY OF MUHAMMED HUSAYN HAYKAL'S "ḤAYĀT MUḤAMMAD". By ANTONIE WESSELS. pp. x, 272. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1972. Fl. 50.

This is a study of Haykal's *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, a book which has received considerable attention from orientalists and has attained a great popularity in the Muslim Arab world. The author sheds much light on the background of the writing of the book, particularly the impact of missionary activity which explains the apologetic tone that runs through this book, together with related Arabic writings of the same period (pp. 44 ff.). She also traces the genesis of the book from the original newspaper articles in the weekly literary supplement of *as-Siyāsa al-usbū'iyya*. The main bulk of the study is taken up with an analysis of the contents of Haykal's book, divided into three chapters dealing respectively with Muhammad as Man and Prophet, as Husband, and as Statesman. In each case the analysis is followed by an "interpretation of Haykal's presentation", an attempt to assess its degree of objectivity and to bring out Haykal's own explicit convictions and tacit assumptions which reflect the contemporary climate of thought. The book ends with a chapter entitled "Summary and conclusion", in which Miss Wessels examines mainly the relation of Haykal's work to the classical Arabic sources (pointing out Haykal's over-reliance on Ibn Hisham), and to the works of Orientalists, in particular Dermenghem (exploding the erroneous view that Haykal merely translated him, p. 211) and Muir, and tries to define the extent to which Haykal follows a "scientific method" in the writing of his biography.

Miss Wessels's treatment is clear and generally fair (see, e.g., pp. 121 ff., 171). Her conclusion that while Haykal's "adherence to the historical, critical method is not constant" his own comment on his work "must be taken completely seriously", namely that it is "the beginning of the scientific study of the life of Muhammad in Arabic" (p. 248), is one which no impartial reader of the book can deny, especially after reading Miss Wessels's detailed study. There are in fact very few things to quarrel with in this book.

One might perhaps voice some doubt as to whether Haykal's book merits such a massive treatment, but that is another matter. However, in a book of this length a slightly more detailed discussion of the author's general work than the one we are here given (pp. 34-5) would not have been out of place: *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* should have been more firmly placed in the perspective of the intellectual development of Haykal. Likewise, instead of being given in the Introduction an account of the literary works dealing with the Prophet's life and written after *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, one would have welcomed such an account in the conclusion where Haykal's work is discussed in relation to others. (In fact, the influence of Haykal's book is altogether too briefly discussed, pp. 39-42.) It is of course doubtful if it is methodologically valid to compare the imaginative and literary writings of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, al-Ḥakīm, and Sharqāwī with a biography that professes to be "a scientific study" and it is arguable that for such a comparison a more "literary" work by Haykal like *Fī manzil al-waḥy* might have been a better choice. However, be that as it may, the author could have traced the direct line of descent from the Mu'tazila-like rationalism of Haykal (pp. 82 ff.; 90 ff.), through 'Aqqād and Ḥakīm right down to Sharqāwī's pure secularism. Incidentally, the work that is related to Nasser's regime is not so much Sharqāwī's (p. 20), from which Muhammad emerges like a Marxist revolutionary, as Faṭḥī Raḍwān's, which delineated Muhammad and his band of young disciples in terms unmistakably applicable to the revolutionary junta of young army officers. The book is marred by many misprints which are not recorded in the list of errata.

M. M. BADAWI.

IBN AL-JAWZĪ'S KITĀB AL-QUṢṢĀS WA-'L-MUḤAK-KIRĪN. Edited and translated by MERLIN L. SWARTZ. (Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth. Sér. 1: Pensée Arabe et Musulmane, Tom. XLVII.) pp. i, 265, 171. Beyrouth, Dar el-Machreq Éditeurs, 1971.

From the early days of Islam anyone could set up as a teacher of religion and they came to be called tellers of tales and advisers or warners. The former sort, the ancestors of the later tellers of historical romances, sometimes lived on their art while the latter might be scholars or merely pious Muslims

who wished to help their fellows. Both sorts are classed together as preachers. The bulk of this text consists of anecdotes about, or sayings of, these men and so gives the reader enough material to judge this corner of religious life. Ibn al-Jawzī has arranged his matter and made a frame for it based on approval and condemnation by others and his own idea of what a preacher should be. This portrait is purely Utopian; he should know Arabic literature, all branches of religious knowledge, and history; he should not live on his preaching but should have some other source of income and be authorized by the ruler. Well-known names appear at times in odd places; Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, the brother of the theologian, collected 1,000 dinars at one sitting, a woman giving her gold anklets weighing 140 dinars. With this money Aḥmad gave a feast to the Sufis, who fed and then danced. On leaving the feast Aḥmad passed a water-wheel and was so struck by its groans as it revolved that he threw his scarf over it and the wheel tore it to pieces. What is practically praise of Iblis is also ascribed to this Aḥmad. Another preacher is given a saying which is most naturally translated "The picture of 'Ā'isha was brought to Muḥammad before he married her, so he went about looking for her". This kind of embroidery of familiar tales was common. Another said that the name of the wolf that killed Joseph was so-and-so and, when told that Joseph was never killed, said, "The name of the wolf which did not kill Joseph was so-and-so." This man was probably below the average in intelligence. Much space is given up to long *isnāds* which can interest only a very keen student of Tradition; these have been left out or much shortened in the translation.

This is Dr. Swartz's first book and it is much longer than it need be or than the readers might wish because of the endless repetitions; it is a great pity that none of his many helpers told him so. It is in many ways a good book. The editor's task was comparatively light as there is only one MS, but the search for parallel passages must have been long and arduous. All this has been done well. Variant readings in the parallels are recorded. The indexes are misleading. Abū 'l-Wafā' appears once in the Arabic and twice in the English; Ibn 'Aqīl occurs in the Arabic with six references, in the English with 15, with little to show that all refer to one man. Notes on the subject matter accompany the translation; they are often long, apposite, helpful, and interesting. The translation is free but accurate. Unfortunately, it is an attempt at fine English so the directness and simplicity of the original is lost;

"Don't cry" has become "Refrain from weeping". It is also too wordy. A few points are open to criticism; "heretic" is not a good translation of *zindiq*, which means some one not a Muslim and is only applied to one as a term of abuse. Another book from Dr. Swartz will be welcome, especially if he can control his pen.

A. S. TRITTON.

SUFI ESSAYS. By SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR. pp. 184. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1972. £3.50.

Much that is in this book has been said before, yet a wide knowledge of modern mystical literature in at least three Oriental languages is needed to judge it fairly or to make the best use of it. Often the writing is bad, being marred by a fear of short words, love of abstract nouns, much repetition and redundant words, unusual words, and involved sentences. To give two examples: "uniformitarianism", "metahistorical". What can the latter mean?

The book begins with a sketch of the main Sufi ideas and the spread of them among the young and the western-educated, and in the West. Sufism is only one case of the longing among the serious-minded for a satisfying life. The author is in deadly earnest and his zeal most impressive. As Sufism is part of Islam it is better fitted than any other faith to unite men with God. *Tawḥīd* means believing that God is one; the author uses the word for "union with God", forgetting that a mystic said, "Desire for union with God is selfishness." The chapter on the Koran is disappointing. Then comes what is little more than a list of authors and their works. An outsider is forced to say that the Sufi master at times encroaches on the prerogative of God.

