

Ahmed Amin and the Reading of Islamic Heritage Structure and Influence

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Abstract

The issue of heritage has attracted considerable attention from numerous researchers of diverse cultural and ideological orientations. Consequently, many foundational attempts have emerged to interpret and study heritage. Among the most significant of these projects is Ahmed Amin's trilogy: *Fajr al-Islam* (The Dawn of Islam), *Duha al-Islam* (The Forenoon of Islam), and *Zuhr al-Islam* (The Zenith of Islam). This project stands out for its distinctive qualities, as readers are often struck by the richness of its scholarly material, the depth of its thought, and the breadth of its analysis. Accordingly, this study is entitled "Ahmed Amin and the Reading of Islamic Heritage and Its Impact on Contemporary Intellectual Projects: The Trilogy as a Model."

The research addresses the following questions: How did the problematics of reading heritage emerge? What are the principal structural pathways that shaped Ahmed Amin's trilogy? What influence did Ahmed Amin's trilogy exert on contemporary intellectual projects?

This study aims to identify the major structural trajectories that constituted the foundations of the historical reading of heritage in Ahmed Amin's trilogy. Among the most important of these are comprehensiveness, historicity, and contextualization. The study also seeks to demonstrate the trilogy's impact on contemporary intellectual projects concerned with the interpretation and study of heritage.

Methodology: The study employs the analytical method to examine and clarify Ahmed Amin's ideas, as well as the comparative method to reveal patterns of influence and interaction between Ahmed Amin's thought and that of subsequent thinkers.

Keywords: Ahmed Amin; Historical Reading; Heritage; Methodology; Contemporary Thought.

Introduction

Ahmed Amin is regarded as one of the leading Arab intellectuals whose prominence emerged during the early twentieth century. He was a distinguished man of letters, historian, and thinker whose literary and intellectual contributions left a profound impact on modern cultural life. Among his most important works is his celebrated trilogy: *(The Dawn of Islam)*, *(The Forenoon of Islam)*, and *(The Zenith of Islam)*. Many scholars consider this trilogy to be the first and most comprehensive cultural history in modern and contemporary Arab thought

¹. It may indeed be described as a narrative encyclopedia of intellectual life within the Arab-Islamic heritage.

Ahmed Amin devoted an extraordinary scholarly effort to this undertaking one that surpassed the achievements of many collective research teams. This intellectual project required more than thirty years of work, research, investigation, and writing.

Accordingly, Ahmed Amin's trilogy occupied a pioneering position in offering an unprecedented modern reading of heritage. In this context, the following research questions are raised:

How should heritage be read, and how did this problematic emerge?

What are the principal structural pathways that shaped Ahmed Amin's trilogy?

What impact did Ahmed Amin's trilogy have on contemporary intellectual projects?

1. Ahmed Amin (Birth, Intellectual Formation, and Scholarly Contributions)

His Birth

Ahmed Amin ibn Ibrahim ibn Hassan al-Tabbakh was born in Cairo on October 1, 1886 CE (1304 AH), in the al-Munshiyyah district of al-Khalifah, one of the poor neighborhoods characterized by a simple lifestyle and limited means. His family originally came from the village of Samakhraṭ in the governorate of al-Buhayrah. The family had been engaged in agriculture but migrated to Cairo due to oppression, injustice, excessive taxation, and forced labor without compensation beyond what they could endure.

His father worked in Cairo as an Azharite teacher and also as a linguistic proofreader at the Amiri Press in Bulaq². This enabled him to build an extensive personal library, turning his home into a repository of knowledge in various fields, particularly religious sciences, linguistics, and literature. All of this had a profound influence on Ahmed Amin's personality. He writes:

"The first school in which I learned the most important lessons of my life was my home [...] The most abundant, most valuable, and most space-consuming thing in the house was books [...] My father was passionately fond of books in various fields: jurisprudence, Qur'anic exegesis, Hadith, language, history, literature, grammar, morphology, and rhetoric [...] This library became my greatest source of pleasure when I was able to benefit from it. I preserved its treasures and made it the nucleus of my own library, of which I am proud and in which I still spend hours every day."³

His Intellectual Formation

When Ahmed Amin reached the age of five, his father enrolled him in a kuttāb (traditional Qur'anic school) with the aim of memorizing the Holy Qur'an. He spent five years there (1891–1896), moving among four different kuttābs in addition to the one established at home, where his father personally supervised his education until he completed the memorization of the Qur'an. His father also taught him reading, writing, and arithmetic⁴.

At the age of ten, he enrolled in Umm Abbas Primary School, where he studied the fundamentals of Arabic, French, and Turkish, as well as arithmetic, geography, and history. In addition to his formal studies, he followed the demanding educational program designed by his father at home, studying and memorizing commentaries on traditional Azhar texts, particularly Ibn Malik's *Alfiyyah* in Arabic grammar. He remained at Umm Abbas School for four years⁵.

After much deliberation over whether his son should pursue religious or civil education, his father decided to enroll him at Al-Azhar at the age of fourteen. There he studied Hanafi jurisprudence, Qur'anic exegesis, grammar, morphology, and other sciences cultivated at Al-Azhar. During this period, he attended lessons by Sheikh Muhammad Abduh (d. 1323 AH). Ahmed Amin recalls:

"I attended two lessons, where I heard a beautiful voice and witnessed a magnificent presence. I understood from him what I had never understood from my Azhar teachers. I regretted missing the opportunity to study under him and resolved to continue attending his lectures. However, those two lessons turned out to be his last, may God have mercy upon him."⁶

Despite his academic success at Al-Azhar, he decided to leave and enter the teaching profession at the age of sixteen. He worked as a teacher of Arabic in a primary school in Tanta, then moved to

Alexandria, and later to Cairo, where he taught at Umm Abbas Primary School for one year before resigning.

Ahmed Amin subsequently sat for the entrance examinations of the School of Sharia Judiciary, where he was admitted. The purpose of this institution was:

“To provide students with a religious education encompassing Qur'anic exegesis, Hadith, jurisprudence, legal theory, theology, and similar subjects; a linguistic and literary education including grammar, morphology, and literature; a modern legal education covering the foundations of contemporary law and judicial and administrative systems; and what was then called a modern education, including geography, history, natural sciences, chemistry, arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Thus, its curriculum was a blend of all these disciplines.”⁷

In addition to his studies, he attended the Egyptian National University, benefiting from the lectures of prominent Orientalists. He states:

“Among the lectures that particularly impressed me were those delivered by Professor Nallino on the history of astronomy among the Arabs, by Professor Santillana on Islamic philosophy, and by Professor Guidi on Arab geography. I attended these lectures occasionally, without regularity or obligation.”⁸

After four years, Ahmed Amin graduated from the School of Sharia Judiciary with distinction and was appointed there as an instructor for two years before being transferred to the position of Sharia judge in the Western Oases.

In 1926, he was invited by Taha Hussein to join the Faculty of Arts at Cairo University. Upon accepting the offer, he became Professor of Literary Criticism. A few years later, he was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts. However, administrative responsibilities consumed most of his time, causing delays in his intellectual projects. He eventually resigned from the deanship in 1941, stating:

“I regret the loss of my time and the interruption of my scholarly work. During this period, I did not write a single book nor complete a single research project. I was burdened by endless requests, complaints, allowances, and promotions. Yet, praise be to God, I was no less successful than others in administering the Faculty.”⁹

During these years, Ahmed Amin received an honorary doctorate. He writes:

“I requested the formation of a committee to evaluate my works. A committee composed of the two Orientalist professors, Dr. Schade and Professor Bergsträsser, was appointed. They read *Fajr al-Islam* and *Duha al-Islam* and submitted a report affirming my merit.”¹⁰

He continued teaching at the Faculty of Arts until his retirement in 1948, after which he devoted himself entirely to writing and scholarship. In the final years of his life, he suffered from illnesses affecting his eyes and legs, which confined him to his home except in cases of extreme necessity. Nevertheless, he never ceased researching and writing, relying on assistants to read and write on his behalf. He passed away on May 30, 1954, corresponding to 27 Ramadan 1373 AH, at the age of sixty-eight¹¹.

His Scholarly Contributions

Ahmed Amin's scholarly output covered a wide range of fields, including literature, philosophy, history, criticism, folklore, education, and textual editing. The following overview highlights some of his most important works, demonstrating his scholarly stature and influence on twentieth-century intellectual life.

Books

Fajr al-Islam (The Dawn of Islam): A study of intellectual life from the beginnings of Islam until the end of the Umayyad state.

Duha al-Islam (The Forenoon of Islam): Published in three large volumes. The first examines social life and cultural developments during the early Abbasid era; the second discusses the emergence of sciences during that period; and the third analyzes religious sects such as the Mu'tazilah, Shi'ah, Murji'ah, and Khawarij.

Zuhr al-Islam (The Zenith of Islam): Published in four large volumes. The first addresses social conditions and centers of intellectual activity from the reign of al-Mutawakkil to the end of the fourth Islamic century; the second discusses the history of sciences, literature, and arts during that century; the third focuses on intellectual life in al-Andalus from the Arab conquest to their departure after eight centuries; and the fourth examines religious doctrines and their evolution, including the conflicts among the Mu'tazilah, Ahl al-Sunnah (Ash'arites), Shi'ah, Sufis, Murji'ah, and Khawarij. This final volume was published one year after Ahmed Amin's death, with an introduction by Ahmad Fu'ad al-Ahwani.

Yawm al-Islam (The Day of Islam): A work devoted to the foundations of Islam.

Zu'amā' al-Iṣlāḥ fī al-'Aṣr al-Ḥadīth (Leaders of Reform in the Modern Age): Biographical studies of ten modern reformers.

Fayd al-Khāṭir: A major literary encyclopedia collecting Ahmed Amin's literary essays in ten large volumes.

Ḥayātī (My Life): His autobiography.

Al-Akhlāq (Ethics): A study of ethical theories.

Al-Sharq wa al-Gharb (East and West): A comparative study of the spirit, customs, and traditions of Arab and Western civilizations.

Al-Sa'lakah wa al-Futuwwah fī al-Islām (Vagabondage and Chivalry in Islam): An exploration of the concepts of sa'lakah and futuwwah and their manifestations in classical and modern Arabic literature.

Al-Mahdī wa al-Mahdiyyah (The Mahdi and Mahdism): A study of the idea of the awaited Mahdi and its historical evolution.

Al-Naqd al-Adabī (Literary Criticism): Published in two volumes, dealing with the history and principles of literary criticism.

Dictionary of Egyptian Customs, Traditions, and Expressions: A comprehensive work containing popular sayings and expressions that offer insight into Egyptian customs.

Qiṣṣat al-Adab fī al-'Ālam (The Story of World Literature): Co-authored with Zaki Naguib Mahmoud and published in four volumes.

Qiṣṣat al-Falsafah al-Yūnāniyyah (The Story of Greek Philosophy): Co-authored with Zaki Naguib Mahmoud.

Qiṣṣat al-Falsafah al-Ḥadīthah (The Story of Modern Philosophy): Co-authored with Zaki Naguib Mahmoud and published in two volumes.

Ilā Waladī (To My Son): A collection of advice addressed to his son.

Hārūn al-Rashīd: A biography of the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid.

Translated Works

Mabādi' al-Falsafah (Principles of Philosophy): Originally written by Angelo Solomon Rappoport and translated by Ahmed Amin from English into Arabic.

Critical Editions

Al-Imtā' wa al-Mu'ānasah by Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (with Ahmad al-Zayn).

Al-Hawāmil wa al-Shawāmil by Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi and Miskawayh (with al-Sayyid Ahmad Saqr).

Al-'Iqd al-Farīd by Ibn Abd Rabbih (with Ahmad al-Zayn and Ibrahim al-Abyari).

The Dīwān of Hafiz Ibrahim (with Ahmad al-Zayn and Ibrahim al-Abyari).

Hayy ibn Yaqzān by Ibn Sina, al-Suhrawardi, and Ibn Tufayl, edited and annotated by Ahmed Amin.

Al-Marzūqī's commentary on Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah (with Abd al-Salam Harun).

Al-Baṣā'ir wa al-Dhakhā'ir by Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi (with al-Sayyid Ahmad Saqr).

Textbooks

Selections from Arabic Literature

Detailed Studies in Arabic Literature

Guided Reading

History of Arabic Literature

2. Heritage and the Emergence of the Problematic of Reading

In recent decades, the issue of reading and interpreting heritage has become a central concern for intellectuals, researchers, university professors, and students from various ideological backgrounds. Before discussing the concept of heritage linguistically and terminologically, it is important to recognize that the term itself is relatively modern. It did not emerge until the first half of the twentieth century, appearing in the writings of Ahmed Amin. The term al-mawrūth ("the inherited legacy") also appeared in the works of Muhammad Zahid al-Kawthari. Likewise, turāth became the title of a series of books published by the Egyptian National Library under the supervision of Taha Hussein. Prior to that period, the term was neither widely known nor commonly used¹².

