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Dalam Diskusi Sesama Muslim**

**FALSAFAH, SAINS DAN
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SEMINAR

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**JABATAN AKIDAH DAN PEMIKIRAN ISLAM
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TEMA:
FALSAFAH DAN SAINS

ARABIC-ISLAMIC CULTURE: THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARSHIP

By:

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ABSTRACT

Arabic –Islamic scholarship of the Medieval Ages is of diverse disciplines, suffice it to state that, the scholars and the litterateur of this period were class-based. The Medieval scholars were interested in the classification of the sciences. The Ikhwān al-Şafā’, philosophers such as al-Kindī, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīna, religious scholars and theologians such as al-Ghazālī, Abū ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Ibn Ḥazm, a court servant, perhaps a lexicographer, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Khwārizmī, and others studied the various kinds of knowledge that were present in Arabic-Islamic culture, and the interrelations between them. Meanwhile, the purpose of this study is to revisit and if possible, re-assess the speculation on the classification of the sciences, which began from the mid-5th/11th Century onwards, in which, al-Andalus, for instance, was a fertile ground in the cultural efflorescence of the period. Thus, we have Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (368/978- 463/1071), Ibn Ḥazm (384/994- 456/1064), Şā‘id al-Andalusī (420/1029- 462/1070) and Ibn Bājjā (d.533/1139) all addressed the subject matter “the Classification of the Sciences” from different perspectives. The present study is going to highlight the essence of this classification of the sciences and perhaps its reflection and influence on the contemporary scholarship.

INTRODUCTION

From the mid-5th /11th century onwards, al-Andalus was a fertile ground for the speculation on the classification of the sciences. Form the two perspectives we have discussed above, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Ibn Ḥazm did their classification for religious viewpoint, while Şā‘id al-‘Andalusī and Ibn Bājjā from a purely scientific aspect. In spite of the differences all their analyses share two common features. The first is their proximity in time: all these scholars belong to the same era. The second is

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that in their own way, they all represent a mirror in which the growth and evolution of scientific knowledge are reflected at both social and material levels. The chronological coincidence of these scholars¹ is due to the internal evolution of Andalusī culture: Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, Ibn Ḥazm, Ṣā‘id, and the young Ibn Bājja belong to an era in which, for the first time, both religious and rational sciences attained the levels of Mashriqī knowledge. What is more, these scholars lived in an environment in which knowledge was expanding in various centres (namely the cities of Toledo, Saragossa and Seville) under the protection of learned sovereigns who promoted the two spheres of ‘ilm without any serious conflict emerging between them. So in a setting in which a large number of scholars were active in both fields, it is no surprise to discover that several authors (Ibn Ḥazm, Ibn Sid, al-Waqqāshī and Ibn Sīda) engaged in serious discussion on the harmony between reason and faith, and assessed the interrelation and usefulness of the sciences drawn from both.² And in a period of such scientific productivity it is natural that someone such as Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī should have written a historical treatise, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Umam*, to record the progress of al-Andalus in this field.³

The classifications of Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr are already known, and the role that the classification of the sciences plays in Ṣā‘id’s work has also been discussed. The present paper aims to add to this collection by describing Ibn Bājja’s classification.⁴ We will begin with a brief survey of the writings of the authors mentioned above, with three aims in mind: first, to provide a context for Ibn Bājja’s work; second, to evaluate his work and to reassess its forerunners with regards to the intellectual environment of the time; and third, to study the influence of the Aristotelian classification of the sciences and of the *Iḥṣā’ al-‘Ulūm*⁵ by al-Fārābī on Andalusī scientists and philosophers of the 5th / 11th century.

ANDALUSĪ CLASSIFICATIONS: IBN ḤAZM AND IBN ‘ABD AL-BARR:

As is well known, the only extant monograph that focuses on the classification of the sciences written in al-Andalus is *Marātib al-‘Ulūm* by Ibn Ḥazm. This work has a precedent in the ideas that his master Abū ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Barr expounds in a chapter in *Kitāb Jāmi’ bayān al-‘ilm*.⁶ Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was one of the outstanding religious scholars in the al-Andalus of his time, and the *Jāmi’* is a wide-ranging manual on the importance of religious disciplines, their learning, transmission and teaching, compiled on the basis of the prophetic hadith. He devotes a short chapter to the classification of the sciences, where he distinguishes between religious (*‘ilm al-diyānāt*) and rational knowledge (here called *sā’ir al-‘ulūm al-muntahala*, “the rest of the professed sciences”).⁷ He gives two classifications

¹ Note that Ibn Ḥazm is a disciple of Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and that both are contemporaries of Ṣā‘id al-Andalusī, who, in turn, has been credited with having been a disciple of Ibn Ḥazm and mentions him in *Ṭabaqāt al-‘umam*.

² Miquel, Forcada, “Ibn Bājja and the Classification of the Sciences in Al-Andalus”, *Journal of Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, vol. 16 (2006), p. 288.

³ More explicitly, Ibn Ḥazm wrote his *Risāla fī Faḍl al-Andalus* to celebrate the intellectual achievements of al-Andalus, and mentions a large number of scientists.

⁴ A study on Andalusian classifications of sciences can be found in the introductory study of the edition of Ibn Ḥazm’s *Marātib al-‘ulūm* by Anwar G. Chejne, *Ibn Ḥazm* (Chicago, 1982).

⁵ A recent summary of this content can be found in Majid Fakhry, *Al-Farabi Founder of Islamic Neo-Platonism. His Life, Works and Influence* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 40-53.

⁶ *Kitāb Jāmi’ bayān al-‘ilm wa-faḍlihi wa-mā yanbaghī fī riwāyatihi wa-ḥamlīhi* (Beirut, s.a.), pp. 36-40.

⁷ Note the ecumenical spirit of the author, who refers to religious scholars and sciences in plural, suggesting that the same conception of knowledge can be found in any religion.

of science, one according to “philosophers” (*aḥl al-falsafa*), and the other according to “religious scholars” (*aḥl al-diyānāt*). Both divide sciences into three levels: superior, intermediate, and inferior. For the religious scholars, the superior sciences are the ones that require knowledge of divine revelation; intermediate sciences deal with worldly things (such as “medicine and geometry”); and inferior sciences with elementary knowledge such as writing, and arts and crafts. The author says that philosophers have a similar classification, in which the philosophical sciences are the superior ones. Just as he omits philosophy from the religious disciplines, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr does not state the place of the religious disciplines in the philosophers’ classification, but he explains the differences between the “intermediate science” of the philosophers and religious scholars. Philosophers divide them into arithmetic (*‘ilm al-ḥisāb*), astronomy, medicine, and music. After stating that religious scholars do not accept music, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr describes in great detail the subjects the dealt with by mathematics, astronomy and medicine from the point of view of what is acceptable in religion. The only subject explicitly denounced is astrology: the author devotes a long paragraph to its condemnation. He also includes a three-tier classification of the religious sciences. Though not strictly speaking a scientist or a philosopher, Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr was by no means ignorant of these subjects. Indeed, he wrote an important treatise on *farā’id* (arithmetic applied to inheritances) which is known to have influenced Ibn Sayyid al-Kalbī, one of the important al-Andalus mathematicians of the 5th / 11th century.⁸ In this chapter on the classification of the sciences, he shows an awareness of many of them, and Balty-Guesdon even suggests that the structure of his classification may have been influenced by that of the Ikhwan al-Safa’. From his pages we can infer an acceptance (found also in other religious scholars of his time) of a wide range of subjects which did not challenge orthodoxy and were also socially useful, though the criterion of social utility is not explicitly stated. Nonetheless, he does not bring together the sciences of reason and faith in a single corpus; in fact, the two spheres are presented as if they were two separate worlds.

Ibn Ḥazm attempts to combine reason and faith, perhaps because unlike his master he was well trained in philosophy, though not in science, apart from some knowledge of medicine.⁹ In the *Marātib al-‘Ulūm* the author present a syllabus to enable the student to acquire a global knowledge that harmonizes rational and religious sciences. This syllabus is structured in three tiers that coincide faithfully with the three levels of sciences defined by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr. At the elementary level, the students must learn to read and write and memorize the Qur’an. At the intermediate stage, he must learn grammar, poetry, mathematics, geometry, astronomy (not astrology), then logic, botany, zoology, mineralogy and anatomy. At the superior level, the student must study what Jolivet calls “a sort of rational theology”.¹⁰ Underlying this classification is an Aristotelian-Farabian order distorted by Ibn Ḥazm’s own criteria, the most important of which was, obviously, the subordination of any

⁸ Menso, Folkerts & Jan P. Hogendijk (eds.), *Vestigia Mathematica: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Mathematics in Honour of H.L.L. Busard* (Amsterdam- Atlanta, 1993), pp. 79-91.

⁹ Chejne, *Ibn Ḥazm*, pp. 38-9.

¹⁰ Jolivet, “Classification”, p. 1008.

knowledge to the revealed truth, that is to say, to the only sciences that lead to salvation. Rational sciences are merely a propaedeutic tool for the religious.

ŞĀ'ID AL-ANDALUSĪ'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES: BETWEEN AL-FĀRĀBĪ AND IBN BĀJJA

Şā'id al-Andalusī was a judge, but also a pure scientist, an astronomer, who was interested in history. Merging the two disciplines he wrote his famous *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-'Umam*,¹¹ in which he intended to present a systematic summary of the history of science and scientists since time immemorial. The book deals almost exclusively with the sciences of the ancients, and, unlike the works mentioned above, includes astrology. However, religious sciences are omitted, as is the religious perspective on sciences, which is the core of Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's classifications. As noted above, Şā'id's book is a true celebration of rational sciences. Astronomy was his life's work; it is the science that occupies him most in *Ṭabaqāt*, in which he also discusses other mathematical disciplines. He possibly had some knowledge of medicine, due, perhaps, to the importance of the discipline in Toledo and to his personal relationship with some of the outstanding physicians of this city such as Ibn Wāfid.

Though we do not know whether Sa'id was trained in philosophy, he must have had some knowledge of the discipline. In the learned Toledan circles to which he belonged¹² there were many people with a knowledge of philosophy and, in *Ṭabaqāt*, we can see that he held the discipline in high esteem: he tries to draw attention to it by highlighting the works of the few Andalusī philosophers he knew at that time (namely Ibn Hazm and Ibn Sīda, both mentioned as logicians); he describes in great detail all the scientists who were knowledgeable of philosophical disciplines, although they were not philosophers; finally, he shows an adequate knowledge of falsafa, particularly of Aristotle and al-Fārābī. He describes the latter's books on logic, the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*, and some of his most important works,¹³ so accurately that he may actually have studied them. The clearest evidence that he had read some al-Fārabi can be found in the description of Aristotelian works and in the enumeration of the Greek philosophical schools presented in *Ṭabaqāt*, which are practically literal quotations from the short tract *Risāla fī mā yanbaghī an yuqaddam qabla ta'allum al-falsafa*.¹⁴

The classification of the sciences appears in *Ṭabaqāt* in two ways. First, directly, in Şā'id's extremely favourable description of the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm*: "There had never been a book like it and no one has tried to imitate it. No student of any of the sciences can do without it or proceed without it";¹⁵ and second, indirectly, in the way in which Şā'id arranges the various disciplines and authors included in the book.¹⁶ In this connection, we should note that the Farabian order does not appear as such, for obvious reasons: being a work of *Ṭabaqāt* genre, the chronological criterion had to be respected; most of Şā'id biographers were active in several disciplines, a fact that makes a stratification science-by-

¹¹ Miquel, Forcada, "Ibn Bajja and the Classification of the Sciences in Al-Andalus", *Journal of Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, vol. 16, p. 292.

¹² On philosophy in the kingdom of Toledo at that time, see Rafael Ramon.

¹³ Şā'id, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 137-40.

¹⁴ Muḥammad, T.D., *al-Manṭiqiyyāt li-al-Fārābī*, 1 (1987), pp. 1-10.

¹⁵ Şā'id, *Ṭabaqāt*, pp. 205-206.

¹⁶ On the classification of the sciences in *Şā'id and al-Fārābī's influence*, see Balty-Guesdon, *Medecins et homes de science*, pp. 458-63.

science impossible; finally, an experienced scientist like Ṣā'id had his own criteria and preferences. What is really of interest to us is a guide for correct scientific training, even though this book has not a pedagogic purpose. In the biography of one of the outstanding Jewish scholars of Saragossa, Abū al-Faḍl Ḥasday ibn Yusuf ibn Ḥasday, the relationship between classification of the sciences and education is explicitly described:

IBN BĀJJA'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE SCIENCES:

It is well known that during the time of the *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* (5th / 11th century) many scholars frequented and settled in Saragossa, which was ruled by a learned dynasty. Al-Muqtaḍir and al-Mu'taman ibn Hūd, both described as knowledgeable of many scientific philosophic disciplines (the latter infact was the author of the *Kitāb al-Istikmāl*, one of the most important mathematical treatises ever written in al-Andalus), promoted an intellectual climate in which the influence of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā and al-Fārābī was widely felt.¹⁷

Ibn Bajja's longest text on the subject appears as an explanatory interpolation in his glosses to al-Fārābī's commentary to Porphyry's *Isagoge*.¹⁸ So the classification of the sciences is inserted in the introduction to the *Organon*; in other words, a propaedeutic question appears at the very beginning of Ibn Bājja's process of understanding a propaedeutic discipline. The text is the following:¹⁹ The syllogistic arts are those whose object consists of being used once integrated and perfected, and they do not have among their aims the doing of some particular work. They are five: philosophy and its arts, Philosophy is the art that comprehends all things (*mawjūdāt*)²⁰ in so far as they are known via a certain science. Its parts are established according to the parts of beings.

Among them, there is theology (*al-ilm al-ilāhī*), which comprehends the beings which are the ultimate causes of anything affected by them, and are neither a body nor in a body.

Among them, there is physical science (*al-ilm al-ṭabī'ī*), the theoretical art by which the true science in natural bodies, and in the accidents of the essence as well, is attained. It comprehends all beings, whose existence does not originate in the human will,²¹ which are the bodies composed by matter and form and their inherent accidents with respect to matter and form.

Among them is the science of the will (*al-ilm al-irādī*, politics) which comprehends the beings that exist through human will and choice. They consist of virtues and vices.

Among them are the mathematical sciences (*al-ta'ālīm*), which comprehend beings separated from matter but not from number and measure. They are divided into seven classes: the first is arithmetic (*ilm al-'adad*), which studies the properties and character of numbers; the second is geometry (*ilm al-handasa*), which studies the line, the surface and the body taken in themselves; the

¹⁷ Julio Samso, "The Development of Arabic Science in Andalus", in *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science*, vol.1, pp. 243- 75.

¹⁸ The glosses of Ibn Bājja to Farabian *Isagoge* are gathered in two short tracts. *Kitāb Isāghūjī and Gharad Abī Naṣr fī Isāghūjī* which can be found in the above quoted editions by Fakhry in pp. 23-62. Joaquin, Lomba, "Ibn Bājja", *Encyclopedia de al-Andalus*, vol.1, pp. 624- 63.

¹⁹ Ed. Fakhry, pp. 27-9. Ibn Bājja, *Rasā'il falsafīyya li- Abī Bakr ibn Bājja. Nuṣūṣ falsafīyya ghayr manshūra*, ed. Jamal al-Dīn al-'Alawī (Beirut- Casablanca, 1983), pp. 78-79.

²⁰ The term *Mawjūdāt* is employed very frequently by al-Fārābī to designate the object of the sciences, as we can see, for example, in the *Iḥṣā'* in the chapter devoted to metaphysics and *Tahṣīl al-Sa'āda*, pp. 8-9.

²¹ The negative sense that this sentence requires is not recorded in the editions.

third is optics (*'ilm al-manāzir*, the science of the aspects), which studies the line, the surface and the body in so far as they are objects of observation; the fourth is astronomy (*'ilm al-nujūm*), which studies the quantity of movements of celestial bodies, their structure, and the dimension of their sizes and distances; the fifth is music, which the sounds and their relations, as well as their harmony and discord, and enumerates their properties concerning their measure; the sixth is statics (*'ilm al-athqal*, the science of the weights) which studies either their measure or what is measured by them, and the way of lifting and moving them from a place to another; the seventh is the science of artifices (*'ilm al-ḥiyal*),²² which studies the way of making real many things that can be proved theoretically by means of mathematical sciences. The artifice seeks to remove the obstacles that impede its existence and also the contrary. There are mathematical artifices (*'adadiyya*) such as algebra, geometrical artifices (*handasiyya*) and static artifices (*athqaliyya*).

Among them is the art of logic, which comprehends all the inherent properties of beings that appear to the human mind when it speculates about each one of these beings. Because of those properties and their knowledge, (the art of logic) is a tool that permits the comprehension of what is correct and certain in beings. For this reason, some consider it only as an instrument of philosophy, not as a part of it, but, in so far as those properties are, in turn, beings, and their knowledge, the science of certain kind of beings, some others consider it as a part of philosophy. Both aspects occur in it. Philosophy has thus become a word that comprehends theology, physics, the science of the will and mathematical sciences.

The art of logic which provides the rules to grasp the true knowledge in these beings and in the various arts that philosophy comprehends as well, is named demonstration (*burhān*).

As for dialectics (*jadāl*), it is the art that comprehends beings in so far as it employs in them the confirmation and refutation through known methods, and its most important aim is to give a solid opinion from them. It is a technique (*miḥna*) that employs practice in refuting and confirming some position. The part of logic that gives the rules of this art is also named dialectics, and its name is given by homonymy (*bi-al-ishtirāq*).

As for sophistry, it is the art that comprehends beings in so far as one disguises and misleads them, and their truth is represented in the form of error and the error in the form truth. Its most important aim is to induce error about truth and to oppose it. The part of logic that gives the rules of this art is named sophistry, and its name is also given by homonymy.

As for rhetoric (*khiṭāba*), it is the art that comprehends beings in so far as they are studied through the accepted methods and what is believed without further consideration. Its most important aim is the trust in something. It is a technique employed to teach common people the demonstrative things of sciences that they cannot judge for themselves. The part of logic that gives the rules of this art is also named rhetoric, and its name is given by homonymy.