A detailed discussion of "states" and "stations" follows; one writer makes out a list of 40 states of which only the highest is Sufism. Writers were not consistent in the use of these terms. The essay "Man in the universe" seems to the reviewer to be a mass of contradictions with examples of bad grammar and superfluous adjectives. Next is a list of men who were influenced by Ibn al-'Arabī, but no details are given. "Relations between Sufism and the Shi'a" is very interesting but will be spoilt for most readers by the author's belief that Muḥammad and other leaders of the early Muslims were Sufis in all but name. To argue that Ibn Ḥabīb did not write *Nahj al-balāgha* because passages in it occur in earlier books is absurd. The infallible Imām of

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عُلَمَاءُ وَمُفَكِّرُونَ مُعَا صِرُونَ  
لِحَاثِ مَنَاحِئِهِمْ، وَتَعْرِيفِ مَبْدُؤَاتِهِمْ

مَجَلَّةُ حَسْبِ بْنِ هَيْكَلٍ

١٣٠٥ - ١٣٧٦ هـ  
١٨٨٨ - ١٩٥٦ م

الأديب السياسي المؤرخ  
ورائد الكتابة في السيرة النبوية

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Dem. No:	97049
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بِقلم  
الدكتور محمد رجب البيومي

دار القلم  
دمشق

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA DAKİ HER BAKIMAN

12 0 TEMMUZ 2004

الطبعة الأولى  
١٤٢٢ هـ - ٢٠٠١ م

حقوق الطبع محفوظة

تطلب جميع كتبنا من:

دار القلم - دمشق: ص ٤٥٢٢ - ت: ٢٢٢٩١٧٧  
الدار الشامية - بيروت - ت: ٦٥٣٦٥٥ / ٦٥٣٦٦٦  
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توزيع جميع كتبنا في السعودية عبر طريق

دار البشير - جدة: ٢١٤٦١ - ص ٢٨٩٥  
ت: ٦٦٥٧٦٢١ / ٦٦٠٨٩٠٤

himself dropped out of Egyptian politics early in the war, becoming Director of the Egyptian National Library, and *al-Jarida* ceased publication forever in June 1915.<sup>75</sup> *Al-Jarida's* nationalist orientation lived on, however, in a new journal that commenced publication in May 1915, *al-Sufur [The Unveiling]*. Although clearly representing a peripheral attitude at the time, the modernist outlook expressed in this journal included further contributions to the territorial nationalist school of thought that was to become dominant after the war.<sup>76</sup>

The wartime writings of one Egyptian intellectual in particular, Muhammad Husayn Haykal, were especially important in relation to the development of the Egyptian territorial nationalist perspective. In 1916, Haykal published a series of articles on the Egyptian modernist Qasim Amin in *al-Sufur*.<sup>77</sup> Formally a biographical tribute to Amin, at a deeper level the articles offered a powerful new interpretation of the basis and nature of the Egyptian collective. Using the life of Amin as his starting point, Haykal developed a theory of the relationship between the environment of Egypt and the Egyptian nation which profoundly influenced later Egyptian territorial nationalism.

Haykal's analysis of Qasim Amin and the Egyptian environment that had shaped him was based on several methodological premises. Haykal conceptualized history primarily in collectivist terms, as the evolution of groups such as nations, races, or cultures. According to this assumption, humans are social animals whose achievements find expression in collective frameworks. Thus society or the nation is the proper subject of historical inquiry. An individual's accomplishments can be comprehended and explained only as representing part of the collective historic accomplishment of his group. History properly understood is the study of national cultural units, with the biographies of individuals (such as Qasim Amin) of value only insofar as they reflect and personify the collective biography. The rise and fall of kings, their wars and power struggles, are merely external manifestations, temporary and in flux, of the collective life of their nations, which is the core and driving force of history. The development of nations is thus shaped not by individuals but by deeper and more permanent factors: "their temper, their customs, their beliefs, their hopes." It is on the basis of these patterns that "regimes, kings, and wars" develop.<sup>78</sup>

A second assumption of Haykal was that "objective research" in literature, art, folklore, and every other product of the human imagination is possible only through a thorough comprehension of the physical as well as the socio-psychological environment in which these forms are born and developed. A work of art, for example, is not generated in artistic isolation. It is not born from within its creator's own world of thoughts and private imagination, nor is it the fruit of his totally independent and unfettered initiative. "It is a mistake," claimed Haykal, "to study a work of literature as if it were a self-sufficient product."<sup>79</sup> Rather, its creator and his artistic world are themselves a consequence of physical influences from the environment and external social forces. These forces mold both creator and creation in their image; hence, the uncovering of a literary work's "societal sources" and "spiritual structures" is the key to understanding the work. Neither the creator nor his creation can be understood if they are "arbitrarily" isolated from their total setting, or if one attempts to comprehend them from the perspective of only one limited aspect of this setting.<sup>80</sup> In sum, then, the study of the natural, social, and mental environments

and of the historical conditions, customs, and emotions to which they give rise is the only means by which all human activity, including literature, can be understood.<sup>81</sup>

The historical theories of Hippolyte Adolphe Taine (1828–1893) had a seminal influence on these postulates about society and history propounded by Haykal during World War I. Haykal quoted at length from the works of this noted French literary historian and philosopher, and a decade later admitted that he had studied Taine's writings in depth prior to writing the series on Amin.<sup>82</sup> Taine's approach merits examination, for it offers the key not only to an understanding of Haykal's territorial nationalist concepts but also to much of the territorial nationalist thought that became so prevalent in Egypt during the postwar national era.

Reacting to the subjective aspects of nineteenth-century romanticism, Taine was an absolute determinist who believed that objective conditions totally dominate the realm of ideas. Human development is completely governed by immutable natural forces. The latter automatically and mechanistically shape the mental characteristics of both individuals and human collectives. Neither the individual nor the group create their ideas or control the destiny of their development: rather, both are imprisoned in the mold that shaped them and whose characteristics they inevitably reflect. Because social and intellectual matters are determined by material conditions, Taine held that the study of society and ideas is capable of attaining the same precision as is achieved in the natural sciences. The laws of history and morals are as capable of quantification and measurement as are the laws of biology and physics.<sup>83</sup> Hence Taine's approach to the study of human affairs, eventually termed naturalism,<sup>84</sup> demanded the application of the methods and techniques of the natural sciences to the study of culture, literature, the arts, and all other products of the human imagination.

According to Taine's determinist philosophy, "race" [*la race*], "milieu" [*le milieu*], and "moment" [*le moment*] are the three great forces shaping culture, literature, art, belief systems, social norms, and collective perceptions. A complete analysis of race, milieu, and moment, Taine posited, would assure a "complete" and "objective" knowledge of man's entire mental behavior and of his culture in all its manifestations.<sup>85</sup> Taine's concept of "race" is not purely or even primarily biological and should not be identified with later racist theories. Race for Taine was what the Hegelian school called *Volksgeist*, the spirit or the genius of a particular nation.<sup>86</sup> Taine's "milieu" is a straightforward concept. In brief, it is the totality of physical conditions in which a nation is born and lives—its environment or combination of soil, landscape, climate, and social institutions characteristic of a specific place.<sup>87</sup> "Moment" to Taine was in fact the spirit of the age, the *Zeitgeist*, the particular mental climate of opinions, beliefs, and ideals dominant at a given point in time within a collective unit.<sup>88</sup> Unlike race and milieu, which as soon as they crystallize become almost entirely static, the moment is changeable. However, even though the "spirits of the moment" change from one period of time to another, they also come to possess a cumulative force: successive moments become interwoven into a single totality, and this totality constitutes a factor of great influence in shaping the present and the future.<sup>89</sup>

Muhammad Husayn Haykal enthusiastically accepted both Taine's rigid determinism and the specific concepts of race, milieu, and moment as the operative factors in the shaping of history. It is not difficult to appreciate why Haykal was

Israel Gershoni, James P. Jankowski

EGYPT, ISLAM, AND THE ARABS: The Search for Egyptian Nationhood, 1900–1930, New York–1987, s. 34.

Rahmi Er\*

Muhammed Huseyn Heykel (1888-1956), modern Arap edebiyatında ilk edebî romanın yazarı olarak ün yapmış olsa da, onun edebiyata olan asıl katkısı daha çok edebî eleştiri alanında olmuştur<sup>1</sup>. Bununla birlikte onun kısa hikâye yazarı olarak öncü rolü de inkâr edilemez. Ölümünden sonra oğlu Ahmed Muhammed Huseyn Heykel'in ön sözüyle bir kitap hâlinde yayımlanan *Kasas Mısriyye* (Dâru'l-Me'ârif, Kahire 1972; ikinci baskı: 1974) hikâye koleksiyonuna<sup>2</sup> ilâveten 1920'li yıllarda yazdığı ve çoğunluğu konusunu eski Mısır tarihinden alan hikâyelerini de *Fi Evkâti'l-Ferâğ* (1925) ve *Sevratu'l-Edeb* (1933) içinde yayımlamıştır.

Burada şunu belirtmek gerekir ki Heykel'in hikâyeleri, Arap hikâyeciliğinin gelişimine olan katkısından çok, bu entelektüelin çeşitli toplumsal sorunlar karşısında nerede durduğunu belirlemeye yardımcı materyal oluşları açısından önem taşırlar. Avukat, siyaset adamı, gazeteci ve yazar gibi çeşitli kimlikleri kişiliğinde birleştirmiş olan Heykel, hikâyelerinde doğal olarak toplumsal sorunları öne çıkartmıştır. Böylesi çok yönlü bir kişinin, yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısı Mısır'ına ait hangi sorunları önemseydiğini ve bu sorunları ele alırken benimsediği bakış açısını belirlemek bağlamında hikâyeleri önem taşımaktadır.

