

famous **Shaykh** Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār [*q.v.*], his full name being Abu ‘l-Mu‘ayyad Muḥammad b. **Khāṭir** al-Dīn b. Laṭīf b. Mu‘īn al-Dīn Kaṭṭāl b. **Khāṭir** al-Dīn b. Bāyazīd b. Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār. Some say that his great-grandfather Mu‘īn al-Dīn Kaṭṭāl came to India and died at Dḡawnpūr. One of his brothers, **Shaykh** Bahlūl, who was attached to the service of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn, fell in battle and lies buried at the gate of the fort in Bayāna. According to his own statement, Muḥammad **Ghawth** was born in 906/1500. He was a pupil of **Shaykh** Zuhūr al-Dīn Hādjdjī Hudūr, and belonged to the **Shattāriyya** sect of Sūfis. He and his eight brothers were disciples of **Shaykh** Hādjdjī Hamīd, *khalīfa* of **Shāh** Kāḡan, the disciple and *khalīfa* of **Shaykh** ‘Abd Allāh **Shattārī**. After leading a solitary life for more than thirteen years in the mountains of Cūnār, he came to Guḡjarāt, where he became acquainted with the popular saint and scholar **Shaykh** Waḡjīh al-Dīn Guḡjarātī. He went to Āgra in 966/1558 and was treated with high regard by the emperor Akbar. Subsequently, he returned to Gwāliyār where he died and was buried in 970/1562. Humāyūn is also said to have been a faithful follower of Muḥammad **Ghawth**.

He was the author of several Sūfī works, the most popular of which is *al-Dḡawāhir al-khamsa* in Arabic, which he completed in 956/1549 (see Brockelmann, II², 550-1, S II, 616; printed at Fās 1318/1900-1) and which he subsequently rendered into Persian with additional improvements. His other works are *Ḳalīd-i makhzāzin*, *Bahr al-hayāt*, and *Mi‘rādī-nāma*. It is related that his ecstatic sayings in the *Mi‘rādī-nāma* were condemned by the ‘ulamā’ of Guḡjarāt, who passed orders for his execution, but that he was saved by the timely intervention of the above-mentioned **Shaykh** Waḡjīh al-Dīn.

Bibliography: Bankipore Lib., *Cat.*, xvi, nos. 1383-4; ‘Abd al-Ḥakḡ Dihlawī, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, 236; Ghulām-Sarwar Lāhawrī, *Khazīnat al-asfiyā’*, 969; Raḡmān ‘Alī, *Tadhkira-yi ‘ulamā’-i Hind*, 206; see also Hādjdjī *Khalīfa*, ii, 643; Ethé, *India Office Lib. cat.*, nos. 1875-6; Loth, *Arab. cat.*, nos. 671-2; Storey, i, 834 and n. 7. (ABDUL MUQTADIR)

MUHAMMAD ḤASAN KHĀN, a Persian man of letters, who died on 19 Shawwāl 1313/3 April 1896. His honorific titles were *Sani‘ al-Dawla* and later *Itimād al-Saltana*.

Through his mother he was related to the Kādḡjārs [*q.v.*] and through his father he claimed descent from the Mongol rulers. His father, Hādjdjī ‘Alī **Khān** of Marāgha, was a faithful servant of Nāṣir al-Dīn **Shāh** (in 1268/1852 he discovered the conspiracy of Sulaymān **Khān**) and the son from his youth upwards was in the service of the court.

Muḥammad **Hasan Khān** was one of the first students at the Dār al-Funūn founded in 1268/1851, and spent 12 years there. Later, he went with his father when he was appointed governor of ‘Arabistān. In 1280/1863 he was appointed second secretary to the Paris Legation and spent three-and-a-half years there. On his return to Tehran, he was appointed interpreter to the **Shāh** and in this capacity accompanied him on his travels. In 1288/1871 he was appointed head of the dragomanate (*dār al-tarḡūma*) and of the press bureau (*dār al-ṭibā‘a*) as well as director of the official *Rūznāma-yi dawlatī*. In 1290/1873 he was appointed superintendent of the palaces and assistant to the minister of justice and henceforth continually rose in rank.

E.G. Browne criticises severely the work of Muḥammad **Hasan Khān** and accuses him of having put his name to books alleged to have been written for him by indigent scholars. On the other hand, Žukov-

ski speaks with much respect of his works and shows that he inspired a great many literary undertakings (e.g. the printing of the **Qur‘ān** with an interlinear Persian translation, concordance and index; the foundation of a press for printing in Roman characters; the establishment of the **Mushiriyya** school; encouragement of the daily press, etc.) although after the appearance at Bombay of a satirical work by **Shaykh** Hāshimī **Shīrāzī**, the censorship was established on the suggestion of Muḥammad **Hasan Khān**.

The fact is that the number of works—often very useful—bearing the name of Muḥammad **Hasan Khān** is very large. Without the help of ‘secretaries’, some of these books could not have been undertaken. To Muḥammad **Hasan Khān** is in any case due the honour of having suggested them. His principal works deal with the history and geography of Persia and are often in the form of almanacs. They are *Mir‘āt al-buldān*, i, two editions (1293, 1294, a dictionary of geography: letters *alif-tā’*); ii, 1295 (history of the first fifteen years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iii (years 16-32 of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn and calendar); iv, 1296 (geography: letters *ḡā’-dḡīm* and history of 1296). In the geographical portions we find quotations from Yāḡūt and European travellers, along with notes specially prepared by the local authorities (an extract from the *Mir‘āt al-buldān*: *Ta‘rīkh-i Bābul wa-Nīnawā* was published at Bombay in 1311); *Ta‘rīkh-i muntazam-i Nāṣirī*, 3 parts, 1298-1300 (history from the time of the **Hidjra**; vol. iii, history of the Kādḡjārs 1194-1300); *Maḡla‘ al-shams*, 3 vols., 1301-3 (description of the journey to **Khurāsān** with important archaeological data; ii, 165-213, contains the autobiography of **Shāh** Ṭahmāsp, and ii, 469-500, a list of books in the library of sanctuary of Mashhad); *Kitāb Hidḡjat al-sa‘āda fi ḡadḡjat al-shahāda*, Tehran 1304, Tabriz 1310 (history of the martyrs of Karbalā’); *Khayrātun ḡisānun* (cf. sūra LX, 70), 3 vols., 1304-7 (biographies of famous women of Islam); *Kitāb Dwar al-tiḡjān fi ta‘rīkh Banī Ashkān*, 1308-10, 3 vols. (history of the Arsacids); *Kitāb al-Ma‘āthir wa ‘l-āthār*, 1309 (historical almanac for the 40th anniversary of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn **Shāh**); *Kitāb al-Tadwīn fi aḡwāl Dḡabal-i Sharwīn*, 1311 (history and geography of Sawād-kūh in Māzandarān).

In the field of imaginative literature, Muḥammad **Hasan Khān** was only a translator (*The Swiss Family Robinson*, romances of Jules Verne, discovery of America, *Ta‘rīkh-i Inkishāf-i Yangī Dunyā*, Tehran 1288, *Memoirs of the Indian Mutiny of 1857*). He also wrote a number of text-books on geography and on the French language.

Bibliography: V.A. Žukovski, obituary of Muḥammad **Hasan Khān** in *ZVO*, x (1896), 187-91; E.G. Browne, *Persian literature in modern times*, 453-56; E. Edwards, *Catalogue of Persian books of the Brit. Mus.*, 479-80. (V. MINORSKY)

MUHAMMAD AL-HĀSHIMĪ [see AL-HĀSHIMĪ].

MUHAMMAD ḤUSAYN BUSHRŪĪ, MULLĀ (1229-65/1814-49), the first convert to Bābism [*q.v.*], and a leading figure of the movement’s early period. Born in **Khurāsān** to a mercantile family, he pursued religious studies in Mashhad, Tehran, Iṣfahān and Karbalā’, where he studied under Sayyid Kāzīm Raṣṡtī [*q.v.*], head of the **Shaykhī** school [*q.v.*]. During a long residence, he acquired a private following, which gave grounds for believing he might become Raṣṡtī’s successor.

Following the latter’s death in 1844, **BushrūĪ** left for Kirmān to interview another prospective leader, Karīm **Khān** Kirmānī. En route, in **Shīrāz**, he met a former acquaintance, Sayyid ‘Alī Muḥammad

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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