2.1 The Concept of Heritage (Linguistically and Terminologically)

Linguistically, the term turāth (heritage) is derived from the Arabic root waritha ("to inherit"). The original letter corresponding to the initial tā' in turāth is actually wāw. Ibn Sīdah states:

"Al-wirth, al-irth, al-turāth, and al-mīrāth all refer to that which is inherited. It has also been said that al-wirth and al-mīrāth relate to property, whereas al-irth pertains to lineage."¹³

Al-Jawharī similarly explains:

"Al-irth means inheritance (al-mīrāth), and the original hamzah in the word derives from a wāw. It is said: huwa fī irthi ṣidqin (he is upon a true inheritance), meaning that he is upon a genuine and authentic origin. Likewise, the expression huwa 'alā irthin min kadhā signifies adherence to an ancient matter transmitted from predecessors to successors. In the Hadith concerning pilgrimage, the Prophet said: 'Indeed, you are upon an inheritance from the inheritance of your father Abraham,' by which he meant their inherited religious tradition (millah)."¹⁴

The term turāth also appears in the Holy Qur'an. Allah the Almighty says:

[21 : الفجر] "وَتَأْكُلُونَ التُّرَاثَ أَكْلًا لَمًّا"

Muhammad al-Tahir Ibn 'Ashur interprets the word turāth as follows:

“Turāth refers to inherited wealth, namely the property left by a man after his death to his heirs. Its original form is wurāth, beginning with a wāw and following the morphological pattern fu‘āl, derived from the root waritha in the passive sense, similar to words such as duqāq and ḥuṭām. Its initial wāw was replaced by a tā’ irregularly, as occurred in words such as tujāh, tukhmah, tuhmah, and tuqāh, among others.”¹⁵

Terminologically, the concept of heritage has been characterized by diversity and multiplicity of definitions, especially following its use as a translation equivalent of the English terms legacy and inheritance. It generally refers:

“To the products of civilization in all fields of human activity, including science, thought, literature, art, folklore, antiquities, architecture, and social and economic folk heritage.”¹⁶

Hassan Hanafi defines heritage as:

“Everything that has reached us from the past within the framework of the prevailing civilization. It is therefore both an inherited legacy and, at the same time, a present reality existing on multiple levels.”¹⁷

Meanwhile, Fahmi Jad‘an defines it as:

“A specifically human achievement or accomplishment. We cannot speak of heritage except when referring to the creative products of humanity.”¹⁸

Other researchers define heritage as:

“The totality of what has reached us from the intellectual productions of earlier generations and the traces they have left behind.”¹⁹

This is the concept of heritage in its broadest sense, namely everything bequeathed by previous generations, whether intellectual or material. In its more specific sense, however, the term refers to Islamic heritage.

Mohammed Abed al-Jabri defines Islamic heritage as:

“The intellectual dimension of Arab-Islamic civilization: creed, law, language, literature, art, theology, philosophy, and Sufism [...] Arab-Islamic heritage, in our view, constitutes a collection of beliefs, forms of knowledge, and visions, together with the language that conveys and structures them, embodying their historical and epistemological frame of reference.”²⁰

Likewise, Ali Gomaa Muhammad defines it as:

“The human intellectual product of the Islamic nation, transmitted both orally and in writing, that predates the present by at least one hundred years.”²¹

2.2 Reading Islamic Heritage in Contemporary Arab Intellectual Studies

The question of heritage has become one of the most prominent and widely debated issues in contemporary Arab thought. It is fundamentally a question of Islamic identity and Arab selfhood. In recent decades, it has gained considerable prominence and circulation, becoming a central concern for researchers from diverse ideological backgrounds. Numerous studies, books, conferences, symposia, and academic meetings have been devoted to it, owing to the fact that heritage represents the spirit and collective consciousness of the nation. It serves as a driving force and guiding framework for popular behavior and constitutes a primary source of societal strength.

This heritage “remains a living value in the consciousness of the age, capable of influencing it and motivating behavior [...] Heritage is therefore a practical necessity and an accurate perception of reality, for heritage is one of the components of reality [...] Heritage is alive; it acts upon people and

directs their conduct”²². For this reason, it has attracted the attention of a broad spectrum of thinkers and researchers despite their differing intellectual orientations and ideological visions.

Based on the epistemological foundations and intellectual premises from which they proceed, three major trends can be identified in contemporary approaches to heritage²³:

First: The Sanctifying Approach to Heritage

This approach is associated with a complete return to Islamic heritage and the preservation of Islamic identity and personality. It is represented by the Islamic fundamentalist (aṣālah) current, which has often led to the sanctification, glorification, and exaltation of heritage, placing it beyond the constraints of time and space. Heritage is thus treated as an absolute truth, immune to criticism or scrutiny. It is based upon:

“The invocation of an inherited legacy that is elevated above the conditions of time and history and projected as a transcendent absolute.”²⁴

In this view, heritage possesses attributes of perfection and veneration. Consequently, proponents of this trend tend to dispense with everything new and reject all modern developments. As a result, they have largely resisted openness toward the contemporary world. Heritage, for them, embodies the past, the present, and the future.

Among the thinkers associated with this orientation are Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, al-Sayyid Sabiq, Muhammad Imarah, and Taha Jabir al-Alwani, among others. They affirm the superiority of Islamic heritage over other social, political, and cultural systems. From this perspective emerged a form of Islamic heritage-centered narcissism, according to which there is no need for the “other” in building civilization, since Islamic heritage already provides everything required to satisfy both material and spiritual needs.

Moreover, many thinkers within this trend did not merely sanctify Islamic heritage; they also harshly criticized the modern age and, in some cases, the world at large including the Islamic world itself. One notable example is Sayyid Qutb’s characterization of contemporary society as a state of Jāhiliyyah (pre-Islamic ignorance). They likewise maintained that Western materialism was destined to decline and eventually disappear²⁵.

In reality, this fundamentalist narcissism can be understood as a product of nostalgia for the past and a reaction to the dominance of Western civilization. Sayyid Qutb, one of the leading representatives of this approach, recounts a comment made by Malek Bennabi regarding Qutb’s modification of the title of his book *Toward a Civilized Society*, from which he removed the word “civilized.” For Qutb, Islam itself constituted civilization, and he recognized only two types of society: an Islamic society and a Jāhili society. He writes:

“This modification attracted the attention of an Algerian writer who wrote in French. He interpreted it as resulting from an internal psychological defense mechanism in favor of Islam and regretted that this unconscious process deprived me of confronting the problem in its true form.”²⁶

It may therefore be argued that this fundamentalist orientation is characterized by a narcissistic and superficial reading of heritage, insofar as it seeks to revive heritage in an idealized manner while distancing itself from constructive criticism capable of laying the foundations for comprehensive renewal within Islamic civilization.

Second: The Denialist Approach to Heritage

This approach stands in direct opposition to the first and may be regarded as a forceful reaction against fundamentalist thought. It is characterized by an attitude of rejection, marginalization, and

even contempt toward Islamic heritage. Its proponents including thinkers such as Shibli Shumayyil and Salama Musa, among others argue that the historical backwardness of Arab and Islamic societies stems precisely from this heritage.

Accordingly, they advocate a complete break with the past and call for its total transcendence. They embrace Western modernity as the most advanced civilizational model and maintain that the only path toward the advancement of the Islamic world lies in adherence to that model.

However, advocates of Westernization and Europeanization ultimately fell into the same error as the first trend. They elevated Western modernity above time and place, presenting it as a transcendent absolute and regarding it as universally valid for all societies and cultures. Such uncritical admiration for the West and mechanical imitation amount to what has been described as:

“Intellectual dependency, cognitive laziness, cultural beggary, and living off the creativity of others. Knowledge is transformed from production into translation and the tedious repetition of what others have said [...] How numerous are those Arab modernists whose sole function is to quote endlessly, turning texts into open marketplaces of citations and references. Their own presence is absent from their writings; one recognizes them only through a signature attached to the work of a borrowing and dependent transmitter. What a miserable modernity is theirs.”²⁷

Third: The Critical Approach to Heritage

This approach is associated with a rigorous and analytical examination of heritage. Here, criticism is conceived as a constructive and productive process. As Ibn Faris explains:

“The root letters nūn, qāf, and dāl constitute a sound root indicating the bringing forth and manifestation of something [...] From this root comes the expression naqd al-dirham (examining a coin), meaning to inspect its condition and determine its quality or otherwise. A dirham naqd is a well-balanced and sound coin.”²⁸

Accordingly, the criticism of heritage is viewed as a positive endeavor aimed at assessing and revealing its merits and shortcomings. Heritage, from this perspective, is regarded as:

“A human activity, and like every human activity, it is subject to deficiency and imperfection. It is therefore open to criticism, evaluation, weakening, and reassessment. Hence, it requires renewal, modernization, development, reform, reconstruction, and revitalization [...] It is the reading of religious heritage with open eyes and alert minds, removing the veils of sanctification and glorification, and privileging a critical attitude over unquestioning submission. This entails weighing matters accurately and evaluating them correctly in order to discover ‘the truths of things,’ as Abu al-‘Ala’ al-Ma‘arri expressed it.”²⁹

A number of thinkers have embodied this orientation, most of whom belong to reformist, liberal, or modernist currents.

Among the reformists are: Hassan al-Attar, Rifa‘a al-Tahtawi, Muhammad Abduh, Mustafa Abd al-Raziq, Muhammad Abu Zahrah, and Ali Sami al-Nashshar.

Among the liberals are: Ahmed Amin, Ismail Mazhar, and Khalil Abd al-Karim.

Among the modernists are: Hussein Mroueh, Tayyib Tizini, Mohammed Arkoun, and Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, among others.

These thinkers sought to engage with heritage neither through absolute sanctification nor total rejection, but through critical analysis aimed at understanding, evaluating, and renewing it in light of contemporary intellectual and civilizational challenges.

From the foregoing discussion, it becomes evident that there exists an intense intellectual struggle among these various trends. Each seeks to appropriate heritage, for to appropriate heritage is, in effect, to appropriate the past, the present, and the future. The significance of heritage is manifested in the fact that no genuine civilizational advancement can be achieved without returning to it. Indeed, the present itself cannot be properly understood except through an understanding of heritage, “inasmuch as it is not a phenomenon isolated from the desired process of transformation”³⁰.

Heritage, therefore, constitutes a form of symbolic cultural capital. The struggle surrounding it has essentially been a conflict between two modes of reading, each seeking to possess and control it. Each reading is grounded in its own epistemological foundations and philosophical-theoretical framework. These two readings may be outlined as follows:

A) The Heritage-Based Reading of Heritage

This is what Mohammed Abed al-Jabri termed the Salafist reading. By this, we mean the study of heritage through epistemological foundations derived from the heritage itself, with the aim of reviving and utilizing it.

In this context, it is necessary to distinguish between heritage as a human intellectual product conditioned by its own historical and geographical circumstances, and the reading of heritage, which takes place within a different temporal and spatial framework. Consequently, reading heritage is not identical to heritage itself. Reading:

“Is not merely research or study, for it goes beyond documentary investigation and analytical inquiry not to mention compilatory works. It consciously proposes an interpretation that grants meaning to the text being read, making it simultaneously meaningful within its own intellectual, social, and political environment and also meaningful for us as readers.”³¹

This mode of reading is exemplified by the efforts of the intellectual elites associated with the Arab renaissance. It includes both those identified with the reformist current, such as Hassan al-Attar, Rifa‘a Rafi‘ al-Tahtawi, Muhammad Abduh, and Rashid Rida, and those who followed their path, including Muhammad Abu Zahrah, Ali Sami al-Nashshar, Mustafa Abd al-Raziq, and others.

These thinkers sought to preserve the Islamic heritage while remaining open to Western modernity, adopting from it what they considered beneficial. Their justification lay in the historical experience of Islamic civilization itself, which had benefited from neighboring civilizations Persian, Greek, Indian, and others by appropriating what was useful and leaving aside what was not.

One may therefore argue that the problem of reading is not peculiar to the modern age; rather, it already existed among the early Muslim scholars. Yet one may ask: Did the salaf themselves possess a methodology of reading? And how did the renaissance intellectuals benefit from it?

This reading manifested itself through three major encounters experienced by the early Muslim scholars.

The first was their encounter with the Holy Qur’an. This gave rise to numerous approaches to interpretation and hermeneutics (ta’wīl), as scholars adopted diverse methodologies for studying the Qur’an, including traditional, linguistic, and scientific approaches. Thus, multiple readings and interpretive methods emerged.

The second encounter was with the Prophetic Sunnah. After initially relying on oral memory, scholars confronted the problem of fabricated traditions. This challenge led to the development of sophisticated scientific methodologies aimed at collecting, documenting, and classifying Hadiths, distinguishing authentic reports from fabricated ones. Through this process, the early scholars

succeeded in interrogating and interpreting both the Qur'an and the Sunnah, thereby generating numerous disciplines of knowledge.

The third encounter occurred when Muslims came into contact with Greek, Roman, Persian, Jewish, and Christian intellectual traditions. Their confrontation with these traditions was vigorous and dynamic, leading not only to engagement but also to critical reading and evaluation. A notable example is Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, who studied philosophy extensively and summarized its doctrines in *(The Aims of the Philosophers)*, before subjecting it to sharp criticism in *(The Incoherence of the Philosophers)*, employing critical tools derived from 'Ilm al-Kalām (Islamic theology). Similarly, Fakhr al-Din al-Razi read and critically engaged with philosophical thought.

The Nahḍah elite found inspiration in this legacy. They sought to read modernity, benefit from it, and then subject it to critical evaluation. However, following the collapse of the Islamic Caliphate in 1924, this trend failed to achieve its objectives. It was gradually supplanted by Islamic fundamentalism, which also approached heritage through traditional epistemological frameworks. Yet, as previously noted, this movement advocated a total return to Islamic heritage, viewed it as sacred and absolute truth, and saw no need for engagement with Western civilization, which it frequently denounced and disparaged.

B) The Modernist Reading of Heritage

This is what Mohammed Abed al-Jabri referred to as the contemporary reading. It denotes the study of heritage through modern epistemological frameworks and new methodological approaches.

This orientation emerged largely as a reaction against the Salafist reading and was primarily represented by intellectuals associated with liberal and modernist currents. These thinkers recognized that progress could not be achieved:

“Except through the reconsideration and critique of the cultural heritage embedded in collective consciousness and public mentality. For most of these researchers, criticism does not mean destruction; rather, it means understanding cultural heritage within its historical context, identifying both its internal dynamism and its epistemological limitations, and challenging the prevailing heritage-based reading that elevates heritage above the conditions of time, place, and history and seeks to revive it as a solution to contemporary problems. Indeed, the widespread dominance of this traditional reading of heritage [...] was a decisive factor in prompting modernist intellectuals to reread the cultural legacy through new epistemological and methodological perspectives, thereby breaking the monopoly of traditionalists over a field whose profound influence on culture and society could no longer be ignored.”³²

If we periodize the modernist reading of heritage, we can identify three principal phases³³:

1. The Phase of Cultural Historiography

During this stage, liberal scholars undertook the historical documentation of Arab cultural heritage. Among the most prominent figures were Jurji Zaydan, Ahmed Amin, Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Zaki Naguib Mahmoud, and Khalil Abd al-Karim, among others.

2. The Phase of Critiquing Heritage

At this stage, a group of modernist scholars examined Arab-Islamic heritage through critical analysis informed by contemporary modernist perspectives. Among them were Hussein Mroueh, Tayyib Tizini, Hassan Hanafi, Adonis, Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, Nasif Nassar, Abd al-Majid al-Sharfi, Ali Oumlil, and others.

3. The Phase of Critiquing Heritage-Based Reason

In this phase, a new generation of modernist thinkers shifted their attention from heritage itself to the cognitive structures that had produced it. Their focus became the critique of reason as the epistemological instrument responsible for generating heritage. Leading representatives of this orientation include Mohammed Arkoun, Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, and Abdallah Laroui, among others.

3. The Trajectories of Historical Reading in Ahmed Amin's Trilogy

When readers encounter Ahmed Amin's trilogy (*The Dawn of Islam*), (*The Forenoon of Islam*), and (*The Zenith of Islam*) with its eight volumes, they are struck by the magnitude of the effort, the breadth of learning, and the depth of analysis it embodies. This reflects Ahmed Amin's extensive knowledge of Islamic heritage in its various dimensions, including language, literature, jurisprudence, theology, philosophy, and many other fields. It also attests to his encyclopedic intellectual character.

This trilogy is considered one of the most celebrated and significant historical encyclopedias in the Islamic world. Its importance lies not merely in the extensive historical period it covers but also in its comprehensiveness, encompassing all forms of cultural and civilizational expression. It may be described as a cultural encyclopedia of Islamic heritage, or more specifically, an encyclopedia of intellectual narratives. Through it, Ahmed Amin produced a cultural history of Islamic civilization unparalleled in scope and depth, making it arguably the most comprehensive cultural history of the twentieth century³⁴.

Taha Hussein writes in the introduction to *Fajr al-Islam*:

"I bear witness that my colleague Ahmed Amin undertook the burden of studying Arab intellectual life in the finest manner that a man endowed with a living scientific conscience could undertake such a responsibility. Indeed, I wish to free myself from all restraints and testify that my colleague Ahmed Amin has enabled us, through this study, to perceive a man whom we had never truly known. We were aware of his competence and abilities as a scholar and man of letters [...] I do not conceal the fact that I knew no bounds to my astonishment whenever I saw Ahmed Amin dealing with literary, philosophical, and linguistic questions with such confidence, craftsmanship, and intellectual rigor. He knew how to think, how to move from one issue to another, from premise to conclusion, and ultimately how to place everything in its proper context with remarkable balance, neither falling into deficiency nor excess."³⁵

A close reading of *The Dawn*, *The Forenoon*, and *The Zenith of Islam* reveals that Ahmed Amin's historiography of intellectual life revolves around a number of distinctive trajectories that characterize his methodology. These may be summarized as follows:

First Trajectory: Sequentiality

This trajectory consists of documenting intellectual, scientific, and cultural life according to chronological succession and historical periods. Ahmed Amin divided his encyclopedia into three major stages: Dawn, Forenoon, and Zenith. These titles themselves indicate a linear temporal progression in his treatment of intellectual history.

He also relied heavily on the political periodization of Islamic civilization, producing a cultural history for each major era: the pre-Islamic period, the early Islamic period, the Umayyad era, the Abbasid era, the Fatimid era, and the Ottoman era. This reveals a pronounced inclination toward:

“An evolutionary and progressive tendency (evolutionniste) [...] which means that Ahmed Amin conceived his cultural history as subject to an ascending linear progression whose validity was not easy to justify, even though he devoted considerable attention to the fourth/tenth century.”³⁶

Second Trajectory: Comprehensiveness

Ahmed Amin approached intellectual and scientific movements through comprehensive, detailed, and, when necessary, critical analysis. He devoted considerable attention to tracing the emergence and development of various sciences throughout the historical periods he examined.

Among the disciplines he discussed were Qur’anic studies, Hadith studies, jurisprudence and legal theory, history, linguistics, literature, literary criticism, theology, philosophy, and Sufism. The only notable exceptions were the mathematical sciences, logic, and the natural sciences.

His treatment constituted perhaps the most extensive and detailed survey available, for:

“His presentation encompassed the major texts and decisive moments within each discipline, tracing its development and transformations from one era to another, while recording the changes that occurred through its interaction with other sciences and through contact with foreign bodies of knowledge.”³⁷

Third Trajectory: The Study of Islamic Sects

Ahmed Amin devoted significant attention to the history of Islamic religious sects, presenting them through a combination of descriptive and critical analysis. He highlighted the issue of the caliphate and the emergence of sectarian divisions, emphasizing their close relationship with political ideas.

He then provided detailed discussions of the major Islamic sects and movements, including the Kharijites, Shi’ites, Murji’ites, Qadarites, Mu’tazilites, Ash’arites, Maturidites, and Sufis.

Fourth Trajectory: Contextualization

Ahmed Amin consistently linked intellectual and scientific developments, as well as religious movements and sects, to their historical, political, and social contexts. He sought to demonstrate the influence of cultural circumstances on the development of intellectual life within Islamic civilization.

Particularly noteworthy is his emphasis on objective contextual factors political, social, economic, literary, scientific, and environmental as determinants of the emergence and evolution of sciences, ideas, intellectual currents, and religious sects. As has been observed:

“He is perhaps the most consistent practitioner of this type of historical and sociological approach to cultural development. He remained faithful to a theoretical principle that stresses the connection between intellectual and cultural phenomena and the objective conditions of their environment, maintaining that the study of intellectual and literary life on scientific foundations is impossible without understanding the broader non-cultural factors that produce or influence it.”³⁸

Fifth Trajectory: Comparative Analysis

Ahmed Amin also sought to demonstrate the impact of external cultures Greek, Persian, and Indian upon scientific and intellectual developments within Islamic civilization.

He carefully presented the intellectual, scientific, and methodological content of indigenous Arab culture while simultaneously examining the sources, contents, and effects of foreign influences upon it.

Taha Hussein pointed to this achievement in his introduction to *Duha al-Islam*:

“If we speak of Greek culture, we shall no longer understand by it that vague notion often symbolized by philosophy. Rather, we shall know precisely how much the Arabs borrowed from the

Greeks, how they borrowed it, from where they borrowed it, how they first assimilated it, and then how they made it their own. The same may be said of Indian and Persian culture indeed, even more than this. I know of no scholar of Arabic literary history who succeeded in establishing the relationship between the Arabs and the Indians, or between the Arabs and the Persians, to the extent achieved by Ahmed Amin.”³⁹

Sixth Trajectory: The Historical-Descriptive Method

The dominant methodology throughout Ahmed Amin’s trilogy is the historical-descriptive approach. He presented cultural heritage through a historical framework primarily organized according to chronological succession.

This method operates according to:

“A logic of presenting intellectual and cultural data through the historical study of an idea, a school, a doctrine, or the thought of a particular author or litterateur, whether within the narrow limits of cultural history or within broader horizons that connect it to its historical environment.”⁴⁰

The predominance of this approach may be attributed to Ahmed Amin’s central objective: the affirmation of cultural identity through the introduction and exposition of Islamic cultural heritage.

Nevertheless, despite his reliance on the historical-descriptive method, Ahmed Amin did not remain confined within its boundaries, nor did he submit to methodological monism. Rather, he also employed a historical-philological approach based on:

“The historical and linguistic examination of texts and the investigation of the origins of the concepts and ideas upon which they are founded.”⁴¹

This tendency is especially evident in his analysis of the sources and contents of foreign cultural influences and their effects upon Arab-Islamic civilization.

Seventh Trajectory: Orientalist Scholarship

Another notable aspect of Ahmed Amin’s methodology was his engagement with Orientalist studies. In writing the history of Arab-Islamic culture, he drew upon a number of Orientalist works, including:

Studies on Islamic Civilization by the British Orientalist Hamilton Gibb.

Islamic Civilization in the Fourth Century of the Hijra: The Renaissance of Islam by the Swiss Orientalist Adam Mez.

Arabia Before Muhammad by the British Orientalist De Lacy O’Leary.

The History of Philosophy in Islam by the Dutch Orientalist T. J. de Boer.

However, it is important to note that Ahmed Amin adopted from Orientalist scholarship only those conclusions he considered valid and compatible with his own perspective. Whenever Orientalist writings contained accusations or criticisms directed against Islamic heritage, he responded to them with evidence and argumentation. A careful reader can clearly discern this attitude throughout his works.

Eighth Trajectory: Rationalism

The final trajectory is the clear predominance of rationalist principles throughout *The Dawn of Islam*, *The Forenoon of Islam*, and *The Zenith of Islam*.

Ahmed Amin explicitly expressed his preference for the Mu’tazilite school over other theological currents. In jurisprudence, he showed a marked inclination toward the school of reason (ahl al-ra’y), particularly the Hanafi tradition, in contrast to the schools associated with strict adherence to transmitted reports (ahl al-athar).

In political thought, he favored the principle of consultation over the doctrine of the Imamate, which is fundamentally based upon the notion of designated succession, subjecting the latter to severe criticism.

In Qur'anic exegesis, he preferred interpretive and allegorical approaches (ta'wīl) over literalist readings of texts. Likewise, in literature, he accorded particular prominence to the writings of al-Jahiz and Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi.

This orientation is hardly surprising, given that Ahmed Amin belonged to the Arab liberal intellectual current, which sought to establish a modern Arab thought grounded in the principles of reason, freedom, and creativity.

4. The Impact of Ahmed Amin's Trilogy on Contemporary Intellectual Projects

The thinker Ahmed Amin became renowned through his trilogy *The Dawn of Islam*, *The Forenoon of Islam*, and *The Zenith of Islam* for his pioneering role in the study of Islamic heritage and for introducing a new methodological approach. As previously noted, Ahmed Amin's trilogy constitutes a comprehensive history of cultural and intellectual life within Islamic civilization.

Through this work, he surprised readers and scholars of his time by introducing a new research methodology whether in terms of analytical tools, style, or conclusions that had not been known before him. He insisted on:

"Practicing the highest degree of scholarly commitment in everything he wrote, approaching his subject with the necessary rigor, perseverance, steadfastness, and extensive engagement with its sources, so as to produce for the public a major intellectual work that deserved the praise it received from his colleagues and from those who shared the same intellectual project as well as from generations of researchers, scholars, and readers, both contemporaries and successors."⁴²

For this reason, Ahmed Amin's trilogy became a fundamental reference and authoritative source for virtually all contemporary research projects concerned with Islamic heritage. This is due to the reasons already mentioned namely, his pioneering role in documenting heritage and his introduction of a new methodology. In this regard, Abdelilah Belkeziz states:

"Its readers owe Ahmed Amin a great debt for the encyclopedic knowledge he provided them concerning their classical history, for drawing their attention to its sources, and for encouraging them in the fields of Islamic studies and Arab heritage studies. We owe Ahmed Amin's work a great deal; it was the spur that awakened our consciousness, alerted us to our intellectual heritage, and introduced us to its sciences and sources during the formative stage of our awareness of the importance of heritage."⁴³

Hence, the centrality of Ahmed Amin's trilogy becomes evident. It laid the foundations for a modern intellectual project rooted in Islamic heritage and became a guiding reference for many subsequent endeavors. Among the most significant projects that followed and drew upon Ahmed Amin's work are those of Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Tayyib Tizini, Hussein Mroueh, Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, Hassan Hanafi, and others.

To illustrate the influence of Ahmed Amin's trilogy on modern intellectual projects, we shall focus briefly on two examples: the projects of Hussein Mroueh and Mohammed Abed al-Jabri.

In brief, Hussein Mroueh was a Lebanese thinker associated with the Lebanese Communist movement. He devoted himself to the study of Islamic heritage through a materialist approach, emphasizing the primacy of social reality over thought, the role of economic factors in history and intellectual development, and the reciprocal influence of thought on reality and social change. This

represents a Marxist approach to reading Islamic heritage, aimed at providing a scientific materialist framework for interpreting reality and advancing thought⁴⁴.

If we examine Hussein Mroueh's major work, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, we find that he frequently cites Ahmed Amin's trilogy *The Dawn of Islam*, *The Forenoon of Islam*, and *The Zenith of Islam* which he references forty-nine times. These citations appear through direct references to the trilogy, acknowledgment of its importance, and reliance upon it, particularly when discussing the emergence of the sciences, the conflict between the schools of *ra'y* (reasoned opinion) and tradition, and the rise of Islamic theological sects.

Several of Mroueh's references reveal the scholarly stature of Ahmed Amin and his pioneering role in studies of Islamic heritage. Concerning Ahmed Amin's distinctive understanding of the historical relationship between theology and the question of the caliphate, Mroueh writes:

"The historical relationship between the emergence of theology and the struggle over the caliphate, as some present it, ultimately dissolves into historical nihilism through such metaphysical thinking. Ahmed Amin is almost unique in understanding this relationship historically and in a manner that comes remarkably close to the reality of the issue."⁴⁵

Mroueh also highlights the methodological revolution and critical spirit introduced by Ahmed Amin, and how it inspired numerous writers and intellectuals to follow his example:

"The path toward methodology was paved through the many efforts undertaken by a generation of researchers such as Mansour Fahmy, Ismail Mazhar, Ahmed Amin, and Mustafa Abd al-Raziq [...] The method of research practiced by this pioneering generation of Arab scholars was undoubtedly a necessary revolution against empty descriptive and rhetorical approaches [...] It led generations of writers and intellectuals to adopt the intellectual and ideological substance of this methodology."⁴⁶

Elsewhere, Mroueh praises Ahmed Amin and describes him as an alert and perceptive scholar. He considers Amin's analyses and conclusions to be fundamentally correct, expressing full agreement with them:

"Ahmed Amin, with the skill of an alert researcher, places his hand upon the historical line connecting the Mu'tazilites, and we believe that he is correct both in identifying this line and in defining its distinguishing characteristics."⁴⁷

He further states:

"This was clearly reflected in the work of a researcher known for his precision, such as Ahmed Amin."⁴⁸

In another passage he writes:

"It seems that we are also in complete agreement with Ahmed Amin regarding the affirmative answer to this question."⁴⁹

And elsewhere:

"Therefore, we maintain that Ahmed Amin is entirely correct when he concludes that this issue..."⁵⁰

These examples clearly demonstrate the profound influence that Ahmed Amin exercised on Hussein Mroueh's intellectual project.

Mohammed Abed al-Jabri's monumental project, *Critique of Arab Reason*, consists of four volumes:

The Structure of Arab Reason;

The Formation of Arab Reason;

Arab Ethical Reason;

Arab Political Reason.

Through this project, al-Jabri sought to read heritage by critically examining the epistemological and conceptual mechanisms that produced Islamic heritage. His analysis revolved around three principal systems:

Bayān (Demonstrative-Textual Reasoning): represented by theological and religious modes of thought in general.

Burhān (Demonstrative Rationality): represented by philosophical reasoning.

ʿIrfān (Gnosis): represented by Sufism, the non-rational dimension of Islamic heritage, or what he termed “resigned reason.”

A careful reader of al-Jabri’s work will notice that he rarely acknowledges the Arab sources and references upon which he relied, particularly modern Arab scholarship. This tendency reflects a certain neglect of the contributions made by contemporary Arab scholars in the field of heritage studies, despite the fact that he benefited significantly from their work.

Among these scholars, Ahmed Amin occupies a particularly prominent place. Although al-Jabri seldom acknowledged his debt to him, it may be argued that:

“He adopted Ahmed Amin’s tripartite classification of classical Arab culture (rather than medieval culture), as presented in *The Dawn of Islam*, *The Forenoon of Islam*, and *The Zenith of Islam*, dividing it into the three major domains of Bayān, Burhān, and ʿIrfān. He then redeployed this classification within an epistemological framework by drawing upon Michel Foucault’s concept of the episteme (knowledge system) and applying it in his study.”⁵¹

This constitutes clear evidence of Ahmed Amin’s influence on al-Jabri’s writings and demonstrates the enduring impact of his trilogy on one of the most significant contemporary projects devoted to the study and critique of Arab-Islamic heritage.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper sought to explore the structural trajectories underlying Ahmed Amin’s reading of Islamic heritage as presented in his trilogy. The study has arrived at the following findings:

Ahmed Amin is considered one of the foremost Arab intellectuals, whose name rose to prominence during the early decades of the twentieth century.

Ahmed Amin achieved widespread recognition through his trilogy *The Dawn of Islam* (Fajr al-Islam), *The Forenoon of Islam* (Duha al-Islam), and *The Zenith of Islam* (Zuhr al-Islam) owing to the pioneering role it played in the field of reading and interpreting Islamic heritage.

The question of heritage has become one of the most prominent issues in contemporary Arab thought, since it embodies the spirit and collective consciousness of the nation. It functions as a driving force and guiding framework for the behavior of society and constitutes a primary source of its strength. Consequently, it has attracted the attention of researchers and intellectuals from diverse intellectual orientations, including reformist, fundamentalist, liberal, Marxist, and secular-modernist currents.

The trilogy *The Dawn of Islam*, *The Forenoon of Islam*, and *The Zenith of Islam* is among the most famous and significant historical encyclopedias in the Islamic world. Its methodology is organized around a number of distinctive trajectories that characterize Ahmed Amin’s approach, namely: chronological succession, comprehensiveness, the study of Islamic sects, contextualization,

comparative analysis, the historical-descriptive method, engagement with Orientalist scholarship, and rationalism.

Ahmed Amin's trilogy became a foundational reference for contemporary research projects concerned with Islamic heritage, primarily because of its pioneering role in documenting heritage and its introduction of a new methodological framework. Among the most important intellectual projects influenced by his work are those of Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Tayyib Tizini, Hussein Mroueh, Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, Hassan Hanafi, and others.

¹ See: Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, Lebanon, 1st ed., 2014, p. 91.

² See: Mohammed Matar and Ibrahim Barqan, "Ahmed Amin's stance toward 'Ilm al-Kalām: A Critical Study," *Journal of the Islamic University for Islamic Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 1, January 2021, p. 486.

³ Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, Arab Book House, Beirut, Lebanon, 3rd ed., 1985, p. 60.

⁴ See: Mohammed Matar and Ibrahim Barqan, "Ahmed Amin's Position on 'Ilm al-Kalām: A Critical Study," p. 486.

⁵ See: Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, pp. 85–89.

⁶ See: Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, p. 98.

⁷ Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, p. 116.

⁸ Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, p. 125.

⁹ Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, p. 249.

¹⁰ Ahmed Amin, *Hayati (My Life)*, p. 244.

¹¹ See: Mohammed Rajab al-Bayoumi, *Ahmed Amin: Historian of Islamic Thought*, Dar al-Qalam, Damascus, Syria, 1st ed., 2001, p. 17.

¹² See: Ali Gomaa Muhammad, *The Path to Islamic Heritage*, Nahdet Misr for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Giza, Egypt, 4th ed., 2009, p. 18.

¹³ See: Ibn Manzur, *Lisān al-ʿArab (The Tongue of the Arabs)*, Dar al-Maʿarif, Cairo, Egypt, n.d., p. 4809.

¹⁴ See: Ibn Manzur, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, p. 57.

¹⁵ Muhammad al-Tahir Ibn Ashur, *Al-Tahrir wa al-Tanwir (The Liberation and Enlightenment)*, Tunisian Publishing House, 1st ed., 1984, Vol. 30, p. 134.

¹⁶ Ali Gomaa Muhammad, *The Path to Islamic Heritage*, p. 19.

¹⁷ Hassan Hanafi, *Heritage and Renewal*, p. 13.

¹⁸ Fahmi Jad'an, *The Theory of Heritage*, Dar al-Shorouk, Amman, Jordan, 1st ed., 1985, p. 17.

¹⁹ Ali Gomaa Muhammad, *The Path to Islamic Heritage*, p. 19.

²⁰ Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, *Heritage and Modernity*, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, Lebanon, 1st ed., 1991, p. 30.

²¹ Ali Gomaa Muhammad, *The Path to Islamic Heritage*, p. 19.

²² Hassan Hanafi, *Heritage and Renewal*, University Foundation for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, Beirut, Lebanon, 4th ed., 1992, p. 19.

²³ These fall within what is known as the internal Arab reading, namely the cultural projects that embody a civilizational consciousness and were undertaken by Arab thinkers. The external reading refers to Orientalist scholarship carried out by Orientalists. See: Mohammed Ali al-Kabsi, "Heritage

and the Problematic of Reading,” Contemporary Arab Thought Journal, No. 29, December 1983–January 1984, p. 106.

²⁴ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *From Reform to Renaissance*, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, Lebanon, 2nd ed., 2014, p. 18.

²⁵ See: Abdelilah Belkeziz, *From Reform to Renaissance*, pp. 21–23.

²⁶ Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones*, Dar al-Shorouk, Cairo, Egypt, 6th ed., 1979, pp. 106–107.

²⁷ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *From Reform to Renaissance*, p. 38.

²⁸ Ibn Faris, *Maqāyīs al-Lughah* (Dictionary of Language Measures), Dar al-Fikr, Damascus, Syria, 2nd ed., 1979, Vol. 5, p. 476.

²⁹ Khalil Abdel Karim, *The Melody of the Rababa on the Conditions of the Society of the Companions*, First Volume: Muhammad and the Companions, Arab Diffusion Foundation, Beirut, Lebanon, 2nd ed., 1998, p. 19.

³⁰ Mohammed Ali al-Kabsi, “Heritage and the Problematic of Reading,” p. 105.

³¹ Mohammed Abed al-Jabri, *We and Heritage*, Arab Cultural Center, Beirut, Lebanon, 6th ed., 1996, p. 11.

³² Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 11.

³³ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 14.

³⁴ See: Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, pp. 90–91.

³⁵ Ahmed Amin, *Fajr al-Islam* (The Dawn of Islam), Introduction by Taha Hussein, Arab Book House, Beirut, Lebanon, 11th ed., 1975, pp. Ṭā’–Yā’ (introductory pages).

³⁶ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 92.

³⁷ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 93.

³⁸ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, pp. 92–93.

³⁹ Ahmed Amin, *Duha al-Islam* (The Forenoon of Islam), Introduction by Taha Hussein, Arab Book House, Beirut, Lebanon, 10th ed., n.d., Vol. 1, Part 1, p. Ḥā’ (introductory page).

⁴⁰ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 68.

⁴¹ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 68.

⁴² Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 91.

⁴³ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 93.

⁴⁴ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 146.

⁴⁵ Hussein Mroueh, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Dar al-Farabi, Beirut, Lebanon, 1st ed., 2002, Vol. 1, p. 99.

⁴⁶ Hussein Mroueh, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Vol. 1, pp. 140–141.

⁴⁷ Hussein Mroueh, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Vol. 2, p. 177.

⁴⁸ Hussein Mroueh, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Vol. 2, p. 268.

⁴⁹ Hussein Mroueh, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Vol. 2, p. 179.

⁵⁰ Hussein Mroueh, *Materialist Tendencies in Arab-Islamic Philosophy*, Vol. 2, p. 179.

⁵¹ Abdelilah Belkeziz, *Critique of Heritage*, p. 356.