Heykel'in *Kasas Mısriyye* adlı hikâye koleksiyonu on bir hikâyeden oluşur. Bu hikâyelerden dokuzu evlilik merkezli olup bunların büyük bir bölümünde ana kahraman kadındır. Bu hikâyelerde, evlilik açısından erkeğe göre geri plânda hareket eden kadına toplumun biçtiği rol, kadının bu rolü kabul edişi ve dolayısıyla özgürlüğü meselesi öne çıkartılmaktadır. Bu durum, Heykel'in ilk romanı *Zeyneb*'in de üzerinde yoğunlaştığı iki temadan biri oluşu dikkate alındığında, Heykel'in modern Mısır kadınının sorunlarına ne denli duyarlı olduğunun bir göstergesidir. Heykel, koleksiyonun geriye kalan iki hikâyesinden biri olan *Şâhidu'l-Melik*'i, Mısır'ın düşman işgalinden kurtarılması için canını feda eden köylülerin kahramanlıklarını<sup>3</sup> âdetâ bir kez daha hatırlatmak için kaleme almış gibiyken, diğer hikâyesi *Mirâs*'ta ise, özel vakıf kurmak yoluyla kız çocuklarını mirastan mahrum bırakmaya yönelik uygulamaların eleştirisini yapar. Bir başka deyişle, bu son hikâyede de ana konu, kadın-erkek eşitsizliği bağlamında kadın haklarıdır.

\* Prof. Dr., A. Ü. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Arap Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı.

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN  
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

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Shīrāzī [see BĀB], who soon announced his own claim to be Rashī's successor and the *bāb al-imām*. Acknowledging Shīrāzī's claim, Bushrū'ī was himself designated *bāb al-bāb* and "the return of Muḥammad". When Shīrāzī later (1848) assumed the title of *kā'im*, that of Bāb was transferred to Bushrū'ī. Bushrū'ī soon established an important centre for Bābism in Mashhad. During this period he regularly acted on Shīrāzī's behalf, and was widely regarded as his leading disciple.

Following trouble with the authorities, he and a band of armed followers left Mashhad in Sha'ban 1264/July 1848. Their original intention may have been to rescue the Bāb from prison in Ādharbāydjān, but by September they were forced to barricade themselves in the shrine of Shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Faḍl Tabarsī in Māzandarān province. Here Bushrū'ī led a spirited defence against provincial and state troops, ending with the surrender of the remaining Bābis in May 1849. He himself was killed in the course of a sortie on 9 Rabī' I 1265/2 February 1849. Few of his writings are extant.

*Bibliography*: M.A. Malik *Khusrawī, Ta'rikh-i shuhadā-yi amr*, i, Tehran 1973-4, 19-58 and *passim* to 322; Mīrzā Asad Allāh Fāḍil-i Māzandarānī, *Kitāb-i zuhūr al-haqq*, Cairo n.d., 112-42; R. Mehrabkhani, *Mullā Husayn*, Los Angeles 1987. On his writings, see D.M. MacEoin, *Early Bābī doctrine and history*, forthcoming. (D. MACEOIN)

**MUHAMMAD HUSAYN HAYKAL** (b. 20 August 1888, d. December 1956), Egyptian writer of the first rank. He participated, with several of his contemporaries (al-'Akkād, al-Māzinī, Ṭāhā Husayn, etc.) in the formation in his country of a liberal way of thought and a modern literature marked by attachment to Muslim values, the influence of Europe and consciousness of an Egyptian specificity.

Having graduated in law from Cairo in 1909, he won a scholarship to France, and in 1913 presented his thesis in law on "The Egyptian Debt". On his return from Cairo, he published in 1914 his first novel, *Zaynab*, which he had written in France and which was to remain his masterpiece. Having become a barrister and professor in the Faculty of Law, he also practised journalism. At first he contributed to *al-Siyāsa*, then edited this newspaper in 1922, and founded the weekly *al-Siyāsa al-usbū'īyya* (1926).

As a member of the party of *al-Ahrār al-dustūriyyūn* ("the constitutional liberals") he came to play a political role. He was to become minister (1937) and President of the Senate (from 1945 to 1950). He recounts this part of his activity and his concerns in his memoirs: *Mudhakkirat fī 'l-siyāsa al-miṣriyya* (2 vols., 1951-3). But above all he was an intellectual, a writer whose production is of interest in two fields: literature, with which he was involved as a practitioner and critic; and Muslim religion, of which he speaks as a convinced believer and as a modern man.

To the first category belong the thesis on Jean-Jacques Rousseau which he presented to the University of Cairo (1st ed. vol. i, 1921, vol. ii, 1923), and his collection of essays *Fī awkāṭ al-farāgh* (1925), which was to be followed by a more systematic exposé, revised and corrected, of his literary ideas under the title of *Thawrat al-adab* (1933). Nor should one forget his second novel *Hākadhā khuliqat* ("She is thus") which appeared a few months before his death (1956).

In the second category must be cited his *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* (1934), a life of the Prophet of Islam which is respectful of the most reliable Muslim tradition and at the same time conforms with the requirements of modern learning—notably echoing *La vie de Mahomet*

of E. Dermenghem, Paris 1929, and *The Life of Muhammad* of Sir William Muir, Edinburgh 1923 (see A. Wessels, *A modern biography of Muhammad*, Leiden 1972). After having dealt with the *sīra* of the founder of Islam, Haykal also applied himself as an historian to the biographies of its first three so-called "Orthodox" caliphs: Abū Bakr (1942), 'Umar (1945), and 'Uthmān (only to be published in 1964, after Haykal's death). Finally, let us mention the account of his own pilgrimage which he wrote in 1937, *Fī manzil al-wahy*.

In all his work, Haykal appears as a man endowed with a great capacity for work and assimilation, capable of constantly starting afresh. As a good student of Renan, he begins by doubting the creative capacities of the Semites in literary matters and keeps his distance from Arabism; like Luṭfi al-Sayyid [*q.v.*], he extols an "Egyptian national literature"; the excavations of Upper Egypt demonstrate the importance of Pharaonic civilisation, the revolution of 1919 revealed a people to itself, what need is there to dissolve in a larger Arabo-Islamic group? But his *Life of Muhammad*, matched by the prefaces of its first two editions and the two essays which serve as its conclusion (*Muslim civilisation as it appears from the Qur'ān* and *Orientalists and Muslim civilisation*), asserts that he has chosen his camp, Islam and Arabism, but without sectarianism, for he is convinced that the salvation of the whole of humanity can come only from Islam. He also changes his master in European thought. Neither Renan nor Taine suit him any more; only Bergson can bring him this spiritualism, so familiar to Islam, that the West, positivist and materialist, ignores almost completely.

Rousseau seems to have retained all his old prestige in his eyes. Does he not recognise in him an exceptional stature in the thesis which he devotes to him, by making of him a kind of prophet of modern times? And above all, does *Zaynab* not originate from *La nouvelle Héloïse* placed in a different setting! This double denunciation of the misery of the peasant and the distress of the woman constitutes a promising start for the Arab novel, of which it is the first real manifestation. Despite its faults, the novel actually keeps today all its value, but remains without posterity in Haykal's work. The second and final novel that he wrote, a short time before his death, does not excite our pity for the fate of an oppressed woman, but arouses our indignation against a dominating woman who does exactly what she wants, subjugates and buries her two successive husbands and maintains excellent relations with God. So here things have completely changed. This does not owe so much to Rousseau as one might think, but more to Nietzsche.

Furthermore, between these two works, which, more than forty years apart, form the whole production of Haykal, the difference of technique is also evident. If *Zaynab* is characterised by the peasant stamp, the multiplicity of the poles (the author, the hero, the two heroines) and by the attempt to impose the Egyptian "national" dialect as the language of the dialogue, *Hākadhā khuliqat*, on the contrary, is from beginning to end the monologue of a modern woman narrator who expresses herself in a *fushā* which, in the event, perfectly suits the suggested settings: a mannered and affected woman's boudoir, a psychoanalyst's couch and a mystic's oratory.

*Bibliography*: Shawkī Dayf, *al-Adab al-'arabī al-mu'āṣir*, Cairo 1961; H.A.R. Gibb, *Studies in contemporary Arabic literature*, in *BSOS*, v (1929), 147, 450-54, 464 = *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, ed. S. Shaw and W. Polk, London 1962; Yahyā Haqqī,

Haykal  
Muhammad  
Husayn

# مذكرات في السياسة المصرية

الجزء الأول

سنة ١٩١٢ الى سنة ١٩٣٧

بقلم

محمد حسين هيكل

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
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مكتبة النهضة المصرية  
لأصحابها: حسن يوسف محمد وأخواتها  
٩ شارع عدلي باشا بالقاهرة

١٩٥١

للمؤلف

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14 HAZIRAN 1995

# *Hakadhā Khuliqat*: The Triumph of the Irrational in the Fiction of Muhammad Husayn Haykal

Charles D. Smith

IN contrast to the attention which has been given to *Zaynab*, Muhammad Husayn Haykal's second novel and last work of fiction, *Hakadhā Khuliqat*, has received scant attention.<sup>1</sup> That which has been given has lacked depth as well as unanimity of opinion. Both Raymond Francis and Baber Johansen have concluded that the heroine has found inner peace and serenity in acceptance of God and Islam at the novel's conclusion; Taha Husayn has noted that the heroine appears slightly mad when turning to Islam and wishes Haykal had treated this shift more explicitly.<sup>2</sup> Johansen attributes Haykal's return to the novel to his loss of political stature following the Nasser Revolution and, particularly, Nasser's abrogation of parliamentary life for ten years beginning in March 1954. While probably true in that Haykal now had more time to devote to the novel, Johansen does not analyze the novel in political terms; neither do Francis or Taha Husayn.<sup>3</sup>

Though *Hakadhā Khuliqat* is not a representative work of fiction within the scope of Egyptian literature at the time of its publication, it is important as a personal and political statement presented in fictional form, a declaration of Haykal's frustration at Egypt's turning away from parliamentary life and his disillusionment at the popular support given to such an event. These feelings were not contradictory. Haykal's affection for parliamentarianism had always been as an ideal indicating national progress rather than as a reality demanding adherence to popular will. Conversely, his and his party's disillusionment with the applicability of democracy to Egyptian life had led to his shift to Islamic themes to appeal to such popular opinion in the 1930s, descending to the mass level rather than leading from the vantage point of the intellectual.<sup>4</sup> That the result should be, from Haykal's viewpoint, total failure and the triumph of the masses rather than their manipulation by the elite, thereby dooming his aspirations for leadership, left deep feelings of cynicism and bitterness. These emotions, rather than inner peace and



Edebiyāt, vol: I/2 (1976) Philadelphia,

S. 177-197.

confuse the novice. If another edition of this important book is planned, these variations in transcription should be corrected.

Both these works testify to the growing scholarly literature on the position of women in the Middle East. Since the subject is a very topical one, and one whose manner of treatment has important ideological implications, it will probably continue to provoke both scholarly and public interest. The growing corpus of scholarly literature on Middle Eastern women already includes, besides the two works on the image of women in modern literature discussed above, several general surveys and collections and a number of largely modern ethnographic studies. What is needed now are more investigations of the position of women in the pre-modern Middle East and in traditional Islamic sources, other than the purely normative ones like the Koran and the *hadith*.

Fedwa Malti-Douglas  
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NOTES

1. Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1975).

2. Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, *A Street in Marrakech: A Personal Encounter with the Lives of Moroccan Women* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976). A further example, in addition to the two works under review, would be Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds., *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978). The cover of this book features a group of women whose faces range from fully to partially and totally unveiled. Interestingly enough, though there are works whose covers contain neither a verbal nor a visual reference to veils, like Elizabeth Warnock Fernea and Basima Qattan Bezirgan, eds., *Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), I have seen no examples of a work with a cover possessing both a clear verbal and a visual reference. It is almost as if writers (or publishers) were faced with the choice between the open, verbal representation, and the less obvious, though equally potent, visual sign. It goes without saying that the ideological significance of these two types of representation is considerable. In effect, these book covers function as myths in Roland Barthes' sense. See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1957), pp. 191-247.

3. Cf. Sahair el-Calamawy's statement:

The woman's emancipation movement was far ahead of the women in our modern novel and theater. Women even wrote novels themselves, but unluckily some (especially in Beirut, where the whole atmosphere is freer than anywhere else in the Arab world) stuffed their writing with sex or obscenity, believing it would make them appear more emancipated. I emphatically say that I have not yet read about a truly emancipated woman in any novel by an Arab author.

Sahair el-Calamawy, "The Impact of Tradition on the Development of Modern Arabic Literature," in George N. Atiyeh, ed., *Arab and American Cultures* (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977), p. 52.

4. Cf. Fernea and Bezirgan, *Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak*, pp. 273-290.

5. Cf. Trevor LeGassick, "The Image of the Jew in Post World War II Arabic Literature," *Al-'Arabiyya*, XI (1978), p. 77.

6. In Fernea and Bezirgan, *Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak*, pp. xi-xii.

7. Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil*, p. xvi. Cf., also, Fedwa Malti-Douglas, review of *From Darkness Into Light: Women's Emancipation in Iran* by Badr ol-Muluk Bâmdâd, *The Middle East Journal*, 34 (1980), p. 66.

8. In Fernea and Bezirgan, *Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak*, p. 334ff.

9. See, for example, Noel Coulson and Doreen Hinchcliffe, "Women and Law Reform in Contemporary Islam," in Beck and Keddie, *Women in the Muslim World*, pp. 37-51, and especially pp. 44-45, which shows important differences on this matter between Sunni and Shi'i legal schools as well as other changes introduced by the blending of Muslim and non-Muslim codes.

*Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal*. By Charles D. Smith. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983. xi + 249 pp.

In assessing the merits of this work I am tempted to quote the phrase of Sergei Rachmaninov after he had just heard Vladimir Horowitz play the solo part of his Third Piano Concerto, and say that Charles Smith here seems to have swallowed Haykal whole. This is an exemplary piece of painstaking and detailed scholarship based on a thorough awareness of the secondary material available applied to a consideration, and sometimes a reconsideration, of the primary sources. Those sources, incidentally, have in this case not always been easy to find, and Professor Smith has spent many years tracking down copies of a number of works and private documents, the contents of which are all used to good effect in this work. The detailed analysis of Haykal's ideas and beliefs made possible by this insistence on tracing materials back to their source lend this book an authenticity which few other biographies of key figures in modern Middle Eastern intellectual history can match.

After an initial chapter in which the notion of "modernity" is traced through the views of such well-known figures as al-Tahtâwî, al-Afghânî, 'Abduh, Qâsim Amîn, Farah Antûn, and Lutfi al-Sayyid, the author proceeds to analyse the development of Haykal's own ideas on a chronological basis. The great strength of Smith's work is that he succeeds in integrating Haykal's career into the background of the complex web of Egyptian society and politics during one of its most fractious periods. The second chapter, "The Formative Years," takes us to the year 1922, and the following chapter traces the activities of the Wafd and Sa'd Zagh'lûl and

David Semah, *Four Egyptian Literary Critics.*

Leiden 1974, s. 69-108.

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Muhammad Haykal

PART TWO

MUHAMMAD HUSAYN HAYKAL

(1888 - 1956)

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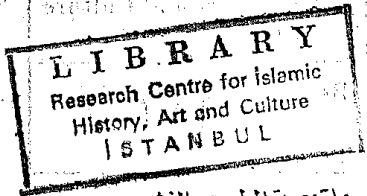
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# فِي مَنْزِلِ الْوَحْيِ

بقلم

محمد حسين عبد الحل

الطبعة الثانية



ملتزمة الطبع والنشر  
مكتبة النهضة المصرية  
لأصحابها حسن يوسف محمد وأخواتها  
٩ شارع عدلي باشا بالقاهرة

١٩٥٢

للمؤلف

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081104 HAYKAL Muhammed Husayn

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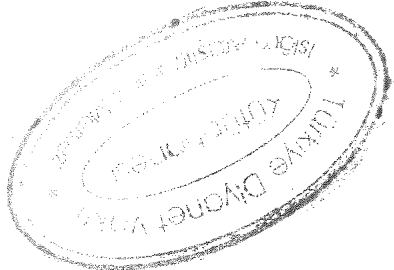
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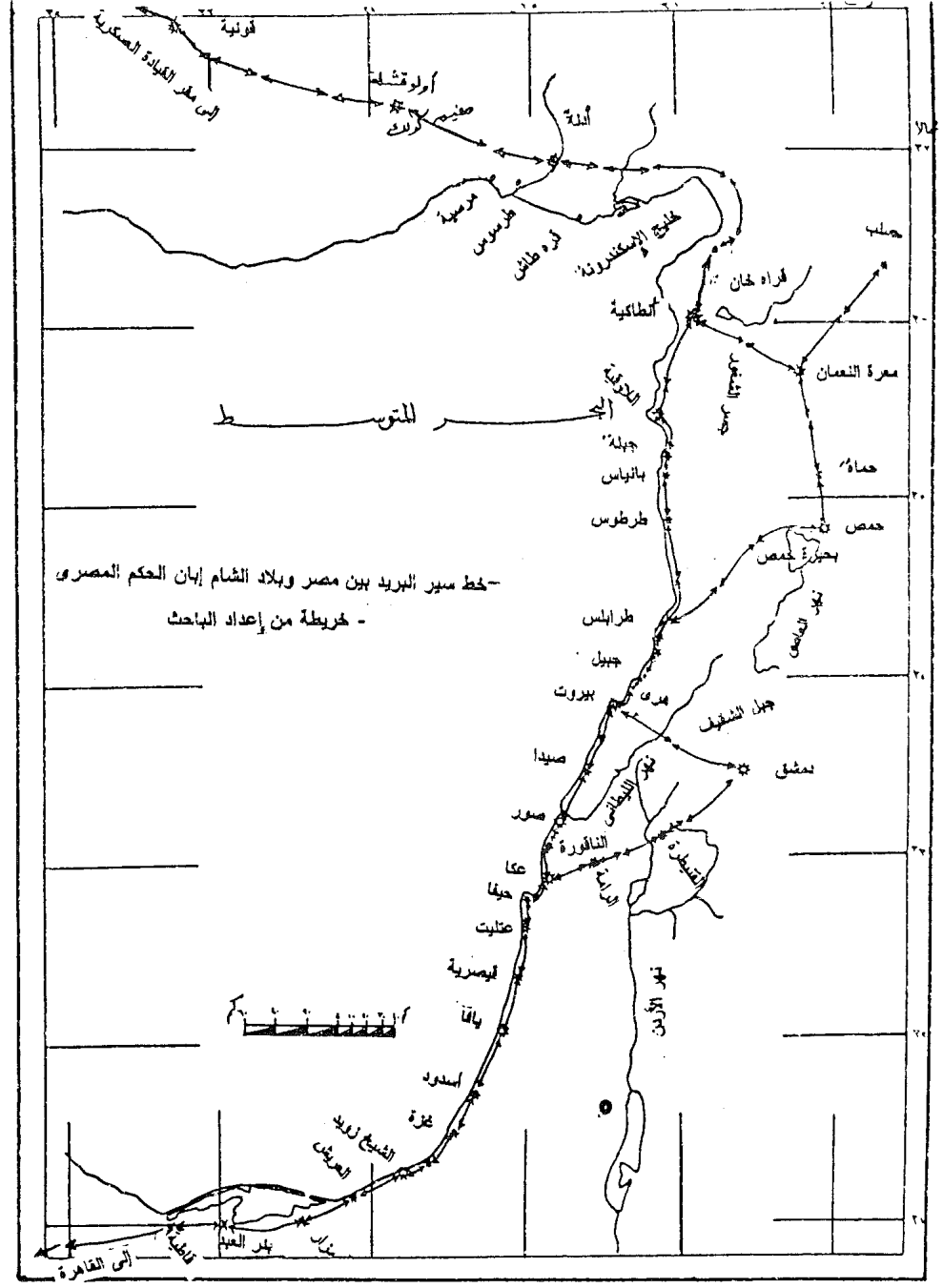
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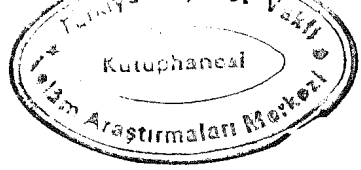
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Demirbaş No:	130899
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تلفون ٢٤٤٢٤٦ تليكس ٢٤٦٦١

ص.ب ٨٣٧٥

بيروت - لبنان

الطبعة الثانية

١٩٨٨ - ١٤٠٨ هـ



محمد حسين فيصل

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بيروت - لبنان

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بنائهم الوفاء يترافع بملاك دارهم بيروت

(الطبعة الثامنة)

١٩٩٠م - ١٤١٠هـ

ISRAEL GERSHONI

IMAGINING THE EAST:  
MUHAMMAD HUSAYN HAYKAL'S CHANGING REPRESENTATIONS  
OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, 1928-1933\*

*Introduction*

Muhammad Husayn Haykal (1888-1956) was one of the most visible and influential Egyptian intellectuals in the first half of this century. Agreement on this extends from his contemporaries to later historians and literary critics. A thinker's stature can be measured by the conventional criteria — talent, originality, creativity, boldness and philosophical and psychological acuity — or by his intellectual legacy. Although Haykal's rich body of work readily meets all these criteria, some luminaries of his intellectual generation seemed more impressive (Taha Husayn, Tawfiq al-Hakim and 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad come immediately to mind). But an intellectual's greatness can also be gauged by another important criterion: his ability to express faithfully and comprehensively his generation's moods and inner dilemmas, to embody, metaphorically, the ideals and aspirations of his society (or of key groups within it), and to act as a seismograph for the tremors and changes the society experiences over time. From this last point of view, there was probably no one in his intellectual generation comparable to Haykal. A unique mix of fiction writer, literary critic, social thinker, political essayist, historian, journalist, newspaper editor and active politician, Haykal was among those few luminaries whose writings succeeded in catching, powerfully and with remarkable accuracy, the

\* The research for this article was carried out with the support of the Basic Research Foundation administered by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. I wish to acknowledge its assistance with gratitude, while emphasizing that responsibility for the contents of this study is mine alone.

Kitap / Kitap  
Kıtaphane Mevcuttur

28 HAZİRAN 1993

Bu demektir ki, tanrıça Ma gelişim tarihinin sonlarında başlangıçtaki kimliğine, yani Ana Tanrıçalığa geri dönmüştür. Onunla ilgili rastladığımız en son haber, Hıristiyanlıktan dönme imparator Iulianus'un M.S. 361'de Ma-Bellona'ya Basel'de bir kurban sunmuş olmasıdır<sup>98</sup>. Bizans kaynaklarında da Komana'daki Artemis, yani Ma tapınağının kiliseye çevrildiği bildirilmektedir<sup>99</sup>.

Sonuçta, resmi ve kuru bir kimliğe sahip Roma dini karşısında aşırı coşkulu festivalleri, çıldırtıcı dans ve müzikleri, nefsin isteklerini kırma yolunda bedene verilen her tür eziyet işlemleriyle ruhları arındırıp ona kaybolan saflığını vermeyi amaçlayan ve böylece yeni bir yaşama doğma esprisi içinde sonsuz mutluluğu vaadeden eski Doğu kültürleri arasında Ma'nın kültürü, benzer nitelikleriyle boş inançlara düşkün Roma halkını duygu yönünden etkilemiş olmalıdır. Nitekim, bu kültürün Sulla tarafından Roma'ya getirilmesinin temelinde de, siyasi düşüncenin Roma kamu oyunun bu yanını demokrat muhaliflerine karşı kendi yanına çekme kaygısı akla gelmektedir.

Ank. Üniv. O.T.C.F. Dergisi,  
cilt: XXXVII / s. 1-2, Ankara-1995  
s. 599-623 D. 226

<sup>98</sup> Ammianus XXI 5.1; ayr. bkz. PWRE XIV/1 (1930). s. 90.

<sup>99</sup> Procopius. Bellum Persicum I 17, 18; ayr. bkz. PWRE XIV/1 (1930). s.

## MUHAMMED HUSEYN HEYKEL VE ONUN DİL VE EDEBİYATLA İLGİLİ BAZI GÖRÜŞLERİ

Rahmi ER\*

Muhammed Huseyn Heykel, Arapça ilk edebî romanın yazarı, eleştirmen, gazeteci ve siyaset adamı olarak ün yapmış Mısırlı çağdaş bir entellektüeldir. Her ne kadar Arap edebiyatında ilk edebî roman yazarı ünvanına sahip olmuşsa da, onun Arap edebiyatına olan asıl katkısı, daha ziyade eleştiri alanındadır. Heykel, Avrupa kültürünü Fransız kültürü temelinde almış olan yazarların adeta bir sözcülüğünü yapmıştır<sup>1</sup>. Onun 1922 yılında editörlüğünü üstlenmiş olduğu *es-Siyâse* gazetesi ve bu gazetenin 1926 yılından itibaren çıkartmaya başladığı haftalık sayısı *es-Siyâse el-Uşbu'yye*, Mısır'ın olduğu kadar bütün Arap dünyasının liberal kanadının sözcüsü olmuştur.

Heykel, 20 Ağustos 1888'de, Mısır'ın ed-Dekahliyye eyaletine bağlı Kefr Gannâm'da varlıklı bir arazi ağasının oğlu olarak dünyaya geldi<sup>2</sup>. Babası, katıksız bir Mısırlı idi. Ailenin varlıklı oluşu, Heykel'in iyi ve rahat bir eğitim görmesine olanak sağlamıştır. Beş yaşındayken, adet olduğu üzere öğrenimine dinî eğitimin verildiği köy okulunda (*kuṭṭâb*) başlamış ve burada Kur'ân-ı Kerîm'in yarısını ezberlemiştir. Daha sonra yedi yaşındayken Kahire'ye gitmiş, ilk ve orta öğrenimi orada devlet okullarında tamamlamıştır<sup>3</sup>.

\* Doç. Dr. Rahmi ER, Arap Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı Öğretim Üyesi

<sup>1</sup> H.A.R. Gibb, *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, London 1962, s.273.

<sup>2</sup> Hayatı ve çalışmaları için Bkz. Ahmed Lutfî es-Seyyid, *ed-Duktûr Muhammed Huseyn Heykel*, Kahire 1958; Tâhâ 'İmrân Vâdî, *ed-Duktûr Muhammed Huseyn Heykel, Hayâtuh ve Turâsuhu'l-Edebî*, Kahire 1969; Abdu'l-Azîz Şeref, *Muhammed Huseyn Heykel fî Zikrâh*, Kahire 1978; Baber Johansen, *Muhammed Husain Haikal Europa und der Orient im Weltbild eines aegyptischen Liberalen*, Beyrut 1967; Anıları *Muzekkirât I-II*, Kahire 1951-53.

<sup>3</sup> İzzeddin el-Emin, *Neş'etu'n-Nakdi'l-Edebiyyi'l-Hadis fî Mısır*, Kahire 1970, s. 287; Şevkî Dayf, *el-Edebu'l-Arabbiyyu'l-Mu'âsir fî Mısır*, Kahire tsz, Dâru'l-Me'ârif, 3. baskı, s.270.

University authorities, the young French lady who had served him as a reader.

On his return to Egypt, Ṭāha Ḥusayn was appointed professor of classical literature in the University. His efforts to promote classical culture, however, did not meet with an encouraging response and he was transferred to the faculty of Arabic letters after he had translated Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens*, several plays of Sophocles, and selections from other Greek works.

In addition to his teaching and his scholarly work, Ṭāha served as literary editor of *al-Siyāsah*, the daily organ of the Liberal Constitutional Party, which was modelled after Luṭfī al Sayyid's now defunct *al-Jarīdah*. Ṭāha wrote two weekly essays which constituted two series of studies, one on Arab cultural life in the first and second Islamic centuries and the other on contemporary French culture. These essays were later published in book form under the titles *Ḥadīth al-Arbī'ā'* (Wednesday Conversations) and *Qisās Tamthiliyyah* (Theater Stories). This combination of teaching, journalism, translating, and writing scholarly and popular works on Arabic and French cultures, in addition to the novels he began later — all of it done in a didactic spirit — constituted the normal pattern of his activity, except when political events intervened, either to call him to high government office or to remove him from his university position.

In 1926, Ṭāha became the subject of a *cause célèbre* when he published a consciously defiant book — *Fī al-Shī'r al-Jāhili* (On Pre-Islamic Poetry) — which infringed on certain basic Islamic dogmas.<sup>2</sup> Conservative elements and religious leaders of every shade accused him of apostasy, demanded his trial, and raised a tremendous uproar against the university that sheltered him, which they knew was to be the fortress of secularism and Liberalism. Fortunately for Ṭāha, Luṭfī al Sayyid, the rector of the university, stood firmly by him; moreover, the political parties were then engaged in a truce which prevented the exploitation of the incident for partisan purposes. Nevertheless, the agitation stirred up was so strong that the government found it necessary to go through the process of charging him before the court of attacking the religion of the state. Ṭāha felt compelled to leave the country for a year until the storm subsided, and, in the end, acquired a reputation as a heretic which took him many years and much effort to live down. Then, in 1931, Ṣidqī pasha, who had abolished the Constitution of 1923 and established one of his own, which he attempted to force on the country, managed to have the issue reopened and to use it

NAOAV SAERAN

EGYPT in search of Political Community

London 1961, s. 131-134.

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SONRA GELEN KÖTÜMLERİN

12 NİSAN 1997

as an excuse for dismissing Ṭāha Ḥusayn from the university. Luṭfī, who still stood by him, resigned in protest.

From 1931 to 1934 Ṭāha devoted much of his energy to fighting against Ṣidqī. He aligned himself actively with Ṣidqī's chief opponent, the Wafd Party, and lashed at him with fury from the columns of the Wafdist press. Ṭāha's services to the Wafd were rewarded, so that when he left the university again it was to become Secretary-General to the Ministry of Education in the Naḥḥās government of 1941-1945. Five years later he came back with the Wafd government of 1950-1952 as Minister of Education. In the meantime, he had founded a new literary review, *Al-Kātib al-Miṣrī* and had written several novels and many articles and essays.

Ṭāha's affiliation with the Wafd stood for a time between him and the new rulers who came to power after July 1952, but his prestige in the Arab world and his influence on a number of leaders of the revolution, including 'Abd al-Nāṣir, eventually brought him back into the councils of government. At present, he is serving in the General Directorate of Culture in the Ministry of Education.

The work of Ṭāha Ḥusayn is counted in scores of books. We shall refer to many of them in this study; most of the remainder are included in the bibliography. It will suffice to mention here that his work included translations, synopses, and critiques of dozens of French novels, plays, and studies; many original novels and some plays of his own; a few scholarly works and dozens of popular essays and articles on history, education, religion, criticism, and other subjects.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. *Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (1889-1956)*

Haykal was born in the same year as Ṭāha Ḥusayn, and, like him, was a reformer who drew much of his inspiration from French culture. There were other formal as well as substantive similarities in the careers of the two men that will become apparent, but there were also important differences. Haykal was born into an old and well-to-do family of landowners from lower Egypt who had important connections with the "establishment," and he therefore moved smoothly up the paved path of his career. He received his primary and secondary education in governmental schools and went on to the law school in Cairo, from which he was graduated in 1909. While still in school he too had met Luṭfī al-Sayyid, who guided him and personally tutored him in his reading and writing. After graduation from law school, he went to Paris, where he spent three

Haykal, Muhammed  
Huseyin

**Haykal, Muhammad Husayn** (b 1888, d 1956), eminent Egyptian journalist, novelist and critic. He was one of the younger supporters of Aḥmad Luṭfi as-Sayyid, and gained his early journalistic experience writing for *al-Jarida* (The Review), Luṭfi as-Sayyid's periodical. After World War I, he was closely associated with the Wafd political party, and became editor of *as-Siyāsa* (Politics), the party's newspaper, which soon achieved a status comparable with the older Lebanese-owned *al-Ahrām* and *al-Muqaṭṭam*. Haykal is perhaps best remembered for his authorship of one of the earliest novels to appear in modern Arabic: this was *Zaynab*, published in 1914, and written while the author was a law student in Paris. Although the book presents a highly idealized and romantic view of life in the Egyptian countryside, it is by no means devoid of serious sociological comment and criticism. RCO

DICTIONARY OF ORIENTAL LITERATURES, ed. JIRI BECKA  
c. III, ( ) LONDON. s. 72

R. C. Ostle

21 MART 1991

✓

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN HAIKAL

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# أعلام القرن الرابع عشر الهجري

7.50

المجلد الأول

## أعلام الدعوة والفكر

Haykal, Mohammed Husein,

S. 131-137

انور الجندی

9 SUBAT 1994

Türkiy - Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
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مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية  
١٦٥ شارع منفه، القاهرة (١٩٨٧)

مكتبة الأنجلو المصرية  
١٦٥ شارع منفه، القاهرة (١٩٨٧)

- ١٣١ -

### الدكتور هيكل

في أخبار عام ١٩٧٠ أن كتاب حياة محمد الذي ألفه الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل قد ترجم إلى اللغة الإنجليزية بعد أن لقي اهتماماً كبيراً في المناطق الإسلامية التي تتكلم بالإنجليزية ولقد كان الدكتور هيكل قد أوصى بترجمته وبذلك تحققت رغبته، وما يزال هذا الكتاب العتيق معلماً من أعلام النهضة الفكرية الإسلامية الحديثة، واقد كان هو بالذات بالنسبة لمؤلفه تحولاً خطيراً، واتجاهاً عميقاً بعد أن مر صاحبه بالدعوة إلى الفكر العربي ثم الدعوة إلى الفرعونية، ثم تبلورت دعواته إلى إنهاض المسلمين والعرب إلى الطريق الصحيح المنبعث من تراث الإسلام وتاريخه ومقوماته.

والمراجع لتاريخ الدكتور هيكل يلاحظ هذا الاتجاه الاصيل في عديد من كتاباته السابقة لتأليف حياة محمد وكأنما كانت أرهاصاً به. وأمامي مقال له كتبه عام ١٩٢٨ في الهلال عنوانه: «النور الجديد: أيات يكون معلمه».

ولقد كان هذا المقال بعيد الأثر في حياة الكثيرين وفكرهم، وقد قرأته وعمري لم يكتمل ثلاثة عشر عاماً وتأثرت به، بل أعلت اعتبره من مطالع التوجيهات التي وجهت حياتي إلى الدراسات الإسلامية.

فانهد إلى هذا المقال لنرى كيف أتجه فيه السكاتب فأثر في نفس الشاب الغض الذي لم يكن قد وصل بعد إلى شواطئ هذا المحيط المتلاطم من البحث الفاسق التاريخي: لقد تحدث هيكل عن الغرب والحضارة والالحاد الذي ارتبط بشعرات العلم الحديث حين وصل الإنسان إلى الثمرات المادية التي لم يكن يعلم بها من قبل، حتى لقد ظن الإنسان أن العلم وصل إلى الكشف عن أمر القوة الخالقة المدبرة السكون غير أنه عجز عن ذلك، بينما انبعث الشرق بعد الحرب، الشرق الذي قام فيه موسى وعيسى ومحمد، أن هذا «البعث» في نظر هيكل سيكون معدراً

# فلسفة الاستشراق

وأثرها في الأدب العربي المعاصر



دكتور

أحمد سمائلو قشتش

أستاذ العقيدة والفلسفة الإسلامية

بكلية الدراسات الإسلامية

سراييفو - يوغسلافيا

رئيسة المشيخة الإسلامية  
بجمهورية البوسنة والهرسك وكرواتيا وسيربيا  
يوغسلافيا

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Kütüphanesi	
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القاهرة ١٩٨٠

٦٨٧

وقواعدها ، ولم يكن هذا غريباً على طه حسين فهو أزهرى أصلاً ونشأة وانتقاداً ، ولو اعترف بذلك لكان لمؤلفه صدى غير ما كان ، وكان الرد عليه أكثر روعة وجلالا وفائدة . وقد استطاع فريد وجدي أن يبرز محاسنه ومساويه بعدل وانصاف وحق .

محمد حسين هيكل<sup>(١)</sup>

لقد أشرنا من قبل أن كتابه ( حياة محمد ) بعد بحق من أروع ما أنتجته العقلية العربية الحديثة وذلك لأسباب عديدة أهمها : أولاً أن اتجاهه فيه اتجاه علمي صرف ثانياً أن هدفه إنساني بحث يقصد البشرية بأسرها ، ثالثاً : أن ميلاده جاء نتيجة للهجوم على صاحب الرسالة الإسلامية من قبل المستشرقين والمفترين والمبشرين ، رابعاً أن ظهوره قد أحدث تحولاً عظيماً في الأدب العربي المعاصر ، خامساً أن دفاعه عن الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام يعد أعظم مواجهة منهجية بين الفكر العربي الإسلامي المسلم والفكر الغربي الاستعماري المهاجم ، علاوة على ما كان لصاحبه من مكانة أدبية وعلمية وسياسية جذبت إليه ميدان أكثر جلالاً ، ونوراً ، وجلالاً هو الدفاع عن الحق والنصر للخير ، والحب للجمال .

وقد اعترف منذ البداية بفضل الاستشراق وأثره في الأدب العربي المعاصر ، لأنه من الحق علينا للغرب أن نقول : أن ما يقوم به علماء اليوم من بحوث نفسية في تاريخ الدراسات الإسلامية والدراسات الشرقية ، قد مهد لأنباء الإسلام وأبناء الشرق أن يتزيدوا من هذه البحوث وتلك الدراسات وأن يكونوا أكبر رجاء في الإهتمام إلى الحق ، فهم أقرب بطبيعتهم إلى حسن ادراك الروح الإسلامي والروح الشرقي . وما دام التوجيه الجليد قد بدأ في الغرب فواجب عليهم أن يتابعوه وأن يصبحوا أملاً له وأن يبتوا فيه الروح الصحيح الذي يعيده إلى الحياة ويصله بالحاضر ، لاعلى أنه مجرد دراسة وبحث ، بل على أنه ميراث روحي وعقلي يجب أن يتمثله الوارثون ، وأن يضيفوا إليه ، وأن يزيدوا سناً ضيائه بما يزيد الحقيقة الكامنة فيه ضياءً ونوراً .

وقد تناول محمد حسين هيكل سيرة الرسول عليه الصلاة والسلام بكل ما كان لديه من خبرة نادرة وإحساس مرهف ومعرفة واسعة بحق الحق وبيطل الباطل مؤكداً في كل فرصة سنحت له فائدة بجمته الإنسانية وشعوره الطاغى بواجب الدفاع عنها .

(١) حياة محمد ، ص ٢١ وما بعدها .

Haykel, Mohammed Hussein

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٦٨٦

بلاد الأندلس على ما جاورها ، وعمل رجال الدين المسيحي على إطفائها عدّة قرون فما استطاعوا إلى ذلك سبيلاً . واليوم يرعى أهل أوروبا مانبت في أرضهم بعد أن سقيت بدماء أسلافهم المسفوكة بأيدي أهل دينهم في سبيل مطاردة العلم والحرية وطوال المدينة الحاضرة « هكذا فعل الإمام مع كل ما أراد هانتو أن يهدم به ثقة العرب بأنفسهم وعروبتهم وتراثهم ، فتناول بإسهام ربانية المسيحية وبشرية الإسلام ، ثم القدر والجبر عند المسيحيين والمسلمين والتوحيد والتنزيه وتجسيد الألوهية والتشبيه ومحاولات أوروبا المختلفة لتحطيم العالم العربي الإسلامي وما إلى ذلك ، حتى اضطر هانتو بنفسه أن يتراجع عما ادعاه ، ولكن بعد أن بثه في نفوس أبناء العرب والمسلمين .

ويعتبر رد الإمام على هانتو رداً يجب أن يحتذى في هذا المجال .

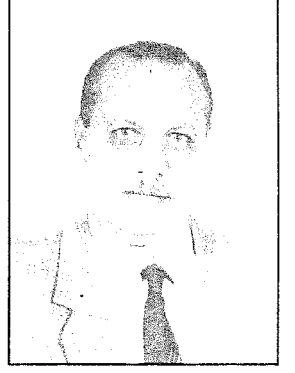
فريد وجدي<sup>(١)</sup>

بعد أن ظهر كتاب طه حسين الشهير تصدى له جماعة من أبرز علماء العرب ونقادهم كما أشرنا إلى ذلك من قبل . ومما لاشك فيه أن مواجهتهم تلك لدعاوى الاستشراق الزائفة الجريئة وتأثر العرب بها تعتبر من المعارك الفكرية التي يندر وجودها في أي أدب آخر غير الأدب العربي . ومن بين تلك الردود المعروفة انفراد كتاب فريد وجدي بموضوعين عنى بهما عناية فائقة .

أولها : مناقشته ما جاء به طه حسين من المسائل التي تتعلق بتكوين الأمة العربية الإسلامية ولايتفق حكمة فيها والمقررات التاريخية ، ولا الأصول الاجتماعية لأن الإلتصاف عنها ضار لكل الضرر بنايئة الجليل الصاعد . في هذا الدور من الانتقال التاريخي السريع .  
ثانيها : مقابلته أول ثمرات الجامعة المصرية بما تستحقه من العناية التي تعنى في عالم العلم شيئاً آخر غير التوجيه والنقد والتحصيل .

وانطلق فريد وجدي من هاتين القاعدتين يغربل كتاب طه حسين ومنهجه فيه دارساً ما فيه من قضايا ومعضلات ومسائل محاولاً في كل ذلك أن يطبق المنهج القرآني مقابل المنهج الديكارتي الذي فضله صاحب « في الشعر الجاهلي » على أي منهج سواه ، متأثراً بأستاذه مرجوليوث وإن استمد مبادئه الأساسية التي وضعها في كتابه المذكور من علوم الحديث

(١) نقد كتاب الشعر الجاهلي ، ص ١ وما بعدها .

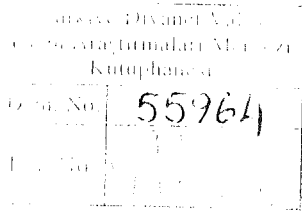


الأستاذ لعمري المطيعي

- \* وكيل وزارة الثقافة المصرية للنشر (سابقاً).
- \* اختيار عضواً لمجلس إدارة اتحاد كتاب مصر ومجلس إدارة اتحاد الناشرين ومجلس إدارة مركز جامعة القاهرة للنشر.
- \* اختارته موسوعة ( مؤلفون معاصرون) - جامعة ميتشجان الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية كأحد ثلاثة مفكرين مصريين تخصصوا في تقديم الرواد في مصر.
- \* اختارته ( الموسوعة القومية) - مصر كواحد من أبرز المثقفين في مصر .
- \* أسهم في عضوية لجان الترجمة والتاريخ وثقافة الطفل وفحص الجوائز التشجيعية ومنح التفرغ بالمجلس الأعلى للثقافة .
- \* مثل مصر في المؤتمرات الثقافية بباريس وبكين وجنيف والرباط وفرانكفورت .
- \* أعاد إصدار ورأس تحرير مشروع الألف كتاب ( الثاني) - يناير ١٩٨٨ .

موسوعة

هذا الرجل من مصر



1417/1997  
Beirut.

دار الشروق

السياسية واستغلال النفوذ ، وأصدرت المحكمة حكماً بإعدام « إبراهيم عبد الهادي » جرى تخفيفه بعد ذلك . في مثل هذا المناخ جرت محاكمة السياسيين القدامى ، وفي مثل ذلك المناخ وقف « الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل » أمام المحكمة لايطعن في خصومه السياسيين بل اتجه إلى الدفاع عن موقفهم وتصرفاتهم وهم الذين يصفونه دائماً بأنه يقف في خندق حزب كبار الملاك . وبأنه كان يدافع سياسياً عن الذين يقفون في غير معسكر الشعب .

نشأة محافظة

وقد ولد « محمد حسين هيكل » في ٢٠ أغسطس سنة ١٨٨٨ في كفر غنام ، إحدى قرى مركز السنبلوين من أعمال الدقهلية ومن أسرة ثرية مما كان يعرف وقتئذ باسم ( الأعيان ) نشأ في بيت ريفي طيب وكان أبوه رجلاً مسوراً ويمت بصلة القربى إلى « أحمد لطفى السيد » والذي سوف يكون له شأن كبير مع « محمد حسين هيكل » توجيهها واتجاهها ، سياسة وفكرها ، سلوكها وثقافتها .

ثم وجد الصبي طريقه إلى كتاب القرية ، وحصل على الشهادة الابتدائية سنة ١٩٠٠ من مدرسة الجمالية ، ومن مدرسة الخديوية بالقاهرة حصل على البكالوريا سنة ١٩٠٥ ، ثم الحقوق سنة ١٩٠٩ . ومن فرنسا حصل على الدكتوراه سنة ١٩١٢ في رسالة عن ( دين مصر العام ) التي أوضح فيها مرض مصر الاقتصادي منذ عهد الخديو إسماعيل ، ويجادل أن يصف العلاج في حدود رؤيته الفكرية في ذلك الزمان ويعود « محمد حسين هيكل » إلى مصر بعد حصوله على الدكتوراه سنة ١٩١٢ . . . ولكننا نرى اسمه يتردد على صفحات ( الجريدة ) التي يحررها بلدياته وصديقه وأستاذه « أحمد لطفى السيد » ويتكرر الاسم قبل سفره إلى باريس وأثناء وجوده في باريس ، واستمر يكتب على صفحاتها حتى عام ١٩١٥ وهو العام الذي توقفت فيه .

ومنذ سنة ١٩١٠ بدأ يكتب قصة ( زينب ) مختزناً الريف المصرى الذى ولد فيه ، ومتأثراً بالريف الفرنسى الذى تأثر به . وقد أخذ ينشرها دون أن يضع اسمه عليها . وإنما اتخذ من عبارة ( فلاح مصرى ) توقيعاً له على فصول القصة في ( الجريدة ) التي أنشأها ورأس تحريرها « أحمد لطفى السيد » في ٩ مارس ١٩٠٧ .

أحمد لطفى السيد

والذى يريد أن يقرأ الجانب السياسى عند « محمد حسين هيكل » عليه أن يعود أولاً إلى قراءة « أحمد لطفى السيد » الذى ترك بصمته واضحة على صديقه وإن شئت فقل تلميذه « هيكل » ،

الدكتور محمد حسين هيكل



قال الدكتور « طه حسين » يصف صديقه الدكتور « محمد حسين هيكل » . . ( هيكل صاحب صحيفة يشرف عليها ويدير أمورها ، ويكتب فيها فصلاً في كل يوم على أقل تقدير ، وهو عضو في حزب سياسى يتحدث إليهم كل يوم في السياسة إذا كان الصباح ، فإذا كان المساء فهو أديب يقرأ . . . وعلى ذلك كله أب وزوج لا يبخل على أسرته بحققها عليه . . وهو صديق لا يبخل على أصدقائه بحقوقهم عليه ، والغريب مع هذا كله أنك تلقاه فإذا هو رجل هادى مطمئن ، كأنه أفاق منذ حين قصير من نوم مريح . فهو لم ينشط كل النشاط بعد ، ولكنه بعيد عن الجمود والفتور ولا تكاد تتحدث إليه دقائق حتى يفتنك ويروعك فكأنك تتحدث إلى جنى . ولكنه جنى عذب الروح لذيد الحديث .

المهم أن هذا « الجنى » عذب الروح لذيد الحديث عندما وقف أمام محكمة الثورة أبى أن يكون ( شاهد ملك ) على أى من خصومه السياسيين بل إنه دافع عنهم أمام محكمة « عبد اللطيف البغدادى » .

وكان رجال يوم الأربعاء ٢٣ يوليو ١٩٥٢ ، قد أعلنوا أن الانتخابات العامة سوف تجرى في فبراير ١٩٥٣ ، أى بعد ستة أشهر من ٢٣ يوليو ولكن قبل أن يجل موعد الانتخابات العامة، وقبل أن يطالبهم الشعب بتنفيذ الوعد ، صدر قرار بحل الأحزاب وبإلغاء دستور ١٩٢٣ ، وصدر إعلان دستورى مؤقت . . . وفي سبتمبر سنة ١٩٥٣ أعلن الصاع « صلاح سالم » عن وجود مؤامرة سياسية من بعض السياسيين ضد النظام . وأعلن أن مجلس الثورة قد قرر تشكيل محكمة من « عبد اللطيف البغدادى » رئيساً وعضوية « حسن إبراهيم وأنور السادات » وجرى حركة اعتقالات واسعة ، وجرى محاكمات لعدد من السياسيين القدامى بتهمة إفساد الحياة

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