As for poetry (*shi'r*), it is the art that comprehends beings in so far as they are imagined and represented with images. It is a technique employed to teach common people what can themselves

²² This term means, "Engineering" in al-Fārābī and Ibn Bājjā this word has a more general meaning.

represent of the thing conceived in the sciences. Its most important aim is to compare a thing with its image, in as much as the form of Zayd can be seen in a mirror. The part of logic that gives the rules of this art is also named poetry, and its name is also given by homonymy.

All these are the syllogistic arts, whose operation and aim, once perfected consists of applying syllogisms. All of them, with the exception of philosophy, have recourse to syllogisms only for discourse (*mukhāṭaba*), whereas philosophy for discourse and deduction. Among the practical arts (*ṣanā‘i‘‘amaliyya*), there are some which use syllogisms, such as medicine and agronomy, but they are not termed syllogism because their ultimate aim is not to discourse and to employ syllogism but to do some kind of work.

This text is like a set of Russian dolls. The general framework is set out by the abovementioned work by al-Fārābī, *Kitāb Isāghūjī ay al-Madkhal*,²³ which begins with the following words: “Our purpose in this book is the enumeration of the things of which judgments are composed and into which they are divided, viz., the parts of the syllogistic expressions employed in general in all the syllogistic arts”. Ibn Bājja devotes more than a page to glossing this sentence, often word by word, until he reaches the expression “syllogistic arts”, the commentary of which is the text translated above.

INFLUENCE OF CONTEMPORARY SCHOLARS:

During 1960s and 1970s several scholars talked about Islamic science, notably S.H. Nasr, Naquib al-Attas and Jaafer Sheikh Idris. During the 1980s Ismā‘il al-Fārūqī was very active in this field as well as Seyed ‘Ali Ashraf. In April 1977, the First World Conference on Muslim Education was held in Mecca. In this conference, which involved many eminent scholars from various parts of the world, the Islamization of various disciplines was emphasized. In the last two decades, the International Institute of Islamic Thought, with headquarters in Virginia (USA) and with branches in a number of capitals world-wide, has been very active in this area. Furthermore, many international conferences dealing with this subject have been held in the Islamic and Western countries, and several scientific journals have been published, including: The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences (America), Journal of Islamic Science (India), and Muslim Education Quarterly (U.K.), to name just a few. Furthermore, many books have been published which deal with this subject.

The problem of religious science has not been under consideration only in the Islamic world. It has been under discussion in the Christian World too. In fact, the Pascal Center has held two conferences in Canada in the last eight years under the banner of “Science in a Theistic Context”. Here we want to discuss why the problems of Islamization of Knowledge or Islamic Science have been brought up in the Islamic world, and how one can make sense of Islamic science.

During the golden age of Islamic civilization, the sciences of nature were part of philosophy, and they were taught along with mathematics and theology and all of them were embedded within a single metaphysical framework. Muslim scholars believed in a hierarchy of knowledge which started from revealed knowledge and terminated in empirical knowledge. But, they also believed in the interrelatedness of various disciplines. With the development of modern science in the sixteenth and

²³Donald, M. Dunlop, “Al-Fārābī’s Eisagoge”, *Islamic Quarterly*, 3 (1956), pp. 117-38.

seventeen centuries, and with the subsequent success in the description of natural phenomena, the sciences of nature became separated from philosophy and followed their own way. During the nineteenth century, positivism and other schools of empiricism emerged and they control academic circles. This situation is still dominant. Thus scientists in the West predominantly neglect religious concern in their scientific investigations or are even antagonistic toward such considerations. The survival of religious concerns among Western scientists in the last few decades is still a weak current, though it has been gaining strength with the passage of time.

It was during the strong current of positivism that modern science was transferred to the Islamic world and carried with it the underlying empiricist overtones-outlook which separated science from atheistic metaphysical framework. Thus, secular science became prevalent and the view that science is not compatible with religion or independent of it became dominant.

Since the Islamic world has not, despite of loosening its ties with religion, caught up with western progress in the field of science and technology, and because immorality has been strengthened due to the misuse of science and scientific products, many celebrated Muslim Scholars throughout the Islamic world have preached for the concept of Islamic science.²⁴

CONCLUSION

The classifications of the sciences in al-Andalus can be considered as reflections of the scientific activity of the 5th / 11th century, in so far as all of them mirror a relevant issue in the question. The classifications by religious scholars and theologians (Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr and Ibn Ḥazm) show the problem of the relationship between reason and faith, between ‘*Ulūm ‘aqliyya* and ‘*ulūm naqliyya*, in a context of relative consensus that was favourable to intellectual debate. Philosophy is potentially seen as a conflictive science, particularly by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, but Ibn Ḥazm solves the problem by appealing to its condition as an “*ancilla theologiae*”. Šā‘id al-Andalusī complements the perfection of the earlier authors with a faithful portrait of scientific progress in al-Andalus. His work reflects a fairly high level of accomplishment in medicine, astronomy and other mathematical disciplines, and a notable interest in philosophy, although no major philosopher (apart from Ibn Ḥazm) had yet appeared in al-Andalus. He describes the breeding ground on which the great Western falsafa was to flourish in the following century. He tells us that scientific Aristotelian classification of the sciences contributed to the scientific training in a way that we are still far from understanding completely and that al-Fārābī’s *Iḥṣā’* was known. Aristotle and al-Fārābī’s order and classification of the sciences are thus linked to the flourishing of the Andalusī sciences of the ancients, and the best lesson one can learn from them- the unity of knowledge- seems to have been particularly well understood in Saragossa the most important centre of mathematical and philosophical studies at the time. Ibn Bājja, the major representative of the school, writes a short text on the classification of the sciences, under al-Fārābī’s influence. These lines are merely a note to another note to a minor tract by al-Fārābī, but show that a different conception of sciences and philosophy prevails among some Andalusī scholars.²⁵ This text

²⁴ Mehdi, Golshani, “How To Make Sense of ‘Islamic Science’?” in *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, p. 3.

²⁵ Miquel, Forcada, “Ibn Bajja and the Classification of the Sciences in Al-Andalus”, *Journal of Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, pp. 306-7.

presents sciences as syllogistic disciplines, in which accurate reasoning, structured according to a given set of rules, must guide the work of the scientist. This methodology would be followed by Ibn Bājja in several studies that foreshadow an important chapter in Andalusī science in the 6th/12th century.

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**TABATABAIE'S CONTROVERSIAL IDEAS IN ISLAMIC MORAL
THOUGHT; A LESSON LEARNED FOR EDUCATIONAL PROSPERITY
OF ISLAMIC ACADEMIES**

By

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ABSTRACT

*In this paper, we are going to discuss Mohammad Hossein Tabatabaie's moral framework, as a controversial Islamic philosopher, in his *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method* and *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*. In order to do that, we shall explore the metaphysical, epistemological and semantical aspects of his framework and it is shown that his attempts demonstrate that he was a genuine thinker in the sense that the implications of his ideas - which challenges some Islamic laws - does not play a crucial role in his way of thinking and philosophising. We are inclined to conclude that although Tabatabaie is a Muslim and a commentator of the *Qur'an*, he has some moral ideas which sound idiosyncratic according to the majority of Muslim scholars. However, this does not entail that these ideas must be marginalised. These controversies between Muslim scholars, we think, have to be considered and supported in Islamic educational academies. These idiosyncratic ideas need to be discussed and talked about in Islamic academies instead of being ignored and rejected. Preparing environment for having dialogue between Islamic scholars with different ideas is a significant key for educational prosperity of Islamic academies.*

Keywords: *Tabatabaie, moral framework, Islamic academies, conventional*

INTRODUCTION

One of the important discussions among Islamic philosophers, as far as meta-ethics is concerned, is the relation between “real perceptions¹” and “conventional (contractual) perceptions²”. The former is

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¹ [edrakat e haghghi]

² [edrakate e etebari]

about our understanding of the real world which is out there and includes facts. For instance, the point that Everest is the highest mountain in the world is a fact. The latter, generally, focuses on normative claims. For example to say that you *ought* to eat this apple is a kind of normative claim.³ Mohammad Hossein Tabatabaie, as an Islamic Philosopher, has tried to explain this relation in his *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method*.

To qualify what the “conventional perceptions” is, it would be better to start with a useful classification which is talked about amongst Islamic philosophers i.e. “general conventionals”⁴ and “particular conventionals”⁵. General conventionals, according to some Muslim philosophers must be related to abstract things. For example, Ibn Sina (Avicenna), in his *Al-Mobahesat* talks about hypothetical properties⁶ of things vs. intrinsic properties⁷ of things; then he regards hypothetical ones as conventionals.⁸ Furthermore, Suhrawardī, in *Al-mashari' wa'l-motarahat* and *Hikmat al-ishraq* attempts to categorise his position, according to which one can distinguish between conventionals and non-conventionals. Also, he talks about two kinds of being as: “subjective being”⁹ and “objective being”¹⁰; and emphasises that conventionals are something which their subjective and objective beings are the same.¹¹

Particular conventionals, on the other hand, are discussed commonly in the fields of law, fiqh and ethics. In law, the issues of ownership and possession are considered as conventional. In fiqh, whether or not something is permissible (Halal or Haram) is considered as conventional and finally in ethic, which is the subject of this paper, the discussion of obligations, ought, right and wrong are seen as conventional.

Tabatabaie’s discussion in *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method* (part six) should be understood as a discussion of particular conventionals in the realm of ethics. In the next section we shall address his moral epistemology as well as his ontology and semantics in details. Then, in the third section we argue that although Tabatabaie’s idea in ethics is idiosyncratic, it does not follow from this that it has to be put aside and marginalized. Rather, we have to consider these ideas in Islamic academies, as they need to be talked about and elaborated in public. Providing arguments in favour of different claims is the only criterion that determines their plausibility, as Al-Ghazali put: “we are the follower of *reason*”.

TABATABAIE’S ETHICS; ANTI-REALIST AND COGNITIVIST

In Tabatabaie’s *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method* and *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur’an* we could distinguish two types of goodness and badness from each other. The first is the very idea of ‘goodness’ which is attributed to the subject, regardless of what is going on out there, whereas the

³ Tabatabaie, M. (2000) *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method*: Sadra Publishers, Vol 2, p. 200.

⁴ [etebariat be ma’anal aam]

⁵ [etebariat be ma’anal akhas]

⁶ [osaf e farzi]

⁷ [osaf e zati]

⁸ Ibn Sina, *Al-Mobahesat*, Bidarfar, M. (ed.), Qom, p. 131.

⁹ [vojoud e zehni]

¹⁰ [vojoud e eyni]

¹¹ Corbin, H., (1993), *Suhrawardī’s Writings* [Majmoeye Mosanefate Sheikh-e-Eshragh], Tehran, Vol 1, p. 343 and Ibid, Vol 2, p. 64-71.

second is the 'goodness' and 'badness' which are attributed to the very action. According to Tabatabaie, goodness and badness in ethical propositions such as 'promise-keeping is good' and 'killing an innocent child is bad' refers to the subject, in the sense that they cannot be found in the real world, independently of the subject.

In other words, Tabatabaie tries to give a plausible account of conventionalistic ethics, according to which the ways in which thin moral properties such as goodness, badness, duty, obligation... are connected to thick moral properties such as: fidelity, gratitude, non maleficence... in different ethical propositions have nothing to do with what is going on out there. In order to make his point clearer, Tabatabaie compares 'marriage' and 'adultery' with each other. According to him, what is going on in 'marriage' and 'adultery' is more or less the same, metaphysically speaking. In other words, the ways in which men and women are connected to each other in these phenomena are the same. However, we regard 'marriage' as permissible and 'adultery' as impermissible, morally speaking. It follows from this that 'goodness' and 'badness' cannot be found in the world and the way in which they are connected to thick moral properties in moral propositions is entirely dependent on moral subjects and their conventions, not what is going on in the real world. He says in *Al-Mizan*:

*"It seems that the nature of "good" is related to our interests, emotions and sensations".*¹²

Also he maintains in *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method*:

*"Goodness and badness are nothing to do with the fabric of the world".*¹³

Furthermore, as far as meta-ethics is concerned, there are two main schools in contemporary moral epistemology which can be distinguished from each other: cognitivism and non-cognitivism. Cognitivists believe that moral claims are truth-apt in the sense that, they are true or false. However, non-cognitivists endorse that moral claims do not have cognitive element and their truth and falsity cannot be talked about at all. Moreover, moral epistemology is associated with moral ontology in a way that cognitivists are not necessarily realists. Cognitivism does not entail realism. In principle, one can be categorized both as cognitivist and realist. For instance, Kantian ethics is categorized as both cognitivist and anti-realist, according to which, moral properties do not exist in the phenomenal world, however, it does not follow from this that moral propositions have no cognitive elements.¹⁴

Having seen the relationship between moral epistemology and moral ontology, we could say that Tabatabaie is cognitivist, as he does believe that moral claims have cognitive elements, epistemically speaking and can be talked about, inter-subjectively, though they do not refer to anything in the world, out there. Furthermore, Tabatabaie believes that words such as goodness, badness,...are definable, on the grounds that he thinks 'goodness' is not a sui generis property and one can define it by utilizing other concepts such as pleasure, beauty... So, although he thinks that

¹² See: *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*, Vol 2, P 9.

¹³ See: *The Principles of Philosophy and the Realist Method*, p 204.

¹⁴ For more details about cognitivism and realism in ethics see: Miller, A. (2003) *An Introduction to Contemporary Meta Ethics* (Oxford: Clarendon press), Chapter 1. Smith, M. (1997) 'Realism' in *A Companion to Ethics*, Singer, P. (ed.), (Oxford: Blackwell), pp.399-410.

goodness is not a real property from the metaphysical point of view, he maintains that it can be defined, semantically speaking.

As we have seen in the above, Tabatabaie's ethics is an anti-realistic and cognitivist ethics. According to him, there is no such thing as moral concepts to be found in the real world, since these moral concepts are strongly associated with moral subjects, i.e. they are subjective, not objective. Also, he believes that the cognitive element of moral propositions can be talked about and discussed inter-subjectively. It means that we can talk about their truth and falsity, epistemologically speaking. Now we can articulate Tabatabaie's ethics from different points of views as follows:

- i. Ontological; moral values or thin moral properties do not exist in the real world. In fact, these properties are not in the world like other entities. Kant, Mackie and Hare are anti-realist in this sense like Tabatabaie.
- ii. Semantic; Tabatabaie thinks that words such as good, bad, ought are definable. In other words, he believes that good is not a *sui generis* property and one can define it by utilizing other concepts. In this way, it could be possible to compare Tabatabaie's ethics with naturalists and utilitarians like Bentham and Mill who believe that moral properties can be defined by resorting to other natural properties such as pleasure, beauty, perfection and so on.
- iii. Epistemic; Moral judgments are truth-apt, can be talked about and have truth and falsity. It follows from this that they have cognitive element.

BEING IDIOSYNCRATIC DOES NOT MEAN TO BE MARGINALIZED

Tabatabaie's paper in *The Principle* was extremely controversial among Muslim scholars especially in Iran. Throughout the past thirty years, the post-revolutionary Iran has witnessed a sequence of discursive formations on Islam and its socio-political role. The revolution of 1979 signalled transformation of traditional Islam into an effective political ideology, conducive to mass mobilization and instrumental in the "Islamization" of the new regime.

Having such a position in the realm of ethics (anti-realistic position) is, without any doubt, an idiosyncratic idea. In fact, Tabatabaie's ethics is somehow similar to *I'tizali* ethics in the sense that both of them believe that our moral judgments are the products of Reason Alone and can be achieved without referring to God or *Qur'an* in the first place. This position can be regarded as a kind of secularism.

Motahari, as a Muslim mullah thinker, attacked Tabatabaie's ethics and maintained that this kind of ethics is a materialistic, relativistic and egoistic one.¹⁵ In fact, Motahari's objection stems from the idea that one cannot be remained Muslim and believes in such an anti-realistic account in ethics. There is a big inconsistency here, according to Motahari.

¹⁵ Motahari, M., *A Criticism of Marxism* [Naghdi bar Marxism], Tehran, Sadra Publisher, pp. 194-196. Also see Soroush, A., (1981), *Ethics and Immortality; In the memory of Motahari* [Javdanegi va Akhlagh: Yadnamey e Shahid Motahari], Sadra Publisher.

Another objection which is put forward by Sobhani (a Grand-Ayatollah) was more philosophical than Motahari's one. For Sobhani attacked Tabatabaie's idea regarding the relationship between "ought" and "is". Following David Hume, the 18th century influential sceptic Scottish philosopher, Tabatabaie hold that it is not the case that "ought" can be derived from "is". On the contrary, Sobhani argued that this is wrong and there are some cases in ethics that we can infer "ought" from "is". For we have some self-evident rational good or bad actions.¹⁶

These kinds of objections from Ulama make the abandonment of such an account in Islamic ethics reasonable for them. In fact, their religiosity forces them to eliminate such an idea. However, one can be a Muslim and philosophically does believe in such an idiosyncratic idea. We have to approach philosophical ideas in a philosophical way. For instance, we are entitled to criticise Tabatabaie's ethics in such way:

How could Tabatabaie possibly square his devotion to religion, to mysticism and to the sovereign God of Islam with a secular mode of thought which follows the command of Reason Alone? This kind of secularism harbours the discovery of the natures, the independent-from-God essences of things. How could Tabatabaie's secularism, his *I'tizali* thought, ever host the God of religion? Wishing to safeguard the God of Islam and simultaneously limit His sovereignty by the essences of things, does Tabatabaie's project not suffer from the same contradictions in the *I'tizali* program? How could Tabatabaie reconcile between, on the one hand, the authority of the Sovereign God, the law-giver and the Truth-holder, and, on the other, the sovereignty of Reason Alone, which in its turn means but the negation of all authorities? Tabatabaie's ethics, it is said, incorporates this theoretical inconsistency. Is it the case?

These questions can help us to discuss about Tabatabaie's ethics in more philosophical way. If these questions cannot be answered, then we could conclude that Tabatabaie's arguments are not valid. However, implausibility is one thing, putting aside and marginalizing an idea is another thing. Moreover, Tabatabaie was a well-established mullah-thinker and scholar who had many students in Iran. Because of this wide-range acceptance amongst mullah and grand ayatollah, he did not end up in sending away on exile.¹⁷

Islamic academies should take into account this attitude towards philosophical ideas. These controversies between Muslim scholars, we think, have to be considered and supported in Islamic educational academies. These idiosyncratic ideas need to be discussed in Islamic academies instead of being ignored and rejected. Preparing environment for having dialogue between Islamic scholars with different ideas is a significant key for educational prosperity of Islamic academies.

History of Islam indicates that abandoning and marginalizing philosophical ideas does not work and does not have desirable consequences at the end of the day. The eliminated ideas often are

¹⁶ For more details, see Sobhani, J., (1989), *Rational Good and Bad* [hosn o ghobh e aghli], Institute for cultural research. Also see Hume, D., *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Book ii, *Ethics*, Section 3, (Penguin Books, 1969), p510&521.

¹⁷ Mulla-Sadra, very influential Muslim philosopher, was an exception. Although he had many students and followers, the government forced him for exile.

re-introduced and discussed again in the history with different formulations in different time by other scholars.

Thus, the essential key for Islamic academies to be regarded as developed ones is providing open environment for scholars and encourages them to have dialogues and conversations without having fear of excommunication.

CONCLUSION

Having seen different elements of Tabatabaie's ethical framework, we are inclined to conclude that although Tabatabaie is a Muslim and a commentator of the *Qur'an*, his anti-realistic and conventionalistic ethics sounds idiosyncratic according to the majority of Muslim scholars. However, it does not follow from this that these ideas must be marginalised and put aside. In contrast, these controversies between Muslim scholars have to be supported in Islamic educational academies. These idiosyncratic ideas need to be discussed and elaborated instead of being ignored and denied, as they are part of our weighty Islamic heritage, whether or not we accept them. Only rational confrontation and putting forward arguments for and against different claims and evaluating them have the upper hand and is promising in this relation. Arriving at environment, in which vivid and flourishing dialogues between Islamic scholars with different ideas take place frequently and conveniently, is a significant key for educational prosperity of Islamic academies.

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YAHYA IBN 'ADI ON HAPPINESS

By:

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ABSTRACT

*Yahya Ibn 'Adi was among Christian scholars who especially distinguished themselves in the 10th/11th century Baghdad. He was no longer relying on the Caliphs but found his own means of living which in turn prolonged his own academic interest. Consequently, he was no mere translator any more, but genuine scholar. He was not only the leader of his group but was also dubbed as the best Christian translator, logician and theologian of his times. This is justified, in addition, by his ample productivity in those fields of enquiry. A considerable number of such works have evidently been used by contemporary and later writers, and have also reached us today. Hence we consider that it is in these aspects that his distinctive contributions to scholarship lie, and therefore he deserves more serious study. The present paper discusses Yahya Ibn 'Adi's theory of happiness (*al-sa'adah*) as reflected in his major work on ethics, *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq (The Refinement of Character)*. It confines itself to discussing the concept of happiness and to finding out the answer to those particular questions regarding its nature such as, What is meant by happiness, or what does happiness consist of? Why is happiness the end to be achieved by man and for which sake he was created? Is happiness attainable in this life or the next? Who is the happy man? and so forth.*

INTRODUCTION

The central problem of philosophical ethics is the problem of happiness (*al-sa'ada*). It is the greatest good, the good without any qualification, self-sufficient in nature, the good that is sought for itself, not for anything else. It is the greatest good, the completion of virtue, and the end of perfection, beyond which there is no end. Since happiness is widely accepted as the ultimate aim of human life (Aristotle, 1980), and since this aim can only be realised by the improvement of the human soul or through ethico-religious practices, ethics, then, consistently occupies a central place in Judaism, Christianity

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and Islam. Other subjects such as politics and economics are connected with ethics, basically, either in a supportive role or as its backgrounds (Quasem 1981; and Hourani 1985).

Happiness, the highest goal of ethics, and for which the latter becomes the science par-excellence, has also turned out to be the ideal of almost all branches of science and is fundamental to many of these religious societies, especially in the medieval period. In politics, for instance, the ruler is not only accountable for the security of life and property of his subjects, but above all for the attainment of their happiness (Plato 1974; al-Farabi 1983; and Aquinas 1963). In Islam, as Rosenthal (1958:14) puts it, "the ruler combines political with spiritual authority; in Christianity the functions are divided between the emperor and the pope; in Judaism authority rests with the rabbis until the Messianic kingdom is established."

The term *al-sa'ada* (happiness) is definitely not Greek although the Aristotelian idea of *eudaimonia* (usually translated as happiness) may have influenced its development. It is derived from the *Qur'anic* (11: 105; 11: 108) words, *su'idu* (those who are blessed or made happy) and *sa'id* (happy one). It is a wider concept than happiness that comprehends all aspects of life. That is why other *Qur'anic* terms which convey the significant meaning of *al-sa'ada*, such as *al-falah* (prosperity), *al-fawz* (success), *al-salamah* (safety), *al-najah* (salvation), *al-ni'mah* (blessing), *al-rahmah* (mercy) and their like are also used as synonyms of the term happiness (al-Ghazali 1978). Yet the *Qur'anic* (32:17) verse which reads, "Now no person knows what delights of the eye are kept hidden (in reserve) for them - as a reward for their (good) deeds," is very often quoted in this connection, perhaps in order to give the concept of *al-sa'ada* a much more *Qur'anic* colour or to confirm the source of its derivation.

As for the development of Yahya's theory of happiness and how it can be achieved by man, it is undoubtedly influenced by Aristotle, though different in detail, and especially by his major works on ethics, such as the *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Magna Moralia*, *Eudemian Ethics* and others. The famous Muslim moralist, Miskawayh (1917), for example, admits that Aristotle was the discoverer of the notion of happiness, while Yahya (1966), in the same line, asserts that this ideal may be attained only by means of Aristotelian logic. Although it is still uncertain whether Aristotle's major works on ethics had been translated into Arabic or not by Yahya's time, nevertheless, we have clear evidence that his major works on ethics, *Magna Moralia*, *Ethica Nicomachea*, and *Eudemian Ethics* had reached the Arabic philosophers of the time. Perhaps, they were available either in Greek original, in Syriac or Arabic translation, or in commentaries such as those of Porphyry and Themistius, as well as in summaries like those of the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Nicolaus of Damascus (1st century A. D.), and by the Alexandrines.

Ibn al-Nadim (1872), who appears to have known most about the transmission of Greek sciences to the Arabs, especially during Yahya's time, tells us that Aristotle's *Ethics* (*Akhlaq*) which consists of twelve chapters, probably ten sections of the *Ethica Nicomachea* and two sections of the *Magna Moralia*, had been translated by Ishaq Ibn Hunayn (d.911). It is very likely that this translation was made by Ishaq from Greek or Syriac into Arabic, since as a translator, he was mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim as being specialised in this particular respect. Although Yahya was only concerned with the

ideas he wished to communicate, so that nowhere did he list in *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq* any sources or authors on whom he depended. His boon companion, Ibn al-Nadim (d. 990), informs us that the same ethical work or works of Aristotle together with the commentaries of Porphyry and of Themistius were quite familiar to him. Some of the sections, particularly from the commentary of Themistius, were even reported to have been in his possession. Hence, there is the possibility that Yahya could have used Aristotle's ethical works when writing his own parallel work on ethics *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq*. This is demonstrated in addition by the broad similarities between his views and those of Aristotle on some crucial problems such as the supreme end of man, i.e., happiness. Further, since Yahya (1978) devoted his school almost exclusively to the study of the works of the Greeks especially Aristotle, and since he viewed ethics as the sole practical way by which happiness is realisable by man, it is highly likely that Aristotle's ethics was among his chief interests.

THE NATURE OF MAN

Yahya (1978) believes that man is a combination of two parts, which are the soul and the body. He occupies a position midway between animals and angels, as he contains within himself the faculties of both the former and the latter. Like animals, he is appetitive and sensitive; like angels, he is rational. Hence, reasoning, passions and appetites are an organic part of his nature. He can either rise to the level of the angels by the help of his reasoning power, that is his soul, or he can diminish himself to the level of animals by surrendering to his passions, appetites or other sorts of bodily desires. The idea that man takes up the middle position between the angel and the animal, resembling the former through the perfection of the rational part of his soul, and descending to the level of the latter by surrendering to its irrational parts, is actually the common view among the Arabic and earlier philosophers, particularly the ethicists. (See further Galen 1973; Miskawayh 1966; al-Ghazali 1978; and al-Tusi 1964).

Notwithstanding the fact that Yahya does not develop his ideas of man's corporeal body in his *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq*, it is evident that this work is utterly built upon his conception of the soul. Hence, it is particularly interesting to see at this stage, how he implicitly relates his theory of the faculties of the human soul with that of human happiness.

Like his predecessors, Plato (1974) and others, Yahya (1978), considers that the soul is made up of three parts or faculties which are: the rational (*al-natiqah*), the irascible (*al-ghadabiyyah*), and the concupiscent (*al-shahwaniyyah*). These three faculties, which are sometimes regarded by Yahya as three souls, are the powers that determine all human characters and actions. The over development of one may affect or nullify the powers of the others, for they are distinct from one another. Hence, according to Yahya, the diversity of people's characters some being good, some being bad, and still others being neither good nor bad, is due to the differences of the faculties of the souls that overshadow them. For example, if they permit themselves to be led by the rational soul, they will certainly be knowledgeable, reasonable and virtuous. But, in contrast, if they let their rational powers be conquered by either the irascible or the concupiscent, or by both of these beastly faculties, there will indeed be no difference between them and the brute animals except only in physical appearance,

for they allow themselves to be overcome by anger, passions, appetites and other bestial idiosyncrasies which are more peculiar to animals than human.

Thus, man becomes man by virtue of his soul not by his body (Yahya 1978). But, since man is naturally endowed with three souls, or three faculties of the soul, Yahya accordingly claims that only by virtue of the rational faculty does man become human (*insanan*), differ from animals and deserve to be considered as man. For the rational soul is peculiar to man, while the rest, the irascible and the concupiscent, as we have just indicated above, are shared by both man and animals. The rational soul, then, is the noblest of the three parts of the soul, and of the two substances of man, which are the soul and the body. Hence, it is by means of this faculty alone that man is capable of preventing and rectifying the vices of the other integral parts of his nature and eventually rising to the higher level possible to him. Man, then, is nothing but his rational soul.

Although man is man because of his rational soul, this does not mean that he can ever be superior to his fellow human beings, because each of them is equally endowed with the same soul. His real status, in this case, is dependent exclusively on the care that he has devoted to the improvement of this faculty, through which he possesses thought, discernment and judgement, or it is contingent on the extent to which he has developed and strengthened its virtuous nature with knowledge (*'ulum*) and good manners (*adab*): a knowledge of how to refine his character or of how he may curb the irascible and the concupiscent powers by the rational faculty, so as to enable him to attain a noble state of the soul which is called *akhlaq* (character). When this state is realisable by man, all his actions become virtuous, for such a state produces nothing but the good (Yahya 1978).

Thus, man is distinct from his fellowmen by improving his soul which guarantees him good character and virtuous actions. All of these together constitute his perfection (*al-kamal* or *al-tamam*). The end of this perfection is called *al-sa'ada* (happiness). Hence, a significant connection between happiness and the three faculties of the human soul is now established (Yahya 1978).

HAPPINESS AND ITS MEANS

On the question of what is happiness, or what does it consist of, Yahya gives us almost no clue. Neither does he attempt to define what he means by the term *al-sa'ada* (happiness), nor has he linked it with other expressions such as *al-tamam* (completion), *al-kamal* (perfection), and *al-fada'il* (virtues) which occur many times in the *Tahdhib al-Akhlaq*, usually in the same context as *al-sa'ada*. Nevertheless, his theory of happiness can roughly be stated as follows.

Since man is in fact his rational soul, and since this soul is called rational only because it possesses the virtue of the rational, viz. knowledge, it follows, then, that man's happiness must also lie in the virtue of his soul: the best part of him, as happiness is the best of virtue. Indeed, when man's soul is blended with all virtues and untainted with any defects, pulled by no vice, it reaches a degree of perfection in its existence. Its possessor is then called the perfect man (*al-insan al-tamm*). But such a man, Yahya (1978) continues, has still to acquire another rank which is the highest of all ranks possible to man, that is happiness. For this reason, happiness is the end of virtue, the end of perfection, and the end of all things. It is the good that is pursued for its own sake, not for anything else. It is

therefore, self-sufficient and the "true leadership" (*al-ri'asa al-haqiqa*) that keeps its master fairly praised and of good reputation forever. This conception of happiness is yet again of Aristotle's (1980) origin. He writes: "Happiness must be placed among those desirable in themselves, not among those desirable for the sake of something else; for happiness does not lack anything, but is self-sufficient". Al-Farabi (1985), repeats almost the same view: "Felicity (happiness) is the good which is pursued for its own sake and it is never at any time pursued for (the sake of) obtaining something else through it, and there is nothing greater beyond it for man to obtain".

Yet again a significant connection between "virtue" (*al-fadila*), "perfection" (*al-kamal* or *al-tamam*) and "" (*al-sa'ada*) is implicitly established by Yahya - namely, that man is, in fact, his rational soul. But this soul is rational only owing to its virtue. Hence, man's soul exists for nothing but for the sake of virtue. It follows, then, that virtue is also for the sake of a much higher end than itself, that is perfection. And even perfection is not yet an end in itself but for the sake of still another end, this time the last of the ends, i.e., happiness. Happiness, therefore, is the end of all ends, all good things, beyond which there is no other end. This is in line with the way that al-Farabi (1961: 76) expresses his own understanding of Aristotle's related ideas: "For the body is for the sake of the soul and the soul for the sake of the last perfection, viz. happiness, which is virtue, hence the soul is for the sake of wisdom and virtue".

As for the question of why happiness is the end of man and why it is that for which that he was created, Yahya's (1978) answer is quite simple. Only by virtue of the soul - the end or the best of which is called happiness or that is to say, only by happiness, in fact, are men superior to others, and not by way of wealth, money or fortune, as the ignorant and foolish people would always believe. Wealth distinguishes the condition of man, not his soul. When wealth departs from him, he loses not only its value but also his honour. For such an honour belongs to his wealth and not his soul. Hence, wealth, riches, money, property and their like denote only an exterior state, while the soul itself, the true essence of man gains no advantage from them. They have no value of their own, but people acquire them avidly not for their own gain, but rather for the status and comfort that can be obtained through them.

Besides, Yahya (1978) argues, riches are still good for the virtuous man, because he can use them to relieve need and to help all noble causes, stimulating his generosity, while they are deadly to the vicious person, through the ease whereby the passions are satisfied. Most bad habits, forbidden things and lustful desires become possible only by means of money. The virtuous rich man will be restrained from them by his soul; the wicked will have no controller but gains them via his money; whereas the poor will have little chance of being involved in them, even though he has a strong desire to do so, for he has no money. Thus, Yahya appears to have preferred the virtuous to the wicked even if the former is very poor, while the latter is exceptionally rich. But the best of all men is the one who is virtuous and himself wealthy; the perfectly happy man.

Plato also insists that wealth, riches and their like are sometimes good and sometimes bad. While Aristotle (1980), discarded riches and external goods as true happiness but still retained them as

goods facilitating the life of philosophy and as unqualified aids to happiness. Yahya's Muslim predecessors, such men as al-Kindi (d. 873) and al-Farabi (d. 950), also maintain the same view with some alterations. The former regards material wealth as a property loaned to man by God. Being in this situation, man should, therefore, possess and use them in the same manner as the other things that are lent to him (Atiyeh 1966). The latter, on whom Yahya seems to have depended, claims that wealth is an unconditional means towards the attainment of some ends. It is not, however, an end in itself but it is sought for something else. As to Yahya's successors, such men as al-Ghazali (1978); Thomas Aquinas (Johnson 1989); and others appear to have been in agreement with these views in principle. Al-Ghazali emphasises the way that these riches should be acquired and used; whereas Thomas Aquinas emphasises the idea that the wealth has no value of its own, but it is desired for the sake of something else, as does al-Farabi.

As to whether happiness is attainable in this life or not, or whether it is realisable by man only in the life to come, or in both conditions, Yahya (1978) leaves us in ignorance. The only hint is his statement that though happiness is scarcely ever reached by man, it is still possible. Again he does not specify in which life this potential could be actualised. But since he has also said that he who spends his wealth according to its due is demonstrating parts of happiness, this may suggest that this ideal is possible even in the present world. But that the next world could also be his meaning, is not entirely ruled out, for Yahya also believes in the continuity or the immortality (*baqa'*) of man after death. However, this speculative argument should never be regarded as conclusive.

With reference to the question of what is the characteristic of the perfect man (*al-insan al-tamm*), or what sort of man might deserve to be called a happy man, Yahya (1978), defines him as follows: "The perfect man is he who is adorned with all virtues, and untainted with any defect. Again, it is an ideal seldom attained by man. However, when man reaches this limit, indeed he more resembles the angels than the human being. For man was burdened with various defects of his nature that incline him to evil (rather than good)". This perfect man, Yahya (1978) adds, is he who always inspects all his character, who guards himself from all sorts of vices that could corrupt his nature and who is passionately in love with perfection, practises his virtues and enjoys great pleasure in so doing. Thus, he reaches the highest stage of his perfection, that is happiness, in which he shares the rank of the angels, and by which he gains an everlasting reputation.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, Yahya's theory is that man is perfect if he possesses only virtue and is without vice, and thereby he gains happiness, and that happiness is the most complete thing, that is sought for its own sake, not for anything else. Riches, material wealth and even virtue are seen only as conditional aids to happiness. This theory has, without doubt, been influenced by Aristotle to some extent. But al-Farabi's domination in the broadest sense of the theory is more conspicuous. For instance, al-Farabi (1961:39-40) writes:

"The first perfection is that a man does the actions of all the virtues, not that he is merely endowed with a virtue without performing its actions, and the perfection consists in his acting, not in his acquiring the qualities by which the actions

come, as the perfection of the secretary is that he performs the actions of writing, not that he acquires the art of writing, and the perfection of the doctor, that he performs the actions of medicine, not that he acquires the art of medicine merely, and similarly (with) every art. This perfection affords us the last perfection, which is ultimate happiness, i.e., the absolute good. It is that which is chosen and desired for itself and is not chosen, at any time whatever, for the sake of anything else. All else is chosen for its use in the attainment of happiness. Everything is good when it is useful for the attainment of happiness, and whatever interferes with happiness in any way is bad".

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THE DEBATE OVER RATIONAL AND TRADITIONAL PROOFS IN ISLAM: A RECONCILIATORY APPROACH

By:

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INTRODUCTION

As a religion that exerts enormous stress on truth and certainty, Islam views the issue of the basis of true knowledge as something fundamental. For this reason, the question of proof, as a mean to arrive at true knowledge becomes one of the pertinent preliminary topics in Islamic theological discussion.

Generally, two basic kinds of proof are discussed, the rational and traditional proofs. While the importance of both kinds of proof in the theological discussion is beyond dispute, the contention, however, revolves around the question of priority between the two. This paper will further analyze the debate regarding this issue through the arguments of two celebrated Muslim theologians, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Ibn Taymiyyah. While al-Rāzī, being an Ash'arite, placed greater emphasis on the instrumental role of rational proof including its foundational position as the basis of traditional proofs, Ibn Taymiyyah who later severely criticized al-Rāzī's position, argued on the infallibility of traditional proof and its independence from reason.

AL-RĀZĪ'S VIEW ON RATIONAL AND TRADITIONAL PROOFS

In his *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* works,¹ under the topic 'whether traditional proofs yield certainty or not,' al-Rāzī underlined the priority of reason; that rational proofs are necessary in any argument to such an extent that they must be the basis of the traditional (transmitted) proofs (*al-adillah al-naqliyyah*).² "Reason," says al-Rāzī, "is the foundation for understanding a revealed text (*'aṣl al-naql*)...if we disprove reason, we have disproved the very tool in understanding of a revealed text, and

¹ See Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Ma'ālim fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*, annot. Ṭaha Abd. Ra'uf Sa'id (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1984), 21-22, hereinafter cited as *Ma'ālim*; al-Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl fī 'Ilm al-Uṣūl*, ed. Ṭaha Jābir al-'Alwānī, (Bayrūt: Mu'assasah al-Risālah, 1992), vol.1, 385-318, hereinafter cited as *Maḥṣūl*; al-Rāzī, (1905). *Muḥaṣṣal Afkār al-Mutaqaddimīn wa al-Muta'akhhirīn min al-'Ulamā' wa al-Ḥukamā' wa al-Mutakallimīn*, (al-Qāhirah: Maṭba'ah Ḥusainiyyah, 1905), 51-52, hereinafter cited as *Muḥaṣṣal*; al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Arba'īn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (Hyderabad: Maṭba'ah Majlīs Dā'irah al-Ma'ārif al-'Usmānī, 1934), 423-426, hereinafter cited as *Arba'īn*.

² *Ma'ālim*, 25; *Maḥṣūl*, vol.1, 390-391.

once we have disproved it, we have also disproved the revealed text.”³ Likewise, reason is necessary since it is the source of reflection (*naẓr*), which is a way to understanding divine matters. Al-Rāzī maintained that *naẓr* (reasoning) which he defined as ‘ordering of assents in order to arrive at other assents’ (*tartīb taṣdīqāt li yatawaḥḥal bihā taṣdīqāt ākhar*)⁴ is necessary in religion since it is the only way for man to arrive at the knowledge of the existence of God. He argued that since the knowledge of the Absolute is necessary, *naẓr*, as the only way to the knowledge of the Absolute, is also necessary. This is based on the famous maxim known in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, namely, “that without which the necessary thing does not complete, is itself necessary” (*mā lā yatimm al-wājib illā bihī fa huwa wājib*).⁵

Another argument given by al-Rāzī supporting the priority of reason is that which is related to the certainty of the traditional proofs. Rational proofs are prior to traditional proofs because the latter in themselves do not yield certainty (*lā tufīdu al-yaqīn*). This is because traditional proofs by their very nature undergo the process of transmission and this process is based on some contextual conditions that need to be verified before they can be regarded as certain. The obscurity of these conditions, according to al-Rāzī, will lead to a difficulty in understanding a given traditional proof:

Traditional proofs *do not yield certainty* [italics mine] since they are based on the transmission of language (*naql al-lughāt*), grammar (*al-naḥw wa taḥrīf*), equivocation (*al-ishtirāk*), metaphor (*al-majāz*), conveyance (*al-naql*), concealment (*al-iḍmār*), priority and posteriority (*taqdīm wa ta'khīr*), specification (*takhsīs*), abrogation (*nāsikh*), and [rational] contradiction (*mu'ārid*). All these are conjectural (*ẓanniyyah*).⁶

These conditions, which are called ‘the ten rational criteria’, were further elaborated by al-Rāzī as the followings:

- i. The knowledge of language (*ma'rifat al-lughāt*) which is based mostly on the solitary narrations (*riwāyāt al-ahād*) from the linguists who are not free from error and disagree among each other.
- ii. The correctness of the grammar and syntax (*ṣiḥḥat al-naḥw wa taṣrīf*) with various expressions (*i'rābāt*) and various meanings which were also disputed among the grammarians.
- iii. Equivocation in the meaning of words (*al-ishtirāk fi al-lafẓ*) – If there is equivocation in meaning, the words intended by God may mean differently from what we understand.
- iv. That it is necessary to bear the meaning of a certain word to its literal (*ḥaqīqah*) meaning rather than its metaphorical (*majāz*) since the latter is numerous.
- v. There should be no omissions and concealments or ellipsis (*ḥadhf wa iḍmār*) in the verses, for if it so, denial will become affirmation and vice versa.
- vi. There is no prior and posterior (*taqdīm wa ta'khīr*) with regard to a narration or verse that will confuse the meaning.

³ *Maḥṣūl*, vol. 1, 406.

⁴ *Muḥaṣṣal*, 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 44. Cf. al-Juwaynī, 'Abd Mālik ibn 'Abd Allāh, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, transl. P. E. Walker (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2000), 7, hereinafter cited as *Irshād*.

⁶ *Maḥṣūl*, vol. 1, 390-391. See also *Ma'ālim*, 22; *Arba'in*, 423-426.

- vii. There are no general statements (*'umūmāt*) without any specific meanings.
- viii. There are no abrogations of verses (*nāsikh wa mansūkh*).
- ix. There are no contradictions in narrations (*mu'āriḍ sam'ī*) which will confuse the true meaning.
- x. There are no rational contradictions (*mu'āriḍ 'aqlī*) whose existence will lead to a metaphorical interpretation of the meaning of the verse.⁷

Linguistically, all these conditions are pertinent in determining the meaning of words.⁸ Al-Rāzī called them “the ten premises” (*muqaddamāt 'ashar*) which surround the derived meaning of any given textual proof.⁹ Since the meanings of traditional proofs are based on language and language is conditional by the ten contextual matters, the meanings of traditional proofs are regarded as conjectural (*maznūn*). Whatever depends on something conjectural is itself conjectural (*al-mawqūf 'alā maznūn maznūn*).¹⁰ Hence arguments (*dilālāt*) which are based solely on traditional arguments, for al-Rāzī, do not yield certainty.

Al-Rāzī, however, made some qualification on this general principle by allowing the employment of traditional proofs if they are supported by the *mutawātir* reports:

these discussions [on the conjectural nature of the traditional proofs] in its absolute sense is not true since perhaps the traditional proof is joined (iqtarana) with matters that are known through true reports (al-akhbār al-mutawātirah). These matters will deny all these possibilities and in this case the traditional proofs, which are joined with other proofs (al-qarā'in), which are affirmed through true reports will yield certainty.¹¹

The discussion on the priority of reason in any justification is not new in *Ashā'irah* theological thought. Prior to al-Rāzī, a few other *Asha'irah* theologians had already stressed the importance of reason in understanding revelation. Al-Juwaynī, for example, asserted that what can be proved by revelation must first be accepted by reason or rendered possible by reason:

If the spirit of the law that has come to us is contrary to the judgment of reason, on the basis that the law is not contrary to the judgments of reason, it should be rejected decisively. In this category, there is no way to formulate a decisive rule on the basis of tradition.¹²

Al-Juwaynī also affirmed that any question of belief that comes prior to the belief in the speech of God, the Qur'ān, can only be understood or known by reason. This is because revelation

⁷ *Arba'in*, 424-426.

⁸ For a lengthy linguistic discussions by al-Rāzī on words and meaning, and their related problems, see al-Rāzī, *al-Taḥṣīn al-Kabīr*, reprint (Bayrūt: Dār Ihya' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1997), vol.1, 29-50, hereinafter cited as *Taḥṣīn*.

⁹ *Arba'in*, 424.

¹⁰ *Ma'ālim*, 22; *Maḥṣūl*, vol.1, 407; *Taḥṣīn*, vol.1, 41-42.

¹¹ *Arba'in*, 426; *Maḥṣūl*, vol.1, 408.

¹² *Irshād*, 196. According to al-Juwaynī, what can only be perceived by revelation is the judgment that affirms the realization of what is possible according to reason but cannot be decided upon without revelation. This includes the whole body of duties and related matters such as determining the bad and the good (*taqbīh wa taḥṣīn*), obligatory and forbidden (*ijāb wa hazr*) and recommended and permitted (*hadb wa ibāḥah*). Ibid., 195; Muḥammad Moslem Adel Saflo, *Al-Juwaynī's Thought and Methodology* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000), 96-99. In *Irshād* also, al-Juwaynī explained that the principles of belief are divided into: i) what can be proved by reason alone, ii) what can be proved by revelation alone iii) what could be proved by both reason and revelation. In *Burhān*, he added another principle namely proof based on miracle (*mu'jizāt*). Reason, however, plays an important role for it precedes, in principle, revelation in acquiring knowledge of religion. Ibid; *al-Burhān*, ed. 'Abd 'Azīm Maḥmūd Dayb (Doha: Dār al-Wafā', 1992), vol.1, 116.

(*sam'iyāt*) is based on the speech of God, so anything regarding God's attributes whose proof is preceded by the proof of the Speech (such as the attributes of Existence, Knowledge, Life) can only be proven by reason, for the attribute of Speech can only be given to the One who has such attributes:

*As for what cannot be perceived except by reason, all elements of faith depend originally on knowing the Word of God, the Exalted and on the necessity of its having the quality of being true. The evidence supplied by tradition is grounded in the speech of God. Thus, prior to the affirmation of the speech, what one must acknowledge cannot possibly be grasped through tradition.*¹³

The position is further strengthened by a-Ghazālī who viewed that there are three categories of theological propositions from which knowledge can be derived: (i) the propositions which can be known by reason without the need of the evidence from the *Shar'*; (ii) propositions which can be known by the evidence of the *Shar'* without the need of reason; (iii) propositions which can be known by both these means. The examples of the first category are the origination of the world, the existence of the Originator and His Power, Knowledge and Will. All these, according to al-Ghazālī, are important matters that precede the knowledge of internal speech (*kalām al-nafs*) which refers to the Qur'ān and they cannot be substantiated by the same *kalām*, but through reason. An example of the second category are those matters that reason can only conceive as possible, such as the Resurrection, the Day of Judgment, reward and punishment. The truth of these propositions cannot be known except through revelation. The example of the third category is that which can take place according to reason and is affirmed by revelation, such as the Vision of God and that God alone is the Creator of all movements and accidents.¹⁴ As to how reason should react on what comes from revelation, al-Ghazālī explained that there are three attitudes of reason toward traditional proofs: (i) reason can state the possibility of believing in what is provided by the traditional proofs, as in the case when traditional proofs are conclusive and positive in their transmission (*sanad*) and text (*matn*); (ii) reason may state the impossibility of believing in what is provided by the traditional proofs, as in the case where the wording of the traditional proofs must be interpreted because what is brought by the traditional proof is opposed to the verdict of reason; (iii) reason may take a passive attitude and refrain from making any statement upon either the possibility or the impossibility of believing in what is provided by the traditional proofs.¹⁵

IBN TAYMIYYAH'S STRONG RESPONSE

Al-Rāzī's principle that rational proofs form the basis of traditional proofs was challenged by a Hanbalite scholar, Ibn Taymiyyah (d.1328). We will discuss in brief the arguments of Ibn Taymiyyah. In his work, *Dar' Ta'arūḍ al-'Aql wa al-Naql*, Ibn Taymiyyah made clear at the very outset of the work, where he repeated al-Rāzī's view:

If there is a conflict between scriptural and rational evidence (adillah al-sam'iyah wa al-'aqliyyah), or scripture and reason (al-sam' wa al-'aql), or

¹³ *Irshād*, 195; Saflo, 96.

¹⁴ Al-Ghazālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād*. 'Abd Rahman Abu Zayd, trans. (New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan, 1994),

132. See also M.A.R. Bisar, *Al-Juwaynī and al-Ghazālī as Theologians: with special reference to al-Irshād and al-I'tiqād*, (Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh University, 1953), 40-41.

¹⁵ Al-Ghazālī, *al-I'tiqād*, 133; Bisar, 41-42.

tradition and reason (al-naql wa al-'aql), or traditional text (al-zawāhir al-naqliyyah) and rational certainties (al-qawāti' al-'aqliyyah), or what is expressed in similar terms, then either [1] both may be accepted as true (yujma' baynahumā), but that is impossible because it violates the principle of contradiction (jam' bayna naqīdayn), or [2] both may be rejected as false, [and that is impossible because it violates the principle of excluded middle], or [3] scripture may be given priority [over reason]. That, however, is also impossible because reason is the source of scripture (aṣl al-naql), and if we give priority to scripture over reason, we should thereby impugn reason, which is the source of scripture. Furthermore, to impugn the source of a thing is also to impugn the thing itself. Therefore, to give priority to scripture is not only to impugn reason but to impugn scripture as well. It is, therefore necessary [4] to give priority to reason and either to interpret scripture allegorically (yuta'awwal), or to entrust its meaning to God (yufawwad).¹⁶

Ascribing the origin of this principle to al-Rāzī and his followers, Ibn Taymiyyah claimed that the former has put this principle as a universal law (*qānūn kulliy*) in giving proof from the Book of God and the sayings of the Prophets.¹⁷ Ibn Taymiyyah rejected this principle on the basis that it is based on three false premises: (i) that there exists a conflict between reason and scripture; (ii) that the alternatives mentioned are limited to four, and (iii) that the three alternatives rejected are, in fact, impossible.¹⁸ In refuting these premises, he presented forty-four arguments attacking primarily the notion of reason understood by the *mutakallimūn*.¹⁹ The basic outline of Ibn Taymiyyah's refutation, as summarized by Abrahamov, is as follows:

- 1- Reason is not the basis of tradition
- 2- Arguments against the rational arguments:
 - i. They are various and sometimes self-contradictory.
 - ii. They contain doubts.
 - iii. They are a mixture of truth and falsehood.
 - iv. They do not coincide with linguistic use.
 - v. They are not always rational.
3. The arguments of *kalām* and philosophy are false.
4. The result of the preference of reason.²⁰

Traditional proofs, according to Ibn Taymiyyah, do not need reason as their basis since they can stand by themselves. They exist on account of Prophetic report or other devices whether we know their existence or not. Furthermore, the content brought by the traditional proofs such as God's unity, His names and attributes, His Messenger's veracity exist whether we know them or not.²¹ They do not, in other words, need the justification from reason.

¹⁶ Ibn Taymiyyah, *Muwāfaqāt Ṣaḥīḥ al-Manqūl li Ṣarīḥ al-Ma'qūl*, (Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah. 1985), 31.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

¹⁸ Nicholas Heer, "The Priority of Reason in the Interpretation of Scripture: Ibn Taymiyyah and the Mutakallimūn," in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam*, ed. Mustansir Mir. (Princeton: The Darwin Press, Inc. 1993), 189.

¹⁹ See further Abrahamov, Binyamin, "Ibn Taymiyya on the Agreement of Reason with Tradition," *The Muslim World*, vol. LXXXII, No. 3-4 (July-October 1992), 257-258; Heer, "The Priority of Reason", 181-192.

²⁰ Abrahamov, "Ibn Taymiyyah," 258.

²¹ *Ibid.*

Ibn Taymiyyah also attacked the integrity of reason by saying that rational principles are relative and sometimes contradictory. It can be seen in the case of the philosophers who had the highest number of divergence in their views. Rational proofs also, to Ibn Taymiyyah, combined in themselves truth and falsities.²² On the other hand, traditional proofs, namely, the revelation, are agreed upon by wise people. It cannot be said that the matters brought by the traditional proofs contradict reason since they are known through necessary knowledge which ensues from uninterrupted narrations (*tawātur*).

Holding mainly on the method of interpretation of the Qur'ān by the Qur'ān, Ibn Taymiyyah disapproved *ta'wīl* by saying that everything is already explained by the Qur'ān and the Prophet. He viewed that there is no need to move from the literal meaning to an alternative meaning of a word since whatever alternative meaning that exists must already have been explained by the Prophet since he is the best qualified person to elucidate the truth.²³ In other words, if there is another meaning intended by the anthropomorphic verses, the Prophet would have explained it through the traditions. Furthermore, as far as the essence and attributes of God are concerned, Ibn Taymiyyah is in the position that we have to affirm of Him whatever He affirmed of Himself in the Qur'ān and in the authentic ḥadīths.²⁴ Ibn Taymiyyah's attack on *ta'wīl* was also based on the claim that there are no standard rule in employing this method. Since *ta'wīl* is based on reason and reason has already been condemned by him as subjective and inconsistent, *ta'wīl* is also uncertain. He also questioned the basis for choosing which verses required *ta'wīl* and which do not.

In sum, Ibn Taymiyyah was of the view that since revelation also contains the rational principle and it also enjoins the usage of reason, there is in principle no contradiction between reason and revelation. The content of the revelation must also be accepted as a whole. The deviation from revelation in one item leads to the total deviation of the understanding of revelation.²⁵ However, this leaves an important question unanswered: did he believe that the anthropomorphic verses really convey the literal meanings to mankind, the positive answer of which will mean that he is upholding the position *tajsīm* and *tashbīh*? This explanation becomes more crucial since Ibn Taymiyyah also rejected the method of *tafwīd*, to entrust the knowledge of the anthropomorphic verses to God alone.²⁶ To him, since God has ordered man to reflect on the Qur'ān and induced him to understand it, it is therefore inadmissible that He should have wanted man to deviate from its understanding and knowledge by conveying a message that is not understood by man. To put it plainly, if he viewed that there should be no alternative meanings to the anthropomorphic verses, at the same time we do not accept the fact that these meanings are only known to by God, what other meanings are left to these verses other than their literal and anthropomorphic meanings?

²² Ibid., 259.

²³ Ibid., 264.

²⁴ Ssekamanya Siraje Abdallah, "Ibn Taymiyyah's Theological Approach Illustrated: On the Essence (Dhāt) and Attributes (Ṣifāt) of Allah," *Shajarah: Journal of the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC)*, vol.9, no.1(2004), 45.

²⁵ Ibid., 270.

²⁶ Heer, "The Priority of Reason," 188.

A RECONCILIATORY VIEW

Looking from a more comparative perspective, al-Rāzī's approach is far from denigrating the position of the traditional proofs. What al-Rāzī was trying to explicate through his deliberation on the traditional and rational proofs is their position from the epistemological point of view.

Compared to traditional proofs, al-Rāzī viewed the role of rational proofs as foundational. Traditional proofs, due to their dependent nature on rational proofs in that they need to be intellectually processed, cannot stand by themselves. They also cannot be substantiated by other traditional proofs since this will lead to circularity. In point of fact, the knowledge of the veracity of the Prophet, which is the basis of the traditional proofs, is acquired through rational proof:

A proof based on the Qur'ān and the tradition (al-Sunnah) depends on the knowledge of the veracity of the Prophet, and this knowledge [of the truth of the Prophet] is not attained (lā yustafād) by traditional proof, for that will lead to circularity; rather it is based on the rational proofs. And it is beyond doubt that this [preliminary] premise [which is based on the rational proof] is one of the important parts in the validity of the traditional proof. Hence, it is affirmed that a proof that is traditional in its entire premise is impossible and false.²⁷

Due to its foundational nature, rational proof is a necessary element in any form of argument. Al-Rāzī maintained that proofs can either consist of premises that are entirely traditional, or entirely rational, or composed of the two. The latter two are possible while the first, namely, that proofs with entirely traditional premises, due to the reason explained above, is impossible.²⁸

By advancing the above argument, al-Rāzī seemed to stress the importance of rational proofs in internalizing traditional ones in terms of its logical priority. In other words, traditional proofs must be preceded logically by rational proofs. Any Qur'anic text or ḥadīth must first depend on the veracity of the Prophet as the conveyer of the message, and the truthfulness of a Prophet, in turn, is justified through rational proofs.²⁹ Hence, the traditional proofs, in its final analysis, cannot continuously base themselves on similar traditional proofs, but must somehow be founded on rational proofs. This is also based on the logical principle that a branch cannot be stronger than the root. Since the rational substantiation in this case is prior and is considered the principle compared to the traditional proofs, its position is more fundamental in determining the strength of the argument.

What is clear from the view given by al-Rāzī and his Ash'arite predecessors regarding the role of reason is that they generally agreed that reason plays an important role in substantiating some major foundational aspects of religious doctrines. The doctrines that come from the traditional proofs must also not be in contradiction with the principle of reason. What al-Rāzī did was to pursue further this position by putting forward the condition in detail.

²⁷ *Arba'in*, 424.

²⁸ *Muḥaṣṣal*, 51.

²⁹ Al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-I'jāz fī Dirāyat al-I'jāz*, ed. Bakrī Sheikh Amīn, (Bayrūt: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, 1985), 133-142. The *mutakallimūn*, according to al-Shahrastānī, argued that it is possible for God to send a Prophet because he has the power to choose a man to communicate His will to mankind so that there is no impossibility in His doing so. They also argued for the possibility of miracles through rational arguments.

**BALANCING THE CONTEMPORARY APPROACH TO THINKING:
APPLYING THE GHAZZĀLIAN FRAMEWORK**

By:

Mohd Zaidi b. Ismail*

PRELIMINARIES

- 1- That Islam accords thinking a special position is something the contemporary educated Muslims are generally aware of. Yet, there have been gross misunderstandings among them regarding the details about thinking. Two of them which are the focus of this paper concern the relation between memorizing and thinking, on the one hand, and the relation between creative and critical modes of thinking, on the other hand. The general impression is, in regard to the aforementioned bipolar relations, the two elements or poles in each relation are rather hostile to each other and somewhat mutually annihilative. As a result, it is an increasingly common phenomenon that Muslims of today have been demanded to choose with an either/or frame of mind and urged to opt for one pole in the stead of the other.
- 2- As far as Islam is concerned, the foregoing penchant for bipolarization as well as its ensuing antagonism is surely not preferable, let alone necessary. On the contrary, as clearly explained and embodied in its long religious, intellectual and scientific tradition, Islam promotes and enjoins a balanced understanding and approach which exemplifies not only the “unity-in-diversity” dimension but also the “diversity-in-unity” dimension. In this context and in regard to Islam, as I had much earlier indicated in a work deliberating on *tadbīr* as both thinking and action, *tawhīd* understood as both process (unifying) and result (unity) represents the “unity-in-diversity” aspect of Islam while *adab*—encapsulating well Islam’s due recognition of real diversity and true hierarchy—represents its “diversity-in-unity” aspect. Both notions, taken in pairs, are conceptually self-exemplified, since the two are different yet united in the metaphysics of Islam.¹

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¹ See my work (in collaboration with Mohd Sani Badron), *Good Governance: Adab-Oriented Tadbīr in Islām* (Kuala Lumpur: Institute of Islamic Understanding Malaysia (IKIM), 2011), 9–10.

- 3- What I intend to do here is to briefly highlight, within the context of the currently prevalent tendency among contemporary Muslims, two important lessons pertaining to the *tawhīd*-and-*adab*-oriented approach to thinking which can be derived from al-Ghazzālī's major works, one of them concerning the relation between memorization and thinking while the other having to do with the relation between creative and critical modes of thinking.² Before doing so, it is important that we first conduct an overview of some main elements in al-Ghazzālī's thought regarding thinking which are relevant to what we shall be discussing soon.³

Al-Ghazzālī On Thinking

- 4- Man, through his rational faculty, is capable of attaining to that which is unknown from what he has already known. Knowledge—be it either concept (*taṣawwur* or *ma'rifah*) or assent (*taṣdīq* or *ilmī*)—can be either necessary (*ḍarūrī*) or acquired (*muktasab*). On numerous occasions, the necessary knowledge is also considered to be apriori (*awwālī*) while the acquired one, discursive (*naẓarī*). The non-necessary knowledge is sometimes acquired through instruction (*al-ta'allum*) and, at times, by means of reasoning (*al-istidlāl*), which is also referred to by such terms as *al-fikr*, *al-tafakkur*, *al-ta'ammul*, *al-tadabbur*, *al-naẓar*, *al-i'tibār*, and *al-istibṣār*.
- 5- As a process, reasoning basically consists of one's intentionally obtaining new (or the third) knowledge from the combination of previously two isolatory cognitions. Such a combination must be both *formally* valid and *materially* true and certain. Nevertheless, although the resulting new cognition *appears* to follow necessarily from such a combination, it is *in reality* not inherently necessary. In other words, reasoning is the soul's movement in the realm of ideas, assisted in most cases by one's faculty of imagination, in search of the enabling, connecting idea which is technically called "the middle term," the completion of which process brings the soul nearer to knowing the item yet unknown. Nevertheless, sometimes the soul succeeds, and in still some other cases, it fails to attain its objective.
- 6- With regard to thinking as *al-i'tibār*, al-Ghazzālī once explained it as "the presenting of two knowledges (or cognitions) to the soul such that from the two, the soul is able to cross over to the third or new knowledge." However, when such a crossing (*al-'ubūr*) does not happen and one's soul remains at those two cognitions, this case is known as recollection (*al-tadhakkur*),

² In fact, I had earlier, though separately, discussed these lessons in my two articles for "IKIM Views" in the Malaysian daily *The Star* (see "The many dimensions of creativity," 3 August 2010, p. N38; and "Exams, memorisation and the ability to think," 24 August 2010, p. N37). Subsequently I had made a preliminary attempt to combine both in a paper entitled "Al-Ghazzālī on Thinking: The *Tawhīd*-and-*Adab*-Oriented Approach," presented at *A Workshop on Understanding Al-Ghazali's Spectrum of Thought*, organised by Intellectual Youth Club (IYC), IIUM, on 25 November 2011, in conjunction with "A Week with al-Ghazālī: In Commemoration of the 900 Years of His Death."

³ Such elements have been gathered from my work, *The Sources of Knowledge in al-Ghazzālī's Thought: A Psychological Framework of Epistemology* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 2002), 23, 45–46, and 59. See also the Introduction (pp. 1–10), Chapter One (pp. 11–30), and Conclusion (pp. 69–74) in *Kreativiti & Imaginasi dalam Psikologi Islami: Pengamatan al-Ghazzālī, al-Baghdādī dan al-Rāzī*, ed. Mohd Zaidi Ismail (Kuala Lumpur: IKIM, 2011).

which is simply the bringing of two cognitions to be present in one's soul. As such, *al-fīkr* already includes *al-dhīkr*, though the reverse is not the case.

- 7- Later, in the religious, intellectual and scientific tradition of Islam, the aforementioned al-Ghazzālī's understanding of thinking as well as similar conceptions by other scholars became encapsulated in a more precise formulation. Al-Jurjānī, for instance, related in his famous work on definitions that thinking (*al-fīkr*) is "the mental act of putting *what one has already known* into meaningful order in order to attain what one is still ignorant of."⁴ As is clear, such a description of thinking is in fact rooted in the formula or principle regulating any genuine epistemic act, i.e., "knowing" as "the progress of one's mind from 'what-has-already-been-known' to 'what-is-still-unknown'."⁵

LESSON 1: MEMORY BEING ESSENTIAL TO THINKING

- 8- As Muslims living in Malaysia, we are no stranger to calls for reform of our educational system. So often have such calls been made that they cannot but leave some general impressions. One such impression is that the system as well as its stake-holders is obsessed with examinations at the various levels of the educational ladder.
- 9- All this while, examinations have been criticised for placing too much emphasis on memorization and rote learning. This has resulted in less emphasis being placed on thinking and the pertinent skills, leading then to the deplorable state of the so-called "products" of this system, the school leavers, the university graduates. As has often been claimed, they seem to be good only at memorizing, displaying poor ability—if any—to think. But in reality, are they good at memorizing? Is it not the case that they are not only poor in thinking but worse are also equally poor, if not weaker, in memorizing?
- 10- In fact, we have had on many occasions encountered remarks that our students can only remember things up to the time of examinations. That may well be so because, to them, all these are worth remembering only for the exams; other than that, they are meaningless. Surely, our students have many other things which they perfectly commit to their memory; some are things they consider dear to them which they so commit almost without any difficulty. Whether or not a thing is dear to them depends very much on their attitude, their outlook, their mind-set, their aspiration, and their expectation. Such determiners, however, apart from pertaining to their

⁴ Al-Sayyid Sharīf 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (fourth impression, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1998), s.v. "f-k-r." For further discussion of it, see 'Aḍud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad al-Ījī, *Al-Mawāqif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* (Kaherah: Maktabat al-Mutanabbi, n.d.), 22; and its commentary by al-Jurjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, 8 tomes in 4 vols. (n.p.: al-Haj Muhammad Afandi, 1907), 1: 194-203.

⁵ For further clarification on this description and its underlying principle, see my article, "Clarity in thought for understanding," IKIM Views, *The Star*, 7 June 2011. As to how both apply to human governance, see my article, "Conceptualising *Tadbīr* as a Constituent of Governance in Islām," *TAFHIM: IKIM Journal of Islam and the Contemporary World* 3 (2010): 42–47. Regarding their application in science, see several of my earlier articles: "The Cosmos as the Created Book and its Implications for the Orientation of Science," *Islam & Science: Journal of Islamic Perspectives on Science* 6, no. 1 (Summer 2008): 47–52; "Perihal Alam Semesta sebagai Kitab Kejadian dan Kesan Ilmiahnya pada Hala-Tuju Sains Tabii: Satu Liputan Ringkas Menurut Rencana Pemikiran al-Attas," *Afkar: Jurnal Akidah & Pemikiran Islam* 8, (1428H/2007): 107–109; and "The Nature of the Cosmos and its Implications on Science Education," *Educational Awakening: Journal of the Educational Sciences* (Institute of Education, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM)) 5, no. 1 (2008): 103–130.

different personalities, have much to do with their religio-socio-cultural matrix which on numerous occasions can be in direct conflict with their formal education.

- 11- But the point is that what concerns us with the state and quality of our education is that we have quite frequently committed the mistakes of contrasting the importance of thinking with that of memorization. Whereas the relation between these two mental faculties could have been less antipathetic, such mistakes have been pervasive, unfortunately. In fact, memorization can be conceived of as being supportive of thinking; the latter, as al-Ghazzālī had explained, actually requires some element of the former in order to materialise. Such a conception is firmly embedded in the aforementioned description of thinking as “the mental act of putting *what one has already known* into meaningful order in order to attain what one is still ignorant of,” which has been famous in the religious, intellectual and scientific tradition of Islam and, as briefly indicated above, was earlier echoed by al-Ghazzālī.
- 12- Man can only think according to what he has already known. If, for some reasons, he has lost what he knew before, he has to regain it through some means before he can make use of it to obtain new knowledge. If he has forgotten it, he needs to recall it first—by whatever means at his disposal—before he can proceed to think. Mentally retaining intact what one has already known requires a certain ability to memorise. One may minimise this arduous task of retaining every bit of what one has epistemically possessed by storing it in some device—in fact, this is what the ICT age has empowered us to do, among others—but one cannot totally do without it without incurring some risks.
- 13- Insofar as the past tradition of Islamic thought is concerned, one will surely come across true accounts of how great scholars were able to excel in both, in memorizing as well as thinking. This simply shows that the two can grow together. What we need to do today, among others, is to relearn and revive the manner in which both faculties were successfully nurtured in the past intellectual traditions.

LESSON 2: CREATIVITY AND CRITICALITY AS MODES, RATHER THAN KINDS, OF THINKING

- 14- Human creativity, whether exemplified as invention or innovation, has been a subject of interest to many parties. In whatever form it is manifested, it has to do with novelty. And be the novelty in science, arts, or other cultural realms, and be it ideational or practical, it is only highly regarded if and when it is beneficial.
- 15- As a subject of study, it has indeed been approached from different angles, each highlighting one or some of its many dimensions. Certain studies scrutinise it by focusing on creative *products*, some by zooming in on creative *processes*, others by zeroing in on creative *activities*, and the rest by concentrating on creative *individuals*.
- 16- According to Dean Keith Simonton, a leading researcher and scholar in the field of creativity, insofar as scientific creativity is concerned, it is an issue which has been dealt with in the history of science, the philosophy of science, the sociology of science, and the psychology of

science—disciplines which are termed *metasciences*. In Simonton’s assessment, each discipline has a somewhat distinctive outlook on creativity and the disciplinary variation may be due partly to the contrasts in each discipline’s methodological techniques and substantive interests and partly to the essential fact that such creativity can be examined from four principal perspectives: logic, genius, chance, and zeitgeist. Yet, studying each of the above categories on its own can never offer us a sufficient overall story of creativity. Many, therefore, have tried to offer a harmonious synthesis of as many reasonable perspectives as possible. In the case of Simonton, for instance, he had endeavoured to integrate all the aforementioned four perspectives by subsuming the logic, genius, and zeitgeist positions under the chance position.⁶

- 17- Whatever the case is, one can hardly doubt that creativity has to do in large part with thinking. Unfortunately, in a number of attempts to account for creative thinking, one often finds it being primarily contrasted with logical thinking. At the popular level, one is easily confronted with the belief that the human brain is divided, its left cerebral hemisphere is logical, and its right is creative. In terms of results, logic is sometimes equated with the expected, though somewhat delayed, while creativity, with the unexpected. In terms of process, logic is often depicted as being discursive, analytical and pedantic whereas creativity is imaginative, intuitive and holistic. Or to somewhat appropriate the nomenclature popularised by such philosophers-scientists as Reichenbach and Popper, logic and creativity are two largely independent and distinct psychological processes, the former concerns the context of justification, and the latter, the context of discovery.
- 18- Reading some of those accounts may tempt one to entertain the idea that these two kinds, or modes, of thinking are mutually exclusive, acting like two contradictories which cannot both be true at the same time nor be simultaneously false. But are they that exclusive? Are both two non-overlapping categories of thinking?
- 19- Thinking, as indicated above, is “the mental act of (1) putting into meaningful order (2) what one has already known in order to (3) attain what one is still ignorant of.” It is clear that there are three central and constitutive elements embedded in such a description. One constituent, indicated by (2) above, is the units of knowledge already in one’s possession—what one already knows—which is regarded as the “material,” or “matter,” of thinking. Another constituent, indicated by (1), is the way one mentally organises those units of knowledge resulting in certain mental patterns, certain arrangements. It is the way one mentally relates one unit with another unit, or a group of other units of knowledge, in such a manner to allow for new units of knowledge to become manifest. This second constituent of thinking is thus considered to be the “form,” or “structure,” of thinking. In fact, it is here that the human imaginative faculty—or simply, imagination—plays such a great role that it becomes to be regarded as also being

⁶ See Dean Keith Simonton, *Creativity in Science: Chance, Logic, Genius, and Zeitgeist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

cogitative.⁷ The third constituent represents the mental progress, indicated by (3) above, which is the successful movement of one's mind to new units of knowledge (such as deriving right conclusions or making correct inferences or forming new ideas) after the first and second constituents above have been obtained. In short, thinking is like one putting the right form to the right material so that one will arrive at the right product or result. Nevertheless, such a mental arrival at new cognition, though appearing to be automatic, is in fact by Divine Inspiration.⁸

- 20- As such, defects in thinking may well be due to the defects in its material or its form, or to flaws in both. If such is how thinking is understood and formulated, in what way is logical and creative thinking different from each other? And how, if at all, are they related to each other? Perhaps, one may explain them in terms of the manner one focuses on the result; should one be more concerned with *the novelty of and in (3) above*, then one is focused more on creativity; but if one is more preoccupied with *the correctness or validity of and in (3) above*, then one is focused more on logic. Yet, one may want to be concerned with the novelty of and in (3) above as well as its correctness and validity; in such a case, at once one deals with both logic and creativity.
- 21- In addition, one may well want to seriously consider whether the various types (or figures) of correct form of thinking as heretofore gathered, analyzed and scrutinized in the the discipline of logic have been exhaustive enough. Or, perhaps, one may eventually discover new ratiocinative figure(s) which, although falling outside the existing scope of right forms of logical thinking, is equally valid! But one thing is sure, were one able to make such a discovery, one would then be in a better position to prove that being creative and novel does not have to be antipodal to being logical.⁹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

- 22- It is therefore clear that if one is to adopt the *tawhīd*-and-*adab*-oriented approach to thinking, as earlier exemplified by al-Ghazzālī's in his major works, one will then not have to prefer thinking to the exclusion of memorization, on the one hand, and similarly, one will not then have to face the dilemma of siding with creative thinking at the cost of marginalising the critical one, on the other hand. In short, just as memorizing is indispensable in reasoning, so is logic related to creativity in a way that one side of a coin is related to its other side. Indeed, Muslims of today urgently need to relearn the balanced understanding and approach in dealing with both bi-relations which al-Ghazzālī had much earlier exemplified in his major works.

⁷ For a detailed explanation on the nature of human imagination and its role in al-Ghazzālī's thought, see Mohd Zaidi, *The Sources of Knowledge in al-Ghazzālī's Thought*, 10, 13–20, 26ff., 49–59, and 62. See also the Introduction (pp. 1–10), Chapter One (pp. 11–30), and Conclusion (pp. 69–74) in idem, *Kreativiti & Imaginasi dalam Psikologi Islami*.

⁸ For a detailed explanation on al-Ghazzālī's position pertaining to Divine Inspiration in relation to human thinking, see idem, *The Sources of Knowledge in al-Ghazzālī's Thought*, Chapters Two and Three.

⁹ See also my more or less similar discussion in *Kreativiti & Imaginasi dalam Psikologi Islami*, 24–28.

TEMA:
PENDIDIKAN ISLAM

**WAṢIYYAH ABĪ ḤANĪFAH LI ABĪ YŪSUF: SUATU PENGENALAN DAN
SUNTINGAN ILMIAH***

Oleh:

Mohd Anuar Mamat*

ABSTRAK

Makalah ini mengemukakan suatu pengenalan dan suntingan ilmiah terhadap salah satu karya agung Imam Abū Ḥanīfah iaitu Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah Li Abī Yūsuf. Ia memuatkan perbincangan penting sekitar adab guru dan pelajar serta menggariskan tatacara pergaulan mereka dengan pelbagai lapisan masyarakat serta pemerintah. Oleh sebab teks kitab ini belum lagi ditemui satu edisi yang disunting dengan sempurna, maka makalah ini mengusahakan suntingan ilmiah berdasarkan sumber yang berwibawa, iaitu senaskah manuskrip daripada Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah dan nukilan para sarjana Islam termasuk al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (m.586H/1190M), al-Kurdarī (m.827H/1423M), Ibn Nujaym (m.970H/1562M) dan al-Tamīmī al-Dārī (m.1010H/1601M). Dengan pengenalan dan teks yang dihasilkan ini boleh dijadikan sumber dan teladan kepada disiplin pendidikan seterusnya menjelaskan perhatian para ulama yang awal terhadap disiplin tersebut.

Kata Kunci: *Abū Ḥanīfah; Abū Yūsuf; Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah Li Abī Yūsuf; Pendidikan*

PENDAHULUAN

Para ulama Islam sememangnya memberi perhatian yang serius terhadap bidang pendidikan melalui penghasilan pelbagai karya dan amalan mereka yang menjadi contoh kepada generasi terkemudian. Karya agung mereka ini merupakan sumber utama dan sepatutnya dijadikan panduan kepada umat Islam sekarang dalam merangka sistem pendidikan. Oleh yang demikian, makalah ini

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membincangkan salah satu karya agung sarjana Islam yang awal iaitu *Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah Li Abī Yūsuf* dan mengemukakan suntingan ilmiah terhadapnya. Ini kerana, kitab ini belum lagi ditemui suatu edisi suntingan ilmiah yang sempurna tambahan pula ia merupakan karya penting berkait idea dan pemikiran pendidikan Abū Ḥanīfah. Perbincangan dimulai dengan pengenalan ringkas latarbelakang Abū Ḥanīfah dan Abū Yūsuf, perbincangan mengenai *Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah Li Abī Yūsuf* sebagai karya Abū Ḥanīfah dan diakhiri dengan suntingan teks *Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah Li Abī Yūsuf*. Dengan pengenalan dan edisi yang dihasilkan ini diharapkan dapat menjelaskan perhatian para ulama yang awal terhadap disiplin pendidikan dan warisan yang mereka sumbangkan dapat dijadikan sebagai sumber dan teladan kepada para pengkaji pendidikan dewasa ini.

PENGENALAN RINGKAS ABŪ ḤANĪFAH

Abū Ḥanīfah (m.150H/767M) ialah al-Nu‘mān bin Thābit bin Zuṭa bin Māh al-Taymī al-Kūfī, atau menurut suatu riwayat lain ialah al-Nu‘mān bin Thābit bin al-Nu‘mān bin al-Marzubān. Kebanyakan sarjana Islam berpendapat bahawa beliau lahir pada tahun 80H/699M, semasa zaman khalifah ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān dan meninggal dunia di Baghdād pada tahun 150H/767M, ketika berumur 70 tahun.¹ Beliau meninggalkan banyak sumbangan asli kepada dunia Islam melalui 23 karya yang dinisbahkan kepada beliau,² termasuklah juga karya dalam bidang pendidikan³ seperti *al-‘Ālim wa al-*

¹ Untuk maklumat lanjut mengenai biografi Imam Abū Ḥanīfah lihat, Ibn Sa‘ad (t.t.), *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*, j. 6. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, h. 368-369; al-Rāzī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān bin Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad bin Idrīs (2002), *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta‘dīl*, taḥqīq Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā, j.8, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, h. 513-515; al-Jurjānī, ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Udayy (1997), *al-Kāmil fi Du‘afā’ al-Rijāl*, taḥqīq ‘Ādil Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Mawjūd, ‘Alī Muḥammad Mu‘awwaḍ& ‘Abd al-Fattāh Abū Sunnah, j. 8. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, h. 235-246; al-Saymarī, Abū ‘Abdillah Ḥusayn bin ‘Alī (1985), *Akhbār Abī Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*, c.2. T.T.P: ‘Alam al-Kutub; al-Namirī, Abu Yūsuf bin ‘Abd Allāh bin ‘Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *al-Intiqā’ fi Faḍā’il al-Thalāthah al-‘Immah al-Fuqahā’*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, seterusnya disebut *al-Intiqā’*; al-Shaybānī, al-Mubārak bin Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Karīm (2003), *al-Mukhtar min Manāqib al-Akhyār li Ibn Athīr*, taḥqīq Ma‘mūn al-Sāghirjī, ‘Adnān ‘Abd Rabbih & Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir, UEA: Markaz Zāyid li al-Turāth wa al-Tārīkh, h. 87-105; Ibn Khallikān, Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin Abū Bakr (1969), *Wafayāt al-A‘yān wa Anbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, taḥqīq Iḥsān ‘Abbās, j. 5. Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, h. 405-415; al-Mizzī, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf (2002), *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, taḥqīq Bashshār ‘Iwād Ma‘rūf, j. 29. Beirut: Mu‘assasah al-Risālah, h. 418-445; al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin ‘Uthmān (1996), *Siyar al-A‘lām al-Nubalā’*, taḥqīq Shu‘ayb al-Arnout & Ḥusayn Asad, c.11, j.6, Beirut: Mu‘assasah al-Risālah, h. 390-403; *idem* (1985), *al-‘Ibr fi Khabar man Ghabar*, taḥqīq Muḥammad al-Sa‘īd Ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, h. 164-165; al-Yāfi‘ī, ‘Abd Allāh bin As‘ad bin ‘Alī bin Sulaymān (1997), *Mir‘āt al-Jinān wa ‘Ibrāt al-Yaqazān fi Ma‘rifat ma Yu‘tabar min Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, taḥqīq Khalīl Manṣūr, j. 1. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, h. 242-245; al-Makkī, al-Muwaffaq bin Aḥmad (1981), *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfah*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, seterusnya disebut *Manāqib*; al-Kurdarī, Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn bin Muḥammad (1981), *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfah*, Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī, seterusnya disebut *Manāqib*; al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad bin ‘Alī bin Ḥajar Shihāb al-Dīn (2001), *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, i‘tinā’ Ibrāhīm Zaybāq & ‘Ādil Murshid, j. 4. Beirut: Mu‘assasah al-Risālah, h. 229-231; al-Hanbalī, ‘Abd al-Ḥayy bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin al-‘Imād (1998), *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fi Akhbār Man Dhahab*, taḥqīq Muṣṭafā ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Aṭā, j.1, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, h. 382-384, seterusnya disebut sebagai *Shadharāt*; Juynboll, Th. W. (1933), *Dā’irah al-Ma‘ārif al-Islamiyyah*, Aḥmad al-Shintāwī, Ibrāhīm Zaki Khurshid & ‘Abd al-Ḥāmid Yūnus (terj.), j. 1, Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘ārifah, h. 330-331; Schacht, J. (1979), *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, v. 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill, h. 123-124; Gibb, H.A.R & Kramers, J.H. (1974), *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, h. 9-10.

² Lihat senarai karya beliau dalam, Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad bin Abū Ya‘qūb Ishāq al-Nadīm (1996) *al-Fihrist*, taḥqīq Yūsuf ‘Alī Ṭawīl, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, h. 343, seterusnya disebut *al-Fihrist*; Ḥājī Khalīfah, Muṣṭafā bin ‘Abd Allāh (1982), *Kashf al-ḍunūn*, Kaherah: Dār al-Fikr, h. 1437; al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī, Ismā‘īl Bāshā (1955), *Hadiyyah al-‘Ārifīn: Asmā’ al-Mu‘allaḥīn wa Āthār al-Muṣannaḥīn*, j.2, Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī, h. 495, seterusnya disebut *Hadiyyah*; Brockelmann, Carl (1993), *Tārīkh al-Adab al-‘Arabī*, Maḥmūd Fahmī Hijāzī (terj.), Qaherah: Hai‘ah al-Miṣriyyah al-‘Āmmah li al-Kitāb, h. 252, seterusnya disebut *Tārīkh al-Adab*; Sezgin, Fuat (1983), *Tārīkh al-Turāth al-‘Arabī*, Maḥmūd Fahmī Hijāzī (terj.), j.1, juzu’ 3, T.T.P: Idārah al-Thāqafah wa al-Nashr bi al-Jāmi‘ah, h. 32, seterusnya disebut *Tārīkh al-Turāth*.

³ Aymān Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (2008), *al-Turāth al-Tarbawī fi al-Madhhab al-Ḥanafī*, Iskandariyyah: Maktabah al-‘Ilm wa al-‘Imān, h. 10.

*Muta'allim*⁴ dan *Wasiyyah Abi Hanifah Li Abi Yusuf*. Mengenai kesahihan penisbahan kesemua karya tersebut ia ditegaskan oleh sejumlah ulama seperti al-Isfarāyīnī (m.471H/1078M) dan Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn bin Muḥammad al-Kurdarī (m.827H/1423M). Al-Isfarāyīnī umpamanya mengatakan bahawa periwayatan karya-karya tersebut adalah boleh dipercayai (*thiqah*), dengan jalan yang yakin dan rantaian sanad yang tepat (*ṣaḥiḥ*).⁵

Di samping karya yang dihasilkan Abū Ḥanīfah juga mempunyai murid yang begitu ramai sehingga mencecah 4000 orang.⁶ Antara mereka yang terawal dan paling rapat dengan beliau ialah Abū Yūsuf dan bertitik tolak daripada hubungan tersebutlah terdapat suatu pesanan yang disampaikan oleh Abū Ḥanīfah kepadanya. Oleh itu, makalah ini dihasilkan bertujuan untuk menyunting pesanan tersebut sebagai antara pesanan berharga daripada ulama yang berwibawa dalam bidang pendidikan.

LATAR BELAKANG ABŪ YŪSUF

Nama sebenar Abū Yūsuf (m.182H/798M) ialah Ya'qūb bin Ibrāhīm bin Ḥabīb bin Sa'd bin Ḥabtah al-Bajalī,⁷ dilahirkan di Kufah pada tahun 113H/731M dan meninggal dunia di Baghdad.⁸ Para ahli sejarah dan ulama Islam mengiktiraf bahawa beliau adalah salah seorang murid yang paling rapat dengan Abū Ḥanīfah dan melazimi pengajaran beliau selama 17 tahun dengan penuh komitmen dan bersungguh-sungguh.⁹ Kesungguhan beliau telah mendapat pengiktirafan daripada gurunya sendiri yang mana dalam sebuah riwayat Abū Ḥanīfah menyatakan 'tidak ada seorang pun yang melazimi pengajaranku sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan oleh Abū Yūsuf'.¹⁰ Eratnya hubungan beliau dengan

⁴ Mengenai karya pendidikan Abu Hanifah dan analisis pemikiran pendidikan dalam kitab *al-'Ālim wa al-Muta'allim* lihat, Mohd Anuar Mamat (2012), Tujuan Pendidikan dan Kaedah Pengajaran Menurut Abu Hanifah al-Nu'man (m.150H/767M): Suntingan Ilmiah Kitab *al-'Ālim wa al-Muta'allim*, Terjemahan dan Analisis, Tesis PhD, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Akidah dan Pemikiran Islam. Lihat juga, Mohd Anuar Mamat & Wan Suhaimi Wan Abdullah (2010), "Tujuan Pendidikan Dan Kaedah Pengajaran Abū Ḥanīfah dalam Kitab *al-'Ālim wa al-Muta'allim*", dalam *AFKAR*, bil.11, h. 129-166.

⁵ Abū al-Muzfir al-Isfarāyīnī (1940), *al-Taḥṣīr fī al-Dīn wa Tamyīz al-Firqah al-Nājiyah 'an Firqah al-Hālikīn*, taḥqīq Muḥammad Zāhid bin al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī, T.T.P: Matba'ah al-Anwār, h. 113-114.

⁶ Abu al-Wafā al-Qurashī, 'Abd al-Qādir bin Abī al-Wafā Muḥammad bin Nuṣr Allāh bin Sālim (t.t.), *al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*, Karachi: Miz Kutub Khanah Aram Bagh, h. 28; al-Tamīmī al-Dārī, Taqī al-Dīn bin 'Abd al-Qādir (1983), *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah fī Tarājum al-Ḥanafīyah*, taḥqīq 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Hilw, Riyad: Dār al-Rifa'ī, h. 96, seterusnya disebut *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah*.

⁷ Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Akhbār*, h. 98; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *al-Intiqā'*, h. 172; al-Dhahabī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Aḥmad bin 'Uthmān (1999), *Manāqib al-Imām Abī Ḥanīfah wa Ṣāhibayh Abī Yūsuf wa Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan*, taḥqīq Muḥammad Zāhid bin al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī, Kaherah: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li al-Turāth, h. 37 dan 47, seterusnya disebut *Manāqib al-Imām*; al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 345-347; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 389-390; Qutlubaghā, Zayn al-Dīn (1962), *Tāj al-Tarājum fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah*, Baghdad: Maṭba'ah al-'Ānī, h. 81, seterusnya disebut *Tāj al-Tarājum*; al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī (1955), *Hadiyyah*, h. 536; al-Kiranawī, Aḥmad (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, h. 95, seterusnya disebut *Abū Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*; al-Kawtharī, Muḥammad Zāhid (2002), *Ḥusn al-Taḥqīq fī Sirah al-Imām Abī Yūsuf al-Qādī*, Kaherah: Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li al-Turāth, h. 5-6, seterusnya disebut *Ḥusn al-Taḥqīq*; al-Zirkilī, Khayr al-Dīn (1999), *al-A'lām*, j.10, c.14, Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm li al-Malāyīn, h. 193, seterusnya disebut *al-A'lām*; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah: Ḥayātuhu, wa 'Aṣruhu wa Arā'uhu wa Fiqhuhu*, Kaherah: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, h. 173, seterusnya disebut *Abū Ḥanīfah*.

⁸ Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Ibid.*, h. 98 dan 108; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *Ibid.*, h. 173; al-Dhahabī (1999), *Ibid.*, h. 37; al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Ibid.*, h. 465; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Ibid.*, h. 390-392.; Qutlubaghā (1962), *Ibid.*, h. 81; al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī (1955), *Ibid.*; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*, h. 6-7 dan 73-76; al-Zirkilī (1999), *Ibid.*, h. 193; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Ibid.*

⁹ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *Ibid.* Hal ini diceritakan sendiri oleh Abū Yūsuf bahawa beliau melazimi pengajaran Abu Hanifah selama 17 tahun pada setiap masa, kecuali ketika beliau uzur dan sakit sahaja. Lihat, Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Akhbār*, h. 100. Terdapat juga satu riwayat yang menyatakan bahawa beliau mewakilkan kepada kerabatnya untuk menguruskan pengkebumian anaknya yang meninggal dunia kerana bimbang terlepas majlis pengajaran dan ilmu yang akan disampaikan oleh Abu Hanifah. Al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 472; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 394; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ḥusn al-Taḥqīq*, h. 9 dan 17.

¹⁰ Al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Ibid.*, h. 472-473; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Ibid.* al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*

Abū Ḥanīfah juga jelas sehingga beliau sendiri dalam kenyataannya memuji pengajaran Abū Ḥanīfah di samping gurunya yang lain. Abū Yūsuf mengatakan;

Tidak ada di dunia ini suatu majlis pengajaran yang lebih aku sukai selain daripada pengajaran Abū Ḥanīfah dan Ibn Abī Laylā. Sesungguhnya aku tidak dapati seseorang yang lebih dalam ilmunya (faqīh) selain daripada Abū Ḥanīfah dan tidak ada seorang qadi yang paling baik selain Ibn Abī Laylā.¹¹

Sebagaimana riwayat di atas, walaupun Abū Yūsuf sangat konsisten belajar dengan Abū Ḥanīfah, namun sebelum itu beliau juga melazimi pengajaran Ibn Abī Laylā (m.146H/763M) yang juga merupakan salah seorang ulama di Kufah. Ini bukan bermakna guru beliau hanya dua orang sahaja, bahkan gurunya mencecah ratusan orang khususnya daripada golongan tabi‘in.¹² Antara mereka termasuklah ‘Aṭā’ bin al-Sā’ib (m.136H/755M), Yazīd bin Abī Ziyād (m.137H/754M), Yaḥyā bin Sa‘īd (m.143H/760M), Hishām bin ‘Urwah (m.146H/763M), al-A‘mash (m.148H/765M), Ḥajjaj bin Arṭa’ah (m.149H/766H) dan lain-lain lagi.¹³ Ini membuktikan wujudnya komitmen yang tinggi dalam diri Abū Yūsuf dalam mencari ilmu daripada ulama yang muktabar pada zaman beliau.

Ketekunan sebegini jelas lagi kelihatan apabila Abū Yūsuf juga berhadapan dengan masalah kewangan semasa menuntut ilmu disebabkan beliau berasal daripada keluarga yang agak miskin. Namun, berkat usaha beliau yang gigih dan perhatian daripada gurunya Abū Ḥanīfah, beliau dapat menguasai segenap lapangan ilmu khususnya berkaitan Tafsir, Hadith, Usul Fiqh, Fiqh dan Sejarah.¹⁴ Kisah ini diceritakan sendiri oleh beliau dan ia telah dinukilkan oleh sebahagian besar ahli sejarah semasa menjelaskan latar belakang Abū Yūsuf. Mengenai hal ini beliau menceritakan;

Dahulu ketika aku mempelajari hadith dan fiqh, aku sangat miskin dan hina. Pada suatu hari, bapaku datang ketika aku berada di sisi (dalam pengajaran) Abū Ḥanīfah, [setelah itu] aku pun beredar bersamanya. Dia (Ayahku) berkata: Wahai anakku, janganlah kamu selalu Abū Ḥanīfah, sesungguhnya beliau memakan roti bakar (merupakan golongan yang kaya) sedangkan kamu perlu berkerja untuk menyara kehidupan. Maka aku pun mengurangkan masa untuk belajar dan mendahulukan taat kepada bapaku [untuk berkerja]. [Setelah itu] Abū Ḥanīfahpun menyedari ketiadaanku, dan beliau bertanya tentang aku yang sering tidak menghadiri majlisnya. Tatkala kali pertama aku hadir semula, beliau [terus] bertanya: Kenapa kamu tidak hadir ke pengajian kami? Aku menjawab: Saya disibukkan dengan berkerja untuk menyara kehidupan dan mentaati bapa saya. Maka aku pun duduk. Apabila aku ingin beredar [pulang], Abū Ḥanīfah mengisyaratkan supaya aku [tetap] duduk, setelah semua orang pergi, beliau memberikan kepadaku uncang seraya berkata: Ambillah ini sebagai bantuan. Aku lihat didalamnya terdapat seratus dirham, kemudian beliau berkata lagi: Lazimlah majlis pengajian ini, apabila bekalan ini sudah habis beritahulah kepadaku semula. Maka [semenjak itu] aku selalu melazimi pengajaran beliau, dan apabila berlalu selang beberapa lama beliau memberikan kepada aku seratus dirham lagi. [Sebelum ini] aku tidak memberitahu beliau akan kepapaanku dan kekurangan [hartaku], tetapi seolah-olah beliau mengetahui hal

¹¹ Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Akḥbār*, h. 100; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*, h. 16.

¹² Al-Kawthari semasa membahaskan guru-guru Abū Yūsuf beliau menyenaraikan guru-guru beliau seramai 103 orang yang mempunyai kepakaran dalam pelbagai lapangan. Lihat, al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*, h. 17-18.

¹³ Al-Dhahabī (1999), *Manāqib al-Imām*, h. 37-38; al-Kiranawī (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*, h. 95; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Akḥbār*, h. 99 dan 102; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *al-Intiqā’*, h. 173; al-Dhahabī (1999), *Manāqib al-Imām*, h. 40-42; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 396-399, 410-411; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*, h. 14-16; al-Zirkilī (1999), *al-A’lām*, h. 193.

tersebut, sehingga aku merasa cukup dan berharta. Aku [terus] melazimi majlis pengajaran beliau dan sehingga sampai apa yang aku hajati. Allah telah membukakan kepadaku berkat sebagaimana Allah membuka pintu ilmu dan harta kepadanya, maka Allah memperelokkan sumbangan beliau kepadaku dan [semoga] Allah mengampuni beliau.¹⁵

Ketokohan Abū Yūsuf dan sumbangannya dalam keilmuan juga jelas terserlah dengan penghasilan sejumlah karya dan para murid didikan beliau pula berjaya melakar kecemerlangan dalam segenap disiplin ilmu. Hal ini juga terbukti dengan pengiktirafan para ulama terkemudian, mereka menyatakan bahawa ‘jikalau tidak kerana Abū Yūsuf nescaya gurunya Abū Ḥanīfah tidak akan dikenali’.¹⁶ Pernyataan ini timbul kerana Abū Yūsuf merupakan ulama pertama yang menghuraikan ilmu Usul al-Fiqh berdasarkan pandangan Abū Ḥanīfah. Beliau juga antara murid Abū Ḥanīfah yang berusaha mencatat segala permasalahan yang dibincangkan oleh Abū Ḥanīfah seterusnya menyampaikannya sebagai suatu dasar hukum kepada mazhab Hanafi.¹⁷ Walaupun pernyataan di atas menurut sesetengah pengkaji agak melampau dalam menzahirkan keunggulan Abū Yūsuf¹⁸ namun tidak dapat dinafikan bahawa peranan murid adalah besar dalam menyebarkan ilmu dan mengembangkan lagi asas yang digagaskan oleh guru mereka. Pernyataan tersebut haruslah diterima secara positif di mana menjelaskan elemen hubungan antara guru-murid amat penting dalam penyebaran dan perkembangan ilmu. Pernyataan di atas jika dilihat secara berlawanan iaitu ‘jika tidak kerana Abū Ḥanīfah, nescaya Abū Yūsuf juga tidak akan dikenali’ juga boleh diterima kerana peranan guru dan murid amat penting dalam pendidikan dan perkembangan ilmu.¹⁹

Antara karya-karya Abū Yūsuf ialah kitab al-Āthār,²⁰ Ikhtilāf Abī Ḥanīfah wa Ibn Abī Laylā,²¹ al-Radd ‘Alā Siyar al-Awza‘ī,²² al-Kharaj,²³ Kitāb al-Ṣolāt, Kitāb al-Zakāt, Kitāb al-Ṣiyām, Kitāb al-Farā‘id, Kitāb al-Buyū‘, Kitāb al-Ḥudūd, Kitāb al-Wakālah, Kitāb al-Waṣāyā, Kitāb al-Ṣayd wa al-Dhabā‘ih, Kitāb al-Ghasb wa al-Istibrā’,²⁴ Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Amsār, Kitāb al-Radd ‘Alā Mālik bin

¹⁵ Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Ibid.*; al-Dhahabī (1999), *Ibid.*, h. 39-40; al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 469-470; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Ibid.*, h. 393; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*, h. 8-9. Lihat juga, Wabbī Sulaymān Ghāwījī al-Albānī (1988) ‘al-Imām Abū Ḥanīfah’ dalam *Min A‘lām al-Tarbiyyah al-‘Arabīyyah al-Islāmiyyah*, j.1, Riyad: Maktab al-Tarbiyyah al-‘Arabī li Dual al-Khalīj, h. 147.

¹⁶ Al-Ṣaymarī (1985), *Ibid.*, h. 99; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Ibid.*, h. 395; Qutlubaghā (1962), *Tāj al-Tarājum*, h. 81.

¹⁷ Qutlubaghā (1962), *Ibid.*; a al-Kiranawī, Aḥmad (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*, h. 95. al-Zirkilī (1999), *al-A‘lām*, h. 193.

¹⁸ Lihat komentar al-Kawthari semasa menyunting karya al-Dhahabī. Lihat, al-Dhahabī (1999), *Manāqib al-Imām*, h. 42; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Husn al-Taḥqīq*, h. 16.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Kitab ini diriwayatkan oleh anak Abū Yūsuf iaitu Yūsuf bin Abī Yūsuf. Ia banyak memuatkan pandangan Abū Ḥanīfah dan juga hadith yang diriwayatkan oleh Abū Ḥanīfah daripada para tābi‘īn, Sahabat sehingga Nabi s.a.w. Ia juga boleh dikatakan sebagai kitab kompilasi hadith yang dikenali sebagai ‘*Musnad*’. Lihat, Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah*, h. 176.

²¹ Kitab ini merupakan kumpulan permasalahan yang berlaku perbezaan antara Abū Ḥanīfah dengan Ibn Abī Laylā yang mana kedua-duanya adalah guru kepada Abū Yūsuf. Ia diriwayatkan oleh Muḥammad bin Abī Yūsuf. Lihat, Abū Yūsuf, Ya‘qub bin Ibrahim (1357H), *Ikhtilaf Abī Ḥanīfah wa Ibn Abī Laylā*, Hyderabad: Maṭba‘ah al-Wafā‘. Lihat juga, Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Ibid.*, h. 177.

²² Kitab ini mengandungi kritikan, penolakan dan jawapan Abū Yūsuf terhadap permasalahan yang menjadi perbezaan pendapat antara Abū Ḥanīfah dan al-Awza‘ī khususnya mengenai hukum peperangan (*hurūb*) dan segala perkara yang berkait dengannya seperti hukum perdamaian, tawanan, harta rampasan dan sebagainya. Lihat, *Ibid.*, h. 180.

²³ Al-Kharaj ialah satu risalah yang ditulis oleh Abū Yūsuf di atas permintaan daripada khalifah al-Rashīd. Kitab ini membincangkan hukum-hukum berkaitan kewangan dan percubaan. Ia merupakan kitab yang paling baik dalam bidang terbabit. Lihat, al-Kawtharī (2002), *Husn al-Taḥqīq*, h. 31-32; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Ibid.*, h. 174.

²⁴ Dalam al-Baghdādī dinyatakan kitab al-Ghasb wa al-Istibrā‘. Lihat, al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī (1955), *Hadīyyah*, h. 536.

Anas, *Adab al-Qāḍī*, *Mabsūṭ fi al-Far'*,²⁵ dan *Kitāb al-Jawāmi'*.²⁶ Selain itu, Abū Yūsuf juga mempunyai murid yang agak ramai mencecah ratusan orang.²⁷ Antara murid beliau yang masyhur ialah Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (m.189H/804M), Yaḥyā bin Ma'īn (m.230H/844M), Ibn Sammā'ah (m.233H/847M), Bishr bin al-Walīd (m.238H/852M) dan Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (m.241H/855M).²⁸

Dengan keilmuan dan keahlian yang dimiliki olehnya,²⁹ beliau dilantik sebagai ketua hakim dan merupakan ulama pertama yang diberi gelaran 'Qāḍī al-Quḍāh'.³⁰ Beliau menjawat jawatan tersebut bermula zaman pemerintahan al-Mahdī, al-Hādī dan berakhir pada zaman Hārūn al-Rashīd.³¹ Semasa Abū Yūsuf memegang jawatan tersebut beliau amat dikenali dengan bersikap adil dalam setiap keputusan.³² Hal ini menyebabkan beliau sangat dimuliakan dan dihormati oleh segenap lapisan masyarakat sama ada rakyat mahupun pemerintah.³³

WAṢIYYAH ABĪ ḤANĪFAH LI ABĪ YŪSUF SEBAGAI KARYA ABŪ ḤANĪFAH

Sebagaimana yang telah dinyatakan sebelum ini bahawa Abū Ḥanīfah mempunyai 23 karya utama yang dinisbahkan kepada beliau. Namun begitu, terdapat beberapa karya yang dinisbahkan kepada Abū Ḥanīfah dengan nama yang sama iaitu *Waṣiyyah*. *Waṣiyyah* ini merujuk kepada pesanan yang disampaikan oleh Abū Ḥanīfah kepada para pelajarnya sama ada secara khusus ataupun umum. Antara karya yang bertajuk *Waṣiyyah* ialah *Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah li Ibnihī Ḥammad*,³⁴ *Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah ila Tilmīdhīhi Yūsuf bin Khālīd al-Samtī al-Baṣrī*³⁵ dan *Waṣiyyah Abī Ḥanīfah fi al-Tawhīd* (kadang-kala pengkaji hanya menyebut *Waṣiyyah* sahaja).³⁶ Kesemua *Waṣiyyah* tersebut merupakan untaian

²⁵ Kitab ini juga dikenali sebagai al-Aṭl. Lihat, *Ibid.*

²⁶ al-Baghdādī al-Bābānī (1955), *Ibid.*; al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ḥusn al-Taḳāḍī*, h. 32; al-Zirkilī (1999), *al-A'lām*, h. 193; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah*, h. 174.

²⁷ Mengenai hal ini al-Kawtharī hanya menyenaraikan seramai 98 orang murid Abū Yūsuf yang belajar dengannya secara langsung. Al-Kawtharī sendiri seterusnya menyatakan terdapat ramai lagi murid beliau yang tidak disenaraikan dalam penulisan beliau itu. Lihat, al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ibid.*, h. 21-22.

²⁸ Al-Dhahabī (1999), *Manāqib al-Imām*, h. 39; al-Kiranawī (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*, h. 95.

²⁹ Lebih lanjut mengenai ketokohan Abū Yūsuf dalam pelbagai lapangan lihat pelbagai riwayat yang dikumpulkan oleh al-Kawtharī tentang pujian ulama terhadap beliau. Lihat, al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ḥusn al-Taḳāḍī*, h. 27-31.

³⁰ Qutlubaghā (1962), *Tāj al-Tarājum*, h. 81; al-Kiranawī (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah wa Aṣḥābuh*, h. 95; al-Zirkilī (1999), *al-A'lām*, h. 193; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Abū Ḥanīfah*, h. 174.

³¹ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *al-Intiqā'*, h. 173; al-Dhahabī (1999), *Manāqib al-Imām*, h. 39; Qutlubaghā (1962), *Ibid.*; al-Zirkilī (1999), *Ibid.*; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Ibid.*, h. 173.

³² Lihat banyak riwayat tentang hal ini yang dinukilkan oleh al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī. Lihat, al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 503-506; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 409-418.

³³ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (t.t.), *al-Intiqā'*, h. 173; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah (t.t.), *Ibid.*, h. 173.

³⁴ Risalah ini adalah wasiat Abū Ḥanīfah kepada anaknya Ḥammād. Ia telah dihuraikan oleh 'Uthmān bin Muṣṭafā yang bertajuk *Zabdh al-Naṣā'ih*. Untuk maklumat dan sedikit ulasan terhadap risalah ini lihat, Brockelmann (1993), *Tārīkh al-Adab*, h. 261; Sezgin (1983), *Tārīkh al-Turāth*, h. 48.

³⁵ Teks wasiat ini telah dikemukakan oleh al-Kurdarī dalam karyanya bertajuk *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfah*, penulis belum lagi menemui edisi yang telah disunting dan yang telah dicetak. Namun, manuskrip risalah ini telah ditemui oleh penulis di Suleymaniyah Kutuphansi, Istanbul dalam koleksi manuskrip Asir Afendi, no. 437, folio 8A-9A. Untuk maklumat dan sedikit ulasan terhadap wasiat ini lihat, al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 360-363; Brockelmann (1993), *Ibid.*; Sezgin (1983), *Ibid.*.

³⁶ *Waṣiyyah* ini juga dikenali dengan beberapa nama lain seperti *Waṣiyyah fī al-Tawhīd*, *Waṣiyyah fī Marāḍih* dan juga *Risālah Naqirū*. Walaupun wujud pelbagai nama yang berbeza tetapi kandungannya adalah sama khususnya setelah penulis berpeluang melihat manuskrip asal *Waṣiyyah* ini di Istanbul dan Kaherah. Awalnya teks *Waṣiyyah* telah dinukilkan sepenuhnya oleh Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir dalam karyanya bertajuk *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah fī Tarājum al-Ḥanafīyyah*. Setelah itu, al-Kawtharī pula menyuntingnya dan diterbitkan bersama karya Abū Ḥanīfah yang lain. Selain itu, *Waṣiyyah* juga telah dicetak dan diterjemah ke dalam Bahasa Inggeris oleh A.J. Wensick bersama dua karya Abū Ḥanīfah yang lain dalam bukunya *The Development of Muslim Creed*. *Waṣiyyah* ini juga telah dihuraikan oleh empat orang sarjana Islam iaitu Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad bin

nasihat beliau kepada anak dan pelajarnya setelah mereka tamat pengajian dalam tempoh waktu tertentu dan berhasrat untuk pulang ke negara masing-masing. Kandungannya berkisar tentang adab guru dan pelajar, tujuan pendidikan, dan tatacara pergaulan dengan masyarakat, manakala *Wasiyyah Abi Hanifah fi al-Tawhid* sahaja yang membincangkan tentang persoalan akidah dan prinsip-prinsip Ahli Sunnah dan Jama'ah secara khusus.

Merujuk kepada *Wasiyyah* yang dibincangkan dalam artikel ini ia merupakan pesanan Abū Ḥanīfah kepada pelajarnya secara khusus iaitu Abū Yūsuf. *Wasiyyah* ini tidak diragukan lagi sebagai karya Abū Ḥanīfah kerana ia disepakati oleh sejumlah sarjana Islam yang berwibawa. Mereka bukan sahaja menjelaskan kewujudan karya ini bahkan menukikan teks tersebut ke dalam karya-karya mereka. Antaranya al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (m.586H/1190M), al-Kurdarī (m.827H/1423M), Ibn Nujaym (m.970H/1562M) dan Taqī al-Dīn bin 'Abd al-Qādir (m.1010H/1601M).³⁷ Kesahihan karya tersebut juga terbukti dengan kewujudan sejumlah manuskrip yang masih lagi tersimpan di pelbagai perpustakaan utama dunia seperti di Suleymaniyya Kutuphansi, Istanbul, Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, Kaherah, R.Univ. Bibliothek, Leiden dan lain-lain lagi.³⁸

Mengenai kandungan kitab *Wasiyyah* ini pula, ia memuatkan pesanan yang berharga daripada seorang guru kepada muridnya. Abū Ḥanīfah menjelaskan tatacara bergaul dan berinteraksi dengan manusia supaya muridnya Abū Yūsuf secara khas dan para guru atau pelajar terkemudian secara amnya berjaya dalam mendidik dan menyampaikan ilmu kepada para murid mereka dengan adab yang tepat.³⁹ Selain itu, ia juga mengandungi pelbagai pendapat, kata-kata hikmat yang sangat berguna serta adab yang unggul kepada sesiapa yang menelitinya (*tadabbur*).⁴⁰ Walaupun teks *Wasiyyah* ini agak ringkas namun ia mengandungi maksud yang amat mendalam dan menyeluruh. Abū Ḥanīfah menggariskan banyak peraturan dan adab sebagai seorang guru, pelajar dan tatacara berhadapan dengan pelbagai lapisan masyarakat, umpamanya golongan awam, golongan berilmu, golongan jahil dan juga para pembesar kerajaan dan pemerintah. Oleh yang demikian, penghasilan suatu edisi suntingan ilmiah ini amat penting dan ia menjadi sumber utama kepada kajian lanjutan nanti.

Muḥammad al-Bābartī bertajuk *Sharḥ Wasiyyah Abi Hanifah*, Molla Ḥusayn bin Iskandar al-Ḥanafi bertajuk *al-Jawāhir al-Munīfah fī Sharḥ Wasiyyah Abi Hanifah*, Imām al-Ḥusūnī bertajuk *duḥūr al-'Aṭīyyah* dan Nūr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm bin Ḥasan Afendi al-Uskudrāwī bertajuk *Khulāṣah al-Uṣūl*. Lihat, Taqī al-Dīn bin 'Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī (1983), *Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah*, h. 156-160; Abū Ḥanīfah (2001), "Wasiyyah" dalam *al-'Ālim wa al-Muta'allim*, tahqiq Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, Misr: al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li al-Turāth, h. 76-79; Wenstick, A.J. (1965), *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development*, London: Frank Crass & Co. Ltd, h. 125-187; al-Bābartī, Akmal al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad (2009), *Sharḥ Wasiyyah Abi Hanifah*, tahqiq Muḥammad Ṣubḥī al-'Āyidī & Hamzah Muḥammad Wasīm al-Bakrī, Urdun: Dār al-Faṭḥ li al-Dirāsāt wa al-Nashr. Lihat juga, Mohd Anuar Mamat, Basri Husin & Mohd Manawi Mohd Akib (2010), "Prinsip-Prinsip Ahli Al-Sunnah Dan al-Jama'ah: Pengenalan Dan Terjemahan Melayu *Wasiyyah* Imam Abu Hanifah" dalam kertas kerja sisipan *Seminar Kebangsaan Pemikiran Islam II*, 20-21 Julai 2010, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Akidah dan Pemikiran Islam.

³⁷ Lihat, al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 370-378; al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 365-370; Ibn Nujaym, Zayn al-Dīn bin Ibrāhīm (1968), *al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir*, Kaherah: Mu'assasah al-Ḥalabī, h. 428-434, seterusnya disebut *al-Ashbāh*; al-Tamīmī (1983), *Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah*, h. 160-169.

³⁸ Untuk melihat senarai manuskrip tersebut berserta nombor panggilannya lihat, Brockelmann (1993), *Tārīkh al-Adab* h. 257; Sezgin (1983), *Tārīkh al-Turāth* h. 48.

³⁹ Al-Kawtharī (2002), *Ḥusn al-Taqādi*, h. 77.

⁴⁰ al-Tamīmī (1983), *Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah*, h. 160.

SUNTINGAN ILMIAH TEKS WAṢIYYAH ABĪ ḤANĪFAH LI ABĪ YŪSUF

Penghasilan suatu suntingan ilmiah memerlukan sumber dan kaedah yang tersendiri.⁴¹ Semasa menyediakan teks suntingan ini penulis menggunakan satu naskhah manuskrip dan empat naskhah yang bercetak sebagai sumber. Setelah semuanya dikumpulkan, proses bermula dengan perbandingan di mana manuskrip asal adalah sebagai naskhah utama (*naskhah umm*). Deskripsi sumber suntingan teks ini sebagaimana berikut;

1. Manuskrip Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah (Kaherah, 39927)

Manuskrip ini diperolehi daripada Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Bāb al-Khalq, Kaherah yang diletakkan di bawah kategori Ilmu Kalam.⁴² Ia terdiri daripada 8 folio (a - b) dan berada dalam keadaan yang baik, lengkap dan tulisannya tebal dan jelas, hanya terdapat pada sesetengah baris beberapa patah perkataan yang tidak ditulis. Pada muka hadapan manuskrip ditulis tajuk secara jelas iaitu “*Hādhihi Waṣiyyah Imam Abī Ḥanīfah li Abī Yūsuf*” dan juga terdapat cop mohor padanya. Setiap bahagian manuskrip mengandungi 17 baris manakala setiap baris mengandungi lebih kurang 9 patah perkataan, pada tepi bahagian pertama pula dicatat perkataan pertama bahagian kedua sebagai kesinambungan teks (*ta‘qībiyyah*). Selain itu, pada sebelah tepi manuskrip ini hanya terdapat dua catatan yang merujuk kepada catatan pembetulan daripada penyalin manuskrip. Dalam artikel ini manuskrip ini dicatat dengan simbol huruf *qāf* (ق).

2. Edisi al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī, (Beirut, 1981)

Edisi ini merupakan sebahagian daripada teks yang dinukilkan oleh al-Muwaffaq bin Aḥmad al-Makkī dalam karyanya *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfah*. Ia dicetak oleh Dār al-Kitāb al-‘Arabī di Beirut pada tahun 1981.⁴³ Dalam kitab ini *Waṣiyyah* terdiri daripada 9 halaman dan dimuatkan bermula halaman 370 hingga 378. Teks yang dinukilkan adalah jelas dan telah dibuat perenggan serta ditambah tanda bacaan yang berkaitan seperti koma, noktah dan sebagainya. Selain itu, cetakan ini juga dilengkapi dengan beberapa anotasi ringkas untuk menjelaskan perbandingan dan maksud teks. Dalam artikel edisi ini dicatat dengan simbol huruf *mīm* (م).

3. Edisi al-Kurdarī, (Beirut, 1981)

Edisi ini merupakan sebahagian daripada teks yang dinukilkan oleh Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn bin Muḥammad al-Kurdarī dalam karyanya *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfah*. Ia dicetak oleh Dār al-Kitāb al-

⁴¹ Sedikit perbincangan mengenai sumber dan kaedah suntingan ilmiah lihat, al-‘Umarī, Akram ‘iyā’ (1983), *Dirāsāt Tārīkhiyyah Ma‘a Ta‘līqah fi Manhaj al-Baḥth wa Taḥqīq al-Makhtūṭāt*, Madinah: al-Jāmi‘ah al-Islāmiyyah; al-Ṭawīl, al-Sayyid Razāq (1988), *Muqaddimah fi Uṣūl al-Baḥth wa Taḥqīq al-Turāth*, Kaherah: Dār al-Hudā; ‘Abd al-Tawwāb, Ramaḍān (2002), *Manāhij Taḥqīq al-Turāth Bayna al-Qudāmā wa al-Muḥaddithīn*, c.2, Kaherah: Maktabah al-Khānījī; Nabilah Lubis (2001), *Naskhah, Teks dan Metode Penelitian Filologi*, Jakarta: Penerbit Yayasan Medio; Wan Suhaimi Wan Abdullah (2005), “Kajian Manuskrip *al-Mu‘tabar fi al-Hikmah (Kitab al-Nafs)*” Karangan Abu al-Barakat al-Baghdadi (547/1152): Ke Arah Suatu Kaedah Suntingan Ilmiah Warisan Manuskrip Melayu Islam”, *AFKAR*, Bil.6, h. 273-304.

⁴² Penulis merakamkan ucapan terima kasih kepada Prof Madya Dr Wan Suhaimi Wan Abdullah dan Saudara Basri Husin kerana mereka berdua turut membantu penulis mendapatkan salinan manuskrip itu di Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, Kaherah, dalam rangka penyelidikan ke Mesir pada 9-23 April 2010.

⁴³ Al-Muwaffaq al-Makkī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 370-378.

‘Arabī di Beirut pada tahun 1981.⁴⁴ Dalam kitab ini *Wasiyyah* terdiri daripada 6 halaman dan dimuatkan bermula halaman 365 hingga 370. Teks yang dinukilkan adalah jelas, ditulis tanpa perenggan dan ditambah tanda bacaan yang berkaitan seperti koma, noktah dan sebagainya. Selain itu, anotasi ringkas juga dikemukakan pada satu tempat sahaja untuk menjelaskan perbandingan dan maksud teks. Dalam makalah ini edisi ini dicatat dengan simbol huruf *kāf* (ك).

4. Edisi Ibn Nujaym, (Kaherah, 1968)

Edisi ini merupakan sebahagian daripada teks yang dinukilkan oleh Zayn al-‘Abidīn bin Ibrāhīm bin Nujaym dalam karyanya *al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā’ir*. Ia disunting oleh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Muḥammad al-Wakīl dan dicetak oleh Mu’assasah al-Ḥalabī di Kaherah pada tahun 1967.⁴⁵ Dalam kitab ini *Wasiyyah* terdiri daripada 5 halaman dan dimuatkan bermula halaman 428 hingga 434. Teks yang dinukilkan adalah jelas, sedikit kecil, berperenggan dan ditambah tanda bacaan yang berkaitan seperti koma, noktah dan sebagainya. Selain itu, edisi ini telah diberi anotasi ringkas pada banyak tempat untuk menjelaskan perbandingan dan maksud teks. Dalam artikel edisi ini dicatat dengan simbol huruf *zay* (ز).

5. Edisi Taqī al-Dīn al-Tamīmī, (Kaherah, 1968)

Edisi ini merupakan sebahagian daripada teks yang dinukilkan oleh Taqī al-Dīn bin ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī dalam karyanya *Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah fi Tarājum al-Ḥanafīyyah*. Ia disunting ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw dan dicetak oleh Dār al-Rifa’ī di Riyad pada tahun 1983.⁴⁶ Dalam kitab ini *Wasiyyah* terdiri daripada 10 halaman dan dimuatkan bermula halaman 160 hingga 169. Teks yang dinukilkan adalah jelas, sedikit kecil, berperenggan dan ditambah tanda bacaan yang berkaitan berserta baris. Selain itu, edisi ini telah diberi anotasi ringkas pada banyak tempat untuk menjelaskan perbandingan antara cetakan lain dan maksud teks. Dalam artikel edisi ini dicatat dengan simbol huruf *tā’* (ت).

⁴⁴ Al-Kurdarī (1981), *Manāqib*, h. 365-370.

⁴⁵ Ibn Nujaym (1968), *al-Ashbāh*, h. 428-434.

⁴⁶ Al-Tamīmī (1983), *Ṭabaqāt al-Saniyyah*, h. 160-169.

Teks Wasīyah Abī Ḥanīfah Li Abī Yūsuf

وصية أبي حنيفة لأبي يوسف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصية الإمام الأعظم أبي حنيفة لأبي يوسف¹ بعد أن ظهر له منه الرشد وحسن السيرة والإقبال على الناس،² فقال³ رضي الله تعالى عنه⁴: يا يعقوب، وقر السلطان وعظم منزلته، وإيّاك والكذب بين يديه والدخول⁵ عليه في كل وقت وفي كل حال⁶ ما لم يدعك حاجة علمية،⁷ فإنك إذا أكثرت إليه اختلاف⁸ تهاون بك واستخف⁹ وصغرت منزلتك عنده، فكن منه بعيداً¹⁰ كما أنت من النار تنتفع بها وتتباعدها ولا تدن منها¹¹ فإنك تحترق وتتأذى منها،¹² فإن السلطان لا يرى لأحد ما يرى لنفسه. وإيّاك¹³ وكثرة الكلام بين يديه فإنه

1 ز: + رحمه الله.

2 م: وحكي عن أبي حنيفة رحمه الله أنه أوصى إلى أبي يوسف رحمه الله بعد أن ظهر له منه الرشد وحسن السيرة والإقبال على العلم. ك: يروى أن الإمام أوصى إلى أبي يوسف بعد أن ظهر له منه الرشد وحسن السيرة والإقبال على الناس. ت: - وصية الإمام الأعظم أبي حنيفة لأبي يوسف بعد أن ظهر له منه الرشد وحسن السيرة والإقبال على الناس.

3 ت: قال.

4 ق و م و ك و ز: - رضي الله تعالى عنه.

5 م: ولا تدخل.

6 ق و ك و ز و ت: - في كل حال.

7 ز: حاجة عليه. ت: الحاجة.

8 م: الاختلاف إليه. ت: الاختلاف عليه.

9 ق و ك و ز و ت: - واستخف.

10 م و ك و ز و ت: - بعيداً.

11 ق و ز: تنتفع بها وتتباعدها ولا تدن منها. ك: تنتفع وتتباعدها ولا تدن منها. ت: تنتفع منها وتتباعدها.

12 ق و ك و ز و ت: - فإنك تحترق وتتأذى منها.

يأخذ عليك ما قلته¹⁴ ليؤرى من نفسه بين يدي حاشيته أنه أعلم منك وأنه يخطئك¹⁵

فتصغر¹⁶ في أعين قومه.

ولتكن¹⁷ إذا دخلت عليه تعرف قدرك وقدر غيرك، ولا تدخل عليه وعنده¹⁸ من

أهل العلم من لا تعرفه، فإنك إن كنت أدون حالا منه لعلك ترتفع¹⁹ عليه فيضرك،²⁰ وإن

كنت أعلم منه لعلك تنحط²¹ عنه فتسقط²² بذلك من عين السلطان. وإذا عرض عليك

شيئا من أعماله²³ فلا تقبل منه إلا بعد أن تعلم أنه يرضاك ويرضى²⁴ مذهبك في العلم

والقضايا كيلا تحتاج إلى ارتكاب مذهب غيرك في الحكومات. ولا تواصل أولياء السلطان

وحاشيته بل تقرب إليه فقط وتباعد عن حاشيته ليكون مجدك²⁵ وجاهك باقيا عندهم.²⁶

13 ق: - وإياك.

14 م: تتوفه.

15 ك: يخطيك.

16 م و ك: وتصغر.

17 ك: وليكن.

18 م: وبين يديه.

19 م و ز: ترتفع.

20 م: ويضرك.

21 ز: تحط.

22 م: وتسقط.

23 ق: "أعماله" بالهامش.

24 ق: أو يرضي.

25 م: حالك. ق: جدك.

26 ق و م و ز و ت: - عندهم.

ولا تتكلم²⁷ بين يدي العامة إلا بما تسأل عنه،²⁸ وإيّاك والكلام في العامة والتجّار²⁹ إلا بما

يرجع إلى العلم كيلا يوقف على حبّك ورغبتك في المال فإنهم يسيئون الظن بك ويعتقدون

ميلك³⁰ إلى أخذ الرشوة منهم وبسط اليد إليها.³¹ ولا تضحك ولا تبتسم³² بين يدي³³

العامة، ولا تكثر الخروج إلى الأسواق، ولا تكلم³⁴ المراهقين³⁵ فإنهم /428/ فتنة، ولا بأس

أن تُكلّم الأطفال وتمسح رءوسهم. ولا تمش³⁶ في قارعة³⁷ الطريق مع المشايخ من العامة،³⁸

فإنك إن قدّمتهم ازدرى ذلك³⁹ بعلمك⁴⁰ وإن أخّرتهم ازدرى⁴¹ ذلك⁴² بك من حيث

إنهم⁴³ أسنّ منك، فإن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال⁴⁴: من لم يرحم صغيرنا ولم يوقر كبيرنا

فليس منا. ولا تقعد على قوارع الطريق فإذا دعاك⁴⁵ ذلك⁴⁶ فاقعد في المسجد.⁴⁷ ولا تأكل

27 ق: - ولا تتكلم.

28 م: منك.

29 م: المعاملة والتجارة.

30 م: تميلك.

31 ق و ك و ز و ت: - وبسط اليد إليها.

32 ق: - منهم. ولا تضحك ولا تبتسم. ز: تