

The Reformist and Intellectual Formation of Muhammad Abdu: A Critical/ Historical View

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Received 12 Jan 2025
Revised 17 Oct. 2025
Accepted 19 Nov. 2025

Published 1 Jan. 2026

Cited as:
Amar Elhossary, *The Reformist and Intellectual Formation of Muhammad Abdu: A Critical/ Historical View*, J. Ott. Stu. Tur. Wor. Res. Vol. 1, No. 1 (2026) PP 21-42. DOI: 10.18576/jostwr/010102

Abstract: This research aims to study "The Historical / Critical Vision in the Intellectual and Reformist Formation of Muhammad Abdu". This subject belongs to the field of research in intellectual history. It answers this major question: Is Muhammad Abdu an intellectual scholar of Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and does he belong to his reformist school, or is there another school to which he belongs? The research examines two main issues, one of them is: "the intellectual formation of Muhammad Abdu", and it includes the early upbringing of Muhammad Abdu and the relationship of his upbringing to the reformist school of Al-Tahtawi. The other is "The Reform issues", and it includes the topics that Muhammad Abdu dealt with versus the topics of Al-Afghani and Al-Tahtawi to investigate whether the issues handled by Muhammad Abdu regarding Reform topics are close to the issues handled by Al-Afghani or those handled by Al-Tahtawi.

Keywords: Muhammad Abdu, Al-Tahtawi, Al-Afghani, Al-Azhar, reform, renewal.

Muhammed Abduh'un Reformcu ve Entelektüel Oluşumuna Eleştirel/Tarihsel Bir Bakış

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Özet: Bu araştırma Muhammed Abduh'un fikri ve reformist oluşumunun tarihsel ve eleştirel yaklaşımlarını incelemektedir. Bu konu entelektüel tarih araştırma alanına aittir. Araştırmamız şu ana sorulara cevap veriyor: Muhammed Abduh, Cemaleddin Afgani'nin fikir öğrencisi miydi? Muhammed Abduh, Cemaleddin Afgani'nin reformist ekolüne mensup muydu yada başka bir ekolü mü benimsemiştiydi? Araştırmamızda Muhammed Abduh'un fikri oluşumu ve erken çocukluk dönemiyle beraber, onun yetiştirilme tarzını ve El-Tahtavi' nin reformist ekolü ile ilişkisini ana konu olarak inceledik. Daha sonra araştırmamız, Muhammed Abduh'un reform olarak ele aldığı meselelerin El-Tahtavi ekolüne mi yoksa Afgani ekolüne mi yakın olduğunu görmek için bu meseleleri daha derinden açıklamaya giriyor. Çalışmamızı bazı metinlerinde betimleyici, bazı metinlerinde tanımlayıcı, analitik tarihsel ve bazı metinlerinde de yapısökümcü yöntemle oluşturduk. Araştırmamızın en önemli sonuçlarından biri: Muhammed Abduh ve Afgani arasındaki güçlü ilişkiye rağmen Muhammed Abduh'un entelektüel ve reformel olarak El-Tahtavi hareketine ait olduğudur. İkinci olarak da Afgani'nin reform yolundaki sert ve asiliğinin Muhammed Abduh'un eğitimiyle çelişmesi önemli sonuçlarındandır. Aslında tarihsel olarak çok da uzun sürmeyen ortalama sekiz yıllık bir ilişkileri olmuştu. Muhammed Abduh Cemaleddin Afgani ile ilişkisini kestikten sonra onun siyasal reformuyla ilgilenmeyip kendisini dini ve sosyal reformlara adanmıştır

Anahtar: Muhammed Abdu, Tahtavi, Afgani, Ezher, reform, yenilenme.

The Cognitive and Intellectual Formation of Muhammad Abdu:

Sheikh Muhammad Abdu was intellectually attributed to Sayyid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and almost all contemporary researchers attribute Sheikh Muhammad Abdu as a student of al-Afghani in their writings and research, provided that this opinion is associated with something from the sole formation of Muhammad Abdu's thought as if al-Afghani had not come to Egypt, Muhammad Abdu would not have had thought and would not have formed a reformist thought with him. This opinion forced me to examine the formation of Muhammad Abdu to know the truth of his apprenticeship to Al-Afghani and to which school of thought he belongs, and of which reformists thought his theories and opinions are composed. Sheikh Muhammad Abdu was a friend of Ali, the son of Sheikh Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi. The Kuwaiti researcher Aqil Youssef Eidan says: Muhammad Abdu and Rifa'a al-Tahtawi had an intimate relationship based on knowledge and academics- as Abdu

himself says- took Rifaah as his guide, his house a refuge, and his son Ali as a friend.¹

In my opinion, this intimate relationship between Abdu and the Al-Tahtawi family was not the main reason for the formation of the thought of Muhammad Abdu. There is an important link that contributed to the transfer of the fundamental thoughts of Al-Tahtawi to Muhammad Abdu. This link was Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel Al-Maliki, one of the most important Sheikhs of Imam Muhammad Abdu before he met Jamal el-Din Al-Afghani. Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel was one of Egypt's pioneers in the sciences of cognitive science and philosophy, and he was worked in the Diwan al-Jihadiyah, to edit what was printed under its name, so he met Obaid Bey al-Tahtawi². Obaid Bey was one of the geniuses of the School of Al-Alsun and he was the Head of the Translation Department in it, and one of the closest students to Rifa'a al-Tahtawi.³

Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel's closeness to the work circles of Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi's students led to the expansion of his culture and he began looking forward to studying the unusual sciences in Al-Azhar. So, he became interested in philosophy and studied it with Sheikh Muhammad Akram. He began reading books of literature, language, and other sciences that were not the subject of consideration and interest in Al-Azhar. And soon he became famous in Al-Azhar's groups of students gathered around for knowledge and one of those who attended and followed him was Sheikh Muhammad Abdu, who was impressed by his logic and his view of the philosophical and logical sciences, so he needed a period during which he was able to absorb the ideas of al-Tahtawi on reform and renaissance.⁴

Sheikh Hassan Al-Tawil was the oral psychological circle through which the ideas of Al-Tahtawi were transmitted to Sheikh Muhammad Abdu. Also, Al Taweel had a great role in Abdu's interpretation of Sufism and this role was like Sheikh Darwish's⁵ role. Although his family followed Sufism as a doctrine, he adopted the doctrine of Ibn Taymiyyah in the issue of seeking help through graves and healing with the aid of the dead. This doctrine was proposed by Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel, and he accused Al-Azhar scholars of being far from the straight path, and of spreading heresies among them. He denied them their deviation and preoccupation with heresies, so these opinions opened the door to his hostility with many scholars of Al-Azhar.⁶

This psychology was able to give Muhammad Abduh the courage to confront traditions and illuminated in his mind an unknown aspect of Al-Azhar, which is the issue of distance

¹ Aqeel Yusuf Eidan: Muhammad Abdu, son of the first astonishment of the modern Arab mind, Al-Qabas Kuwaiti newspaper, May 27, 2006

² Ahmed Taymur: *Eminent People of the Fourteenth Century*, Al-Risala Magazine, Issue 56, 7/30/1934, p. 2

³ Jack Tajir: *Translation Movement in Egypt During the 19th Century*, Publications of the al-Ma'arif, Cairo, p. 101, 1945

⁴ Ahmed Taymur: *Op. Cit*, P3

⁵ Muhammad Abdu had an important sheikh at the beginning of his academic life who was called Sheikh Darwish Khedr, and he got to know him at the stage of his escape from seeking knowledge he had a role in directing Abdu to Intellectual Sufism and to knowledge, logic, rejecting superstitions and religion that is based on deviant Sufism. Taher Al-Tanahi: *Memoirs of Imam Muhammad Abduh*, Publications of the Al-Hilal, Cairo, 1970, pp. 30-31

⁶ Taher Al-Tanahi: *Memoirs of Imam Muhammad Abduh*, Publications of the Al-Hilal, Cairo, 1970, p. 35

from superstitions. And he got independent with a different rational vision.

Muhammad Abdu has worked to create a "new people" that is internally changing and heterogeneous with the old society, creating a society with permanent results, stronger and more fertile than sudden or temporary results.^{7 8}

Muhammad Abdu's academic life began dramatically, as he narrated himself. His father sent him to the Kottab to receive his first lessons at the hands of the sheikhs of his village, but he rebelled against seeking knowledge. When he reached the age of fifteen, his father asked him again to return to knowledge-seeking, so he sent him to the Ahmadi Mosque in Tanta to study language sciences and jurisprudence. But he did not show interest in the syllabus on the one hand and the study systems on the other hand, so he decided to leave education and turn to agriculture, but his father's insistence and endurance forced Abdu to escape to his uncles' village. There he stayed with his father's uncle Darwish El Khedr who had the greatest impact in changing his life as he was a Sufi intellectual person greatly affected by Sinosiyya that pleas for returning to Islam purifying it from any heresies and superstitions.⁹

Sheikh Darwish Khader was able to provide Muhammad Abdu with confidence in education after he simplified some difficult texts and removed some of the hieroglyph's explanations bringing knowledge closer to his mind. This was an important stage in his formation. After that, Muhammad Abdu went to Al-Azhar to complete his education, and when he returned monthly to Sheikh Darwish, he asked him: What did you study in the field of logic? And what did you study in arithmetic? What did you find in engineering? And Muhammad Abdu used to reply that he studied these sciences with Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel outside the walls of Al-Azhar. His meeting with Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel was the second component for him after he met with Sheikh Darwish.¹⁰

Muhammad Abdu's meetings with Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel continued between 1865 to 1871 in which he studied the science of logic at his hands, until Jamal al-Din al-Afghani came to Egypt. Then, he met with Muhammad Abdu who was in his twenties. Abdu absorbed from him some philosophical sciences. So, the influence of Al-Afghani appeared in Muhammad Abdu, and this was his third formation.¹¹

⁷ Mohamed El Sorboni: *The Rise of Egyptian National Spirit*, Publications of the Supreme Council of Culture, Cairo, 2006, p. 46

⁸ Lord Cromer says about him: "He knew the necessity of European assistance in the work of reform in Egypt, but he did not belong to the same class of Egyptian acting as foreigners who were seen as a poor copy of the original." Abdu was important as he is: the founder of a school of thought in Egypt very similar to that developed by Syed Ahmed Khan in India. Maher Hassan Fahmy: *Qasim Amin*, Publications of the Egyptian Foundation, Cairo, 1963, p. 25

⁹ Muhammad Rashid Reda: *The History of Professor Imam*, Publications of the al-Manār, Cairo, 1931, Vol. 1, p 26. Al-Tanahi mentioned the details of all this in his book *Muhammed Abduh's Memoirs*, p. 30 and beyond.

¹⁰ Ahmed Taymur: *OP. Cit*, p. 3. Sheikh Al-Taweel had a great role in directing Muhammad Abdu to teach French and read books that were translated from French. It was during this period that French books spread in Egypt thanks to the efforts of Al-Tahtawi, and the efforts of the school he established. Rather, this period was called the Second French Campaign. Philippe Rainier: *Saint-Simonie in Egypt*. Publications of the National Center for Translation, Cairo, 2010, p. 10

¹¹ Muhammad Rashid Reda: *Op. Cit.*, p. 27

Muhammad Abdu agreed with some of the students to read Al-Azhar books on logic and theology. He did not read such books in Al-Azhar, so the students multiplied around him, which aroused the ire of the senior sheikhs of Al-Azhar against him, the first of which was Sheikh Muhammad Alish¹², who described him as wanting to enter the doctrine of the Mu'tazila and the theologians in Al-Azhar. Discussions took place between them to the point of profanity and transgression, and the morals of Muhammad Abdu began to be affected after he met with Al-Afghani. The ethics of the Mu'tazila began to appear in him in terms of defaming Muslim scholars and slandering their smartest people.¹³

From the foregoing, it is evident that the initial stage of formation and his association with Sheikh Darwish showed Ali Muhammad Abdu's love of science and knowledge and the tendency to renounce superstitions and try to separate religion from legacies and customs.

While in the second formation stage, in which he accompanied Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel, a theory of reform began to form within his mind. But this theory does not go beyond the field of educational work, the reform of Al-Azhar Al-Sharif, the introduction of modern sciences, and the necessity of absorbing all sciences. In this stage, he inherited courage and told the truth without fear. These can be considered moral legacies transmitted from Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel to Sheikh Muhammad Abdu.

Muhammad Abdu's ideas changed radically in the third formation stage after contacting Al-Afghani, and his reformist vision, whether in the religious, social, or political field, did not fully relate to Islamic logic, but rather was connected to rational logic and what supports it from religion, so reform became rational for him supported by religion and not religious supported by the mind.

The pivotal link in this transformation was Muhammad Abdu's joining the Masonic lodges under the guidance of the Afghani. It is not to be considered an accusation that, but rather a fact of which he admitted himself: What longed me to work the field denoting freedom is the big title: freedom, equality, brotherhood. These are principles that end to the benefit of the person seeking to demolish the edifices of injustice.¹⁴

Al-Afghani was the organizer of the Scottish lodge, and the English Freemasons were keen to include the activist scholars and benefit from them, and to transform their ideas to serve their goals, and Al-Afghani remained affiliated with them for a period until he left them.¹⁵

But Al-Afghani's leaving such a group is not a severance of the connection with the Freemasons, but rather he resorted to establishing a national forum he called the East Forum to which he was the ultimate head and made Sheikh Muhammad Abdu its most important member. Muhammad Abdu was at this time in his early thirties and stated later – after his

¹² Sheikh Alish was one of the sheikhs of Hasan al-Taweel al-Maliki, Sheikh Muhammad Abdu

¹³ And if he retracts from this method and criticizes al-Afghani and reproaches him for this method at the end of his life, Rashid Rida: *Op.Cit*, p. 425

¹⁴ Sayid Hadi, *Thoughts of Al-Afghani*, Publications of the al-Shurūq, Cairo, 2002, p. 40

¹⁵ Louis Sheikho: *The Guarded Secret*, Publications of the al-Rāshid, Beirut, 1909, p. 42

separation from these forums - that the reason for joining them was for a political and social purpose.¹⁶

The period in which Muhammad Abdu joined the Masonic lodges witnessed reformist opinions and intellectual treatises, which can never be considered from Islamic sources. Rather, the period between 1872 to 1879, which is the period of Muhammad Abdu's presence in the Masonic lodges, witnessed that it was the period of shocking intellectual theses. Muhammad Abdu's activity in these forums stopped during his exile to Beirut and Paris and after his return to Egypt after the issuance of the decision to pardon him and his separation from the Afghani, as he told student Rashid Reda that after his return from exile, the forum tried to contact him, and they gave him a medal, but he did not accept it. He left them and left their forums and did not return to them.¹⁷

Examining the opinions of Muhammad Abdu before joining Freemasonry and before getting to know Al-Afghani, he was calling for a change in the methods of interpretation of the Holy Qur'an in Al-Azhar. He was calling for investigating modern sciences, and after getting to know Al-Afghani and joining Freemasonry, we find that he changed his reformist style, and we find him moving from criticizing Al-Azhar curricula and trying to renew them to attacking educational institutions and their representatives.

He describes those in charge of the College of Sciences as being ignorant of religion and of the Arabic language and describes Al-Azhar as a stable, a maristan, and a ruined temple.¹⁸

The reformist coup witnessed by the third phase of Muhammad Abdu's life shows the amount of inconsistency and intellectual oscillation, that never appeared in the Islamic world before Muhammad Abdu by an Islamic thinker. Freemasonry's effect appeared evidently in his reform mission. For example, the term "brotherhood" aims to eliminate religious differences so that all people can be unified as a single nation. Muhammad Abdu made a great effort on this issue and considered it a pillar of his reform mission at this stage. When he went to Beirut, he established an association that aimed at bringing the three religions closer together: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Mirza Baqir, Pir Zada, Aref Abi Turab, Jamal Bek, the son of the Beirut judge, Reverend Ishaq Taili, and Shimon Mobal, co-founded it. The president of this association was Muhammad Abdu and Deputy Mirza Baqir was a Shiite Iranian who converted to Christianity and called himself John to prove academically that there is no difference between religions.¹⁹

Muhammad Abdu's writings increased in the newspapers and specifically on the issue of rapprochement and its importance, which is the best aspect of unity in the homeland, and

¹⁶ Rashid Reda: *Al-Manar Magazine*, Publications of the al-Manār, Cairo, Vol. 8, pp. 4002-4031

¹⁷ Al-Tanahi, *Op. Cit.*, P. 43

¹⁸ Rashid Reda: *The History of Professor Imam, Op. Cit.* Vol. 1, P. 495

¹⁹ Rashid Reda: *ibi.d.*, Pp. 819-820

that this rapprochement is important to remove the dispute between different sections of people in the homeland.²⁰ He wrote a letter to Rev. Isaac Tyler, saying: Rejoice that the time is near when the light of gratitude will shine, so that the two faiths, Christianity and Islam, will shake hands and embrace intimacy so that the swords of war that have always troubled the souls of the two faiths will subside.²¹ At the same time, he wrote about Judaism, saying: I see the Torah and the Qur'an as compatible books, and authenticated pages, taught by people of both religions and revered by the masters of the two religions so that God's light is perfected in his land and the truth appears over religion overall.²² The English government in Egypt has endorsed these calls, supported them, endorsed this association, and served its objectives because this call has a major role in diminishing the status of jihad and nullifying the resistance to occupation.²³

During that period, and during the peak of the relationship between Al-Afghani and Muhammad Abdu, and in Paris, Qasim Amin, who was on a scholarship to study law at the University of Montpellier, joined the school of Muhammad Abdu and became close to him. This had a great role in the formation of Qasim Amin and the creation of reform ideas in his mind and ended with the publication of the book *The Liberation of Woman*, a book that caused a great stir that called for the renunciation of the veil and the call for women to go to the workplace and the study of all sciences and travels in achieving this goal. He came out with the result that the dominant veil is not from Islam, and it talked about polygamy and divorce and ended with setting severe limits and restrictions on men and stating that isolation between men and women was not from the basis of Islamic law, and the book came out with these ideas and was followed by an English translation by order of the English government and took over its publication in India and its affiliated colonies.

This book has aroused the interest of thinkers since it was published until now, so a group of followers of the reformist school themselves, such as Muhammad Farid, responded to it by writing a lengthy article entitled "Final Discourse in Women and Veil" and another article entitled "The Muslim Woman". But the amazing thing is what Egyptian thinker Muhammad Emara concluded after examining the works of Muhammad Abdu and after investigating, checking, and comparing the book, its style, and terms, and analyzing them. He stated that "In my opinion, the book is a mutual work between Muhammad Abdu and Qasim Amin and there are several chapters written by Muhammad Abdu, and several chapters written by Qasim Amin and other chapters written by Qasim Amin and formulated by Muhammad Abdu in the final formulation, so the book came out in one style, and it is closer to the style of Muhammad Abdu than to the style of Qasim Amin."²⁴

It also appears that the most important feature of the third formative stage in the life of

²⁰ Rashid Reda: *ibid.*, P. 194

²¹ Mohamed Emara: *Complete Works of Muhammad Abdu*, Publications of the al-Shurūq, Cairo, 2008, Vol. 2, pp 363- 364

²² Mohamed Emara. *ibid.*, P. 364

²³ Fahd E Rumi: *The origins of interpretation*, Publications of the al-Tawbah, Riyadh, P. 139

²⁴ Mohamed Emara: *Complete Works of Muhammad Abdu*, Op. Cit. Vol. 1, P. 252

Muhammad Abdu is that he believed in revolutionary work in the field of politics and was called to it to confront tyranny as Al-Afghani called it. He had political participation that ended with his dismissal from his work and his residence was determined. When the Arab revolution took place, Muhammad Abdu participated in it impulsively with his theory of political reform that he adopted from Al-Afghani, and as a result, he was exiled for three years outside the country²⁵, to start a new phase and a new relationship with Al-Afghani. Muhammad Abdu tried to guide Al-Afghani to a better method of political action and the direction of educational reform, but Al-Afghani rejected him and described him as a discouragement, so the relationship between them faded until it ended and was completely cut off, to the point that no communication or correspondence occurred between them. When Al-Afghani died in 1897, that is, after relations were cut off between them for about 17 years, Muhammad Abdu did not mourn him, and this is an indication of the extent of the estrangement that occurred between them.²⁶

Then, another stage of Muhammad Abdu's reformist stages began, far from al-Afghani and his reformist approach, but very close to al-Tahtawi's thought and his reformist vision. So, he went and put his first new steps in religious reform to establish a new relationship between reason and Islam. He went on to establish the fact that Islam has honored reason and that the Qur'an raised its status and put it in its right place so that reform ends with it along with the distinction between right and wrong, and harmful and beneficial²⁷. He further established for the first time in modern history that Islam and Faith depend on rational evidence, and there is no need for Islam to amaze us with extraordinary habits or with that which blinds the eyes.²⁸

This was the rule upon which his students, such as Sheikh Al-Jawhary, Muhammad Farid Wagdi, and Muhammad Hussein Haikal, set out after him. He criticized the old interpretations, describing them as one of the paths of the arts, such as grammar, jurisprudence, and others as this is not called an interpretation, and adopted a method called social interpretation that is far from the terms of rhetoric, grammar, and morphology.²⁹

This reformist vision played a major role in opening the door to jurisprudence called "modern jurisprudence." A class of his students appeared that had sharp tendencies toward reform, and this class's head was Ali Abdel Razek, Muhammad Farid Wajdi, Sheikh Al-Gohary, Heikal, and Al-Maraghi.

Principles of thinking according to Muhammad Abduh and Al-Tahtawi:

²⁵ A branch of Muhammad Abdu's reformist vision in the political field is that he called for the return of the Egyptian nation and its reign while he was at the peak of Masonic work and during his joining these forums. He was the one who drafted the program of the Egyptian National Party, and the one who drafted Article V of its regulations as a non-religious political party that included all people in Egypt and speaks its language. Muhammad Emara: *The Complete Works of Muhammad Abdu*, Op. Cit., Vol. 1, p. 107

²⁶ Mohamed Rashid Reda: *The History of Professor Imam*, OP.Cit, Vol. 1, P. 417

²⁷ Muhammad Abdu: *The Message for Monotheism*, Publications of the al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, Beirut, P.19

²⁸ Muhammad Abdu: *Islam and Christianity*, Publications of the al-ḥadāthah, Cairo, 1988, pp 45- 55

²⁹ Heba Bashir: *Muhammad Abdu's Discipline in Interpreting Quran*, Al-Ahram Newspaper, Issue 46819, Thursday 12/2/2015

The mechanism of thinking played a major social and political role after Muhammad Ali adopted the idea of Egyptian modernization following the European Renaissance. Reason overwhelmed this mechanism, Thus, the Mu'tazila's way of thinking, which relied on reason, was called upon to establish beliefs, understanding, and other systems of life. Al Mu'tazila preferred reason over-borrowing and they believed in thinking before hearing rejecting the Hadiths that the mind does not approve of according to their description, no matter how true they are. They stated that God must be known by reason, even if there is no law to prove that. If the text contradicts the mind, they give priority to the mind. The mind is an origin and the text is a branch of it, and therefore the branch does not precede the text logically.

Also, they made the rule of mental improvement and ugliness³⁰ the basis of their doctrine and the most important of their principles, and that what is halal and what is forbidden must be known by reason and not by the Shari'a. This is basically because reason is the commander and leader and the factor governing texts as opposed to other schools that viewed reason as a means for understanding texts not the governing factor over it and this is the doctrine of the Ash'aris.³¹

With the spread of the ideas of the French campaign (freedom, fraternity, and equality), they were immediately adopted by the modern reformist school because of the rational approval of these principles, and Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi was at the head of those who adopted these ideas. When Masonic societies were established in the East and proclaimed the slogan (Freedom, Brotherhood and Equality), which Al-Tahtawi paved for in the hearts of his students, they joined these societies, and the first Egyptian intellectual to join them was Muhammad Abdu and the one who convinced him of that was the Afghani who became president of the East Forum, and Muhammad Abdu became a member of the same forum³². Ahmed Amin quoted in his book *Leaders of Reform* Jamal al-Din His saying: "The first thing that excited me was working at the fingertips of freedom under the great title (freedom - equality - fraternity) and its purpose is the benefit to man."³³

The clear impact left by the Al-Tahtawi School on Egyptian society was the real motive for studying the curricula of this school, and for their discussion, to try to find out the intellectual roots of these effects on the one hand, and on the other hand, to know the relationship between the thought of Al-Tahtawi and the thought of Muhammad Abduh, and how the reformist idea was transmitted from him to Abdu.

The first effects of this school on society appeared in the first place in the aspects of social thought at the hands of Rifaa Al-Tahtawi, who introduced in the Islamic community some

³⁰ Rifa'a al-Tahtawi is considered the first to establish this rule in the modern current.

³¹ Ibrahim Madkour: *On Islamic Philosophy*, Publications of the al-Ma'arif, Cairo, 1947, Vol. 2, p. 37, Gold Tasheer: *Creed and Sharia*, Publications of the al-Markaz al-Qawmī lil-Tarjamah, Cairo, 2013, p. 112.

³² Mohamed Mohamed Hussein, *Op. Cit.*, p. 339

³³ Ahmed Amin: *Leaders of Reform*, Publications of the Hindāwī, Cairo, 2010, p. 73

terms that left a great impact on the minds of the masses, including parliament, citizenship, and women. As a result of "Parliament", minds were eager for a constitution and laws, and this was the first beginning of the competition of man-made laws with Islamic legislation. As a result of the term "citizenship"³⁴ people tended to exalt the value of the nation-state, and this resulted in the first calls for abandoning the Ottoman Empire and questioning its legitimacy. Then, calls for elevating the values of ancient Pharaonic history, which was praised mainly and centrally by Al-Tahtawi in his writings began to increase. As for "woman", Al-Tahtawi was the first to draw attention to women's drifting from the norm and the scope of customs, most of which were derived from Islamic law and started to draw focus to the virtues of French women and defined amply the relationship between a woman and a man and her efforts in the French society. He also introduced a new term which he called "intimacy" and defined it as the natural relationship between a woman and a man that is foreign to her. He further provided examples that support his thought by talking about the issue of the social customs of the French family in their food, clothing, drink, and methods of celebration by which he demonstrated that French society is a society in which there is a lot of social mingling of men with women and that despite this fact, it is still a developed society with no depravity. He illustrated reasons for that by what he called the issue of "familiarity" between men and women and their participation together in public life. This was reflected in Muhammad Abdu's thoughts and writings on women, and it was more evident in the writings of his student Qasim Amin, who wrote the book "The Liberation of Women", which Muhammed Abdu has reviewed and prefaced.

This agreement in the intellectual premises and the unity of the issues makes the researcher believe that there is a psychological and scientific bond between Al-Tahtawi and Muhammad Abdu more than the bond that everyone recognizes between Muhammad Abdu and Al-Afghani. If we examine the issue of renewing religious thought, which directly affected the reinterpretation of the Holy Qur'an and the denial of miracles, which prompted them to deny the Prophet's Sunnah at times or to interpret it in an interpretation contrary to what the Muslims agreed upon, we find that Muhammad Abdu laid the first seed for the rational interpretation of the Qur'an. Al-Azhar was at that time one of the staunchest enemies of rational interpretations of the Qur'an, and the first attempt to adopt these interpretations in Al-Azhar was the attempt of Al-Tahtawi, who persuaded Khedive Saeed to accomplish the first project to revive the Arab-Islamic heritage, print it, and verify it. At the head of these books was *The Interpretation of the Quran* by Fakhr Al Razi.³⁵ Another indication that Muhammad Abdu's view on the issue of renewing the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an is taken from al-Tahtawi, as there is no indication in al-Afghani's writings indicating that he had a new proposition in dealing with the Qur'an and its interpretation.

³⁴ The first reflection on the ground of this idea was in the thirties of the nineteenth century. Mohsen Abdulaziz: "Ibrahim Pasha Napoleon of the East" *Al-Ahram Newspaper*, 23/2/2018, Issue 47926

³⁵ Muhammad Emara: *Rifa'a, Op. Cit.*, p. 97

We can say: If Al-Tahtawi's idea was not clear and incomplete on the issue of rational interpretations of the Qur'an, then his demand to print Mu'tazila interpretations, which depend primarily on rational interpretations, led Muhammad Abdu to criticize the traditional interpretations widespread in Al-Azhar in his era, describing them as dry and as drifting people away from the religion and failed to help non-Muslims with Islam.³⁶ From this standpoint, he went to re-interpret the Holy Qur'an and called for diligence in this matter, specifically asking for diligence in the issues of miracles mentioned in the Holy Qur'an and trying to interpret them in a manner acceptable to the non-Muslim mind. He began his interpretations to verses such as "Did We not soothe for you, [O Muhammad], your breast?" and "Seest thou not how thy Lord dealt with the Companions of the Elephant? and the verse" The Hour has come near, and the moon has split [in two]". The most brilliant students interpreted the Holy Qur'an in the same way as Muhammad Abdu. Sheikh Tantawi Juhar, the author of *Tafsir Al Jawahir*, was the first to produce a complete interpretation adopting the thought of Muhammad Abdu. Thus, we can say that there is some sort of intertextuality between the ideas of Al-Tahtawi and the ideas of Muhammad Abdu.

These interpretations have been described as containing everything except the interpretation itself, and they are described as a developed version of the Mu'tazila interpretations, led by Al-Fakhr Al-Razi, the author of the book *Al-Tafsir Al-Kabir* or *Keys to the Unseen*.³⁷ One of the modern forms of interpretation was what came in Tantawi's interpretation of the verse, "On a Day when their tongues, their hands, and their feet will bear witness against them as to what they used to do." He said this verse is not to be interpreted according to its apparent meaning, but rather it contains the permissibility of inference by footprints and fingerprints, and that it reflects the discovery of modern fingerprinting sciences³⁸. Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi was the first to introduce the idea of denying religious miracles as he praised foreigners by stating: "They consider mental improvement and ugliness and deny the paranormal, and that religions originally came to guide people to do good and cultivation of the country, and the goals of literature and science agree in indicating man to do good and from this point, they consider sciences the replacement of religions."³⁹

Regarding the interpretation of "The Hour has come near, and the moon has split [in two]", he contradicted the consensus of the commentators that this split of the moon was a miracle that the Messenger, peace be upon him to Quraysh. He further stated that the moon split is a figurative image of the emergence of Al Haq "the Right". Regarding the verse "And We inspired to Moses when his people implored him for water, "Strike with your staff the stone," and there gushed forth from it twelve springs", the author of *Jawahir* stated that the

³⁶ Heba Bashir: *Muhammad Abdu's Discipline in Interpreting Quran*, Al-Ahram Newspaper, Issue 46819, Thursday 12/2/2015

³⁷ Mohamed Hussein Al Zahabi: *Tafsir and Interpreters*, Publications of the Wehbe Library, Cairo, 2000, Vol. 2, p. 183

³⁸ Tantawi Jawhar: *Tafsir El Jawaher*, Publications of the al-Bābī, Cairo, 1932, Vol. 3, p. 99

³⁹ Al-Tahtawi Rifa'a: *Takhlees Al-Ibriez*, Publications of the Hindāwī, Cairo, 2012. p. 89

stone is the name of a place that God commanded Moses to go to, leaning on a stick, and there he will find springs and rivers.”⁴⁰ These opinions were also reflected in the books of the Sunnah of the Prophet, so the disciples of Muhammad Abdu went to deny all the Hadiths that contradict their minds, even if they were in the books adopted by the Sunni schools, such as Bukhari, Muslim, Musnad Abi Dawood, An-Nasa'i, Ibn Majah, Muwatta Malik, Musnad Ahmad, and others.⁴¹ Their argument for that was that these Hadiths might be a reason to alienate Muslims as well as non-Muslims, and some of them went further to deny the authenticity of the Sunnah altogether.⁴²

When examining attempts to change the norms and customs of society, we find that changing women and everything related to them in terms of marriage, divorce, work, clothes, or their contact with men for Muhammad Abdu was influenced by Al-Tahtawi. It is more accurate to state that Al-Tahtawi was the first to speak on this issue while Al-Afghani did not. Al-Tahtawi quoted in his book *Takhlees Al-Abriz* a version of French social life, said:

They brought to us a few French servants, whose language we do not know, and about a hundred chairs to sit on, and this country does not know how to sleep on the ground. They brought a long dinner table for breakfast, each table has a group of knives, forks, and spoons and each person has his plate of salt and pepper, no one eats from someone else's food and uses someone else's knife or fork, or drinks from someone else's cup.

Al-Tahtawi's elaboration was not a matter of entertainment, but he was exerting his efforts to explain the extent of the Western model's sophistication and the extent of rationality, as he then said, "This is cleaner and safer."⁴³

Just as he belongs to oppressed societies, Ibn Khaldun's truly stated that the oppressed always aspires to what is stronger than him, whether in governance, food, or clothing. When contemplating Muhammad Abdu's presentation of women's issues, we also find a clear contradiction between his ideas and those of Al-Tahtawi. Al Tahtawi was a carrier of the French civilization to the Muslim Arab countries, either in the form of a description or a translation. When he dealt with the issue of women, he would praise French women in a way that contradicts Oriental values, and he would firmly establish roots first, because the issue of revealing or concealing is not the criterion of chastity, but rather goes back to the origin of good education or meanness and getting used to loving one and not others, and not sharing in love. He says: And I have seen chastity overwhelms the hearts of women in Paris.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Muhammed Hussein Al-Dhahabi: *Op. Cit.*, p. 203

⁴¹ Muhammad Harb: *The Ottomans in History and Civilization*, Publications of the al-Qalam, Damascus, 1999, p. 321

⁴² Mustafa Al-Bey: *The Sunnah and Its Place in Legislation*, Publications of the al-Warrāq, Cairo, p.236

⁴³ Al-Tahtawi: *Takhlees Al-Abriz*, *Op. Cit.* p. 59

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 88

Al-Tahtawi was the first to speak about the issue of European dance but rather praised it in contrast to the oriental dance that is in Egypt. He stated that in Egypt, dancing is only the mirror to the animal lust but the dance he witnessed in France is a kind of sport and fine art, and he relied on history books to affirm his opinion that dancing is a sort of sport and what Al-Masoudi⁴⁵ said in his book *Pastures of Gold* that dancing is a kind of balancing the organs. He said:

Dancing in France does not smell of immorality, as in Egypt, but rather it is a kind of gentleness. Every person invites a woman to dance with her, and as he finishes, a second one does, and so on, whether he knows her or not. The women in Paris rejoice in the abundance of those who want to dance with her. Dance for them has principles and etiquette, including holding one hand, and with the other hand holding the upper part of the body or the waist, and this is not a defect for them. Al-Tahtawi counted that the relationship between men and women in France, in general, is one of sophistication and good morals, and he said: "The better the speech with women and the more praise, this is considered politeness."⁴⁶

With these steps, Al-Tahtawi is the one who opened the eyes of Muhammad Abdu to reconsider women's freedoms and roles, which went further to the extent of demanding equality in the issue of work, then moved to prevent polygamy in marriage in addition to the restriction of divorce, and the permissibility of mixing with foreigners until he reached the issue of the veil and its limits and definition.

Al-Tahtawi's writings, whether the book *Takhlees al-Abriz*, which he wrote in 1830 or the book *Al-Murshid al-Amin*, which was printed in 1872, inspired Muhammad Abdu to include women in the circle of civil rights.⁴⁷

So, the famous book written by Qasim Amin was published, and its title is *The Liberation of Woman*. Some contemporary critics concluded that this book, written by Qasim Amin, is one of the writings of Muhammad Abdu himself, and at the very least, it is at the behest and encouragement of Sheikh Muhammad Abdu.⁴⁸ Dr. Muhammad Emara reached this conclusion in investigating the works of Muhammad Abdu, stating that this book is a summary of a joint work between Muhammad Abdu and Qasim Amin. Dr. Amara says:

And after comparing the book and the discipline of Muhammad Abdu, it can be said that the professor (meaning Muhammad Abdu) wrote several chapters on his own, and there are chapters written by Qasim Amin and Muhammad Abdu penned them.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Al-Masoudi is among the Mu'tazila, and despite that, he did not mention this text that he mentioned, but in the fourth volume of his book, we find that the Caliph Al-Mu'tamid asked one of his associates to describe to him the dance and the praiseworthy quality of the dancer.

⁴⁶ Al-Tahtawi: *Qala'ed El Mafakhir in Ghareeb Al Awae'l and Awakhir*, Egypt Edition, 1934, p. 64

⁴⁷ In this book, Al-Tahtawi dealt with topics about women, their rights, their teachings, their mental abilities, their relationship to knowledge and science, their place in Islamic law, and Islam's position on their relationship to knowledge and science, and all of this was the starting point through which Muhammad Abdu moved

⁴⁸ Muhammad Khamis: *Women's Movements*, Publications of the al-Anṣār, Riyadh, 2020, p. 14

⁴⁹ Muhammad Emara: *The Complete Works of Imam Muhammad Abdu*, Op. Cit, p. 252

Muhammad Emara was not the only one who endorsed the idea that the women's liberation books originally belonged to Qasim Amin, but the Sheikh of Islam in the Ottoman Empire, Mustafa Sabri, preceded him in this claim.

Muhammad Abdu was the first to introduce Freemasonry in Al-Azhar Al-Sharif, and he was the one who inspired his student, Qasim Amin, to write a book about women, in which he ended with the permissibility of women's uncovering and promoted it."⁵⁰

Muhammad Abdu's political views on the influence of al-Tahtawi and al-Afghani:

Rifaa al-Tahtawi is considered the first to introduce the idea of separation between religion and politics in the Islamic world through his writings and translations. This idea was polished in his mind after examining the French Constitution, which he translated into Arabic, as well as his translation of the French Civil Laws. Reviewing laws was not the only source for his knowledge of French secularism, but his contemporaneity with the famous French Revolution of 1830 against King Charles X.⁵¹

Al-Tahtawi was not a translator of the French constitution or laws in the literal sense, but he overstepped this task. Dr. Muhammad Emara says:

The fact that Al-Tahtawi's actions were to praise French secularism and monitor their tolerance resulting from their secularism is clear to Al-Tahtawi.⁵²

Putting focal points on the issue of reforming women's issues. Al-Tahtawi: The Faithful Guide for Girls and Boys, presented by Mona Abu Al-Yazid, Dar Al-Kitab Al-Masry, Cairo, 2012

Al-Tahtawi says:

The rulers and subjects obey the provisions of this law by which their country has lived, and their knowledge has increased and their money has increased, so their hearts are relieved, and justice is the foundation of the kingdom.⁵³

If nationalism and talking about it were part of political thought, then the intellectual material presented by Al-Tahtawi is considered the first seed that Muhammad Abdu completed after him. The first result of Al-Tahtawi's writings was the emergence of Muhammad Abdu's nationalist call, through which he tried to separate Egyptian society from neighboring Islamic societies. Al-Tahtawi's call for "Ancient Egyptian Nationalism" inspired Muhammad Abdu, as he said:

The best unity is the homeland, to avoid disagreement and strife in it.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Ibid: p. 134

⁵¹ Al-Tahtawi: *Takhlees Al-Abriz*, OP.Cit, p. 231

⁵² Muhammad Emara: *The Complete Works of Al-Tahtawi*, Publications of the Maktabat al-usrah, Cairo, 2010, p. 254

⁵³ Al-Tahtawi: *Takhlees Al-Abriz*, Op. Cit. p. 233

⁵⁴ Al-Tahtawi was the first Muslim intellectual to insult the Ottoman Empire and exalt the value of the nation-state.

By the word "homeland", Muhammad Abdu meant the place where people live under the authority of a ruler, laws, and legislation that this ruler controls in agreement with his people, regardless of what necessitates discrimination, whether this discrimination stems from religion or anything else. Muhammad Abdu was the first to formulate a party on this principle. He called it the "National Party" and defined it as a religious political party, composed of all segments of the people with different beliefs, sects, and religions, and everyone who cares about Egypt and speaks its language.⁵⁵

Al-Tahtawi was the first to call for this national idea in its modern sense, although Al-Afghani called the Egyptian intellectual to explicit nationalism and called for "Pharaonic Nationalism" by saying:

You Egyptians grew up in slavery. The Shepherds, the Greeks and the Persians dominated you, then the Arabs, the Mamluks and the Turks, then the French ..., and all of them cut your skin and broke your bones⁵⁶, look at your glorious Pharoic history.

But what shows the difference between Al-Tahtawi's call and Al-Afghani's call, besides the implementation mechanism, there was also a call for nationalism within the framework of preserving the Islamic bond. We also note that the difference between the two calls can also be found in the subtraction. Al-Afghani had clear and explicit ideas and principles that were presented to the Egyptian intellectual, not as it was with Al-Tahtawi in terms of gestures and insinuations, and the tendency arose from here calling for a distinction between Arabs and Turks, and then questioning the issue of the caliphate among the Ottomans then questioned the issue of succession originally. In addition, Al-Afghani was calling for these ideas through violent revolutionary change and clashing with the rulers for the sake of implementation, while Al-Tahtawi's political call was flexible in the form of spreading ideas in an educational and learning form, which was evident in Muhammad Abdu's reformist philosophy, as he was inclined to flexible reform, not violent revolutionary reform.

Although Muhammad Abdu's life had permeated some stations in which he called for violent revolutionary political reform, especially during the Arab revolution, and that period in which he joined the Masonic lodges in Cairo, which was a prominent member of the Eastern Lodge founded by Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, it appears after investigation that the period between (1871-1884) was not enough for it to be a period that had a major role in the formation of Muhammad Abdu's political thought. While it can be stated that Al-Tahtawi's political approach is the closest to the formation of Muhammad Abdu if we believe in the words of Muhammad Abdu himself about Al-Afghani after Abdu started writing his memoirs. In these memoirs, he said that he learned some mathematical,

⁵⁵ Muhammad Emara: *The Complete Works of Muhammad Abdu*, Op. Cit. Vol. 2, p. 107, Blunt Alfred: *The Secret History*, Publications of the al-balag, Cairo, 1938, p. 442

⁵⁶ Ahmed Amin: *Leaders of Reform*, Publications of the Hindāwī, Cairo, 2010, pp. 78-79. Muhammad Rashid: *The Professor's History*, Op. Cit. Vol. 1, pp. 46-47

philosophical, and verbal sciences from him only, and this is an indication that he wants to disavow the absolute apprenticeship and did not desire that his reform idea be attributed to Al-Afghani.⁵⁷

New terms between Al-Tahtawi and Muhammad Abdu:

Al-Tahtawi says: Kingdoms were established to preserve the rights of the subjects, freedom, self-preservation, money, and honor, according to rules and established and respected principles, and the king entrusts the government to the policy of his subjects according to the laws.⁵⁸

We understand from this that Al-Tahtawi mortgaged the amount of progress and renaissance with the same amount of freedom granted, and he tended to interpret the concept of freedom in France as the same concept of justice in Islam, and that the French civilization is an advanced form of the principles and laws of Islam. With this new step, Al-Tahtawi is considered the founder of early liberal thought in the East.⁵⁹

Al-Tahtawi further commented on the slogans of the French Revolution and its mental approval in the chapter on freedom, and considered it a reason for the country's development.⁶⁰

Al-Tahtawi also introduced one of the most important slogans of the French Revolution into Islamic society, which is the term "equality." He stated at the beginning that he did not mean by equality the term calling for the removal of social and economic differences, rather said: "equality among citizens before the law and the implementation of judgments." In another context, he said that equality is benevolence, making equality equivalent to benevolence, just as making the freedom to justice, thus playing a progressive role in interpreting contemporary terminology, he continued, saying that equality, which is in the sense of benevolence, includes Muslims and non-Muslims from the people of the same country.⁶¹

Muhammad Abdu's articles related to patriotism, politics, and religion were based on the same premises from which Al-Tahtawi started. His project was a religious reform and the fight against tyranny and was also derived from the slogans that Al-Tahtawi dealt with. As for the titles of Muhammad Abdu's articles in that era, among them: "Power and Law ", Shoura and the Guardianship, Shoura and Law "... and so on. These were all intertwined with the ideas addressed by Al-Tahtawi in his writings on reform. When examining the term "citizenship and patriotism" for Muhammad Abdu, we find that he wrote an article on

⁵⁷ Al-Tanahi: *Op. Cit.* p32

⁵⁸ Al-Tahtawi: *Takhlees al-Abriz*, *Op. Cit.* p. 113

⁵⁹ Muhammad Emara: *Complete Works of Al-Tahtawi*, *Op. Cit.* Vol. 2, p. 469

⁶⁰ Al-Tahtawi: *Takhlees Al-Ibriz*, *Op. Cit.* p. 106

⁶¹ Muhammad Emara: *Rifa'a*, *OP.Cit.* p. 274

November 28, 1881, on “Political Life, the Homeland and Patriotism”, in which he stated that the homeland is the absolute home of a person, as it is the shelter and the settlement, and there is no homeland in a state of tyranny.⁶²

When examining the definition of citizenship and patriotism according to Al-Tahtawi, we will find that it is completely compatible with what Muhammad Abdu mentioned, as mentioned in the book *The Faithful Guide in the Education of Girls and Boys* where he stated: homeland is "the home of man."⁶³

Muhammad Abdu established the relationship between citizenship and freedom by saying, “There is no homeland without freedom” mainly because freedom means: the right to carry out a known duty. If there is no freedom, then there is no homeland due to the absence of political rights and duties. Duty and right are the slogan of homelands that are ransomed with money and bodies, and their love in the pure souls reaches the position of ecstasy. As for the housing in which the inhabitant has no right, and in which his soul and money are not secure, can be best defined as a shelter for the disabled. In the same context, Al-Tahtawi says: The son of the homeland who is rooted in it, or resorts to it, with which he settled and took it as a homeland, is best attributed to it.

In this way, he is called Egyptian, and this means that he enjoys the rights of his country and the greatest of these rights is the complete freedom for the citizen. The patriot is not characterized by the description of freedom unless he is obedient to the law of the homeland and dedicated to implementing it. His adherence to the origins of his country implicitly requires his homeland to guarantee him the enjoyment of civil rights, and the distinction of municipal benefits.

Regarding the relationship between the “homeland” and the “citizen,” Abdu says: The citizen is jealous of the homeland and defends it just as he defends his father, to whom he belongs, even if he is severely ill-mannered! Egyptian saying: “I am Egyptian” is one of the causes of his jealousy towards Egypt. In the homeland, among the causes of love, care, and jealousy are three things that are like borders: The first of them is housing, in which there are food, protection, family, and children. Second: It is the place of rights and duties that are the orbit of political life, and they are both physical and apparent. The third is that it is the position of the relationship by which a person is elevated, exalted, or descended. These three pillars represent, in the opinion of the Imam, the limits of "citizenship" and the meaning of "the homeland." It is his residence in which he eats well, drinks well, and sleeps in it safely, and it is his place that is attributed to him and he does not find shame in being attributed to it, and he is not afraid of expression, and he is now the sacred place of his rights and duties.⁶⁴ In the same context of explaining this relationship, Al-Tahtawi says:

⁶² Muhammad Abdu: Political life, the homeland, and patriotism, Al-Waqa'iyyah newspaper, 28/11/1881

⁶³ Al-Tahtawi: *The Faithful Guide*, Publications of the Egyptian Book House, Cairo, 1998, p. 65

⁶⁴ Asian affair, The concept of stylistics and its patterns. Centre for Asian and Chinese Studies; 2018. Available at: <https://www.arabiyya.com/articles/%D9%85%D9%81%D9%87%D9%88%D9%85> (Date Accessed: 05.03.2023).

The loyal patriot for the sake of love of the homeland sacrifices his homeland with all the benefits himself and serves it by giving all that he possesses, and he sacrifices it with his soul and defends him from everyone who is harmed by him, just as a father defends his son from evil. So the intention of the people of the country should always be directed towards the right of their country to virtue and honor, and they should not commit anything that violates the rights of their countries and their brothers, so their inclination is towards what is beneficial and righteous. Likewise, the homeland itself protects the son from everything that harms him, because of these characteristics. The love of homelands and bringing public interests to the brotherhood are among the beautiful qualities that always empower each one of them during their lives and make every human being beloved by others. How privileged is the man that is naturally inclined to drive away evil from his homeland even if this was at the expense of his life.⁶⁵

We note that Al-Tahtawi and Muhammad Abdu did not explain the concept of “citizenship” using religious language or linking the concept to religion. In the article written by Abdu entitled "Patriotism," he says: Human honor, true happiness, permanent wealth, and constant bliss are not attained unless the state of his homeland is fixed, and homeland's sons' progress and their souls are adorned with knowledge and the qualities of perfection, then each one takes his right and performs his duty. If a benefit appears to any of them, everyone gathers to bring it, and if a calamity befalls him, the forces of all unite to banish it, then the benefit will prevail to all citizens, and security will be established, and the circle of sustainable benefits will expand. If the state of the country is corrupted and the affairs of its relatives are disturbed, because each one of them stands as an obstacle in the path of his brother, and closes the doors of good for him, instantly causing harm to him imagining a special benefit that accrues to him.⁶⁶

Muhammad Abdu tended to use the same terminology used by Al-Tahtawi and tended to interpret and explain these terms according to Al-Tahtawi's approach and interpretation.

Results:

We can say that Muhammad Abdu possessed a reformist mind that he inherited from Rifa'a Al-Tahtawi. Muhammad Abdu also possessed a strong personality and a wondrous soul that he inherited from al-Afghani, so whenever he associated with a student or a scholar, he captivated him with his logic and became attached to him and become a close scholar to him. The Tahtawi reformist psychology was transmitted to Muhammad Abdu through Sheikh Hassan Al-Taweel, who adhered to Ahmed Obaid Bey Al-Tahtawi, the director of the Al-Tahtawi School and the supervisor of the translation school established by Rifa'a

⁶⁵ Al- Tahtawi. *The Faithful Guide*. Op. Cit. P. 71

⁶⁶ Muhammad Abdu: "Patriotism", Al-Waqa'ei Al-Masriyah newspaper, 6/3/1881

Bey.

The intellectual life of Muhammad Abdu went through different developments and multiple phases. The revolutionary political reform that he borrowed from Al-Afghani at an early stage in his life was vague and unstable, while his religious, social, and intellectual reform thought was clear from the beginning to the end and was clear and completely in agreement with Tahtawi's vision than the Afghani vision.

Finally: I can say that when Jamal al-Din al-Afghani came to Egypt, Sheikh Muhammad Abdu was problematic in terms of the reformist and intellectual point of view with a system within him towards reform. But his relationship with al-Afghani was only a stage of development in his political thought, while social development and general reformist thought go back to its essence to Al-Tahtawi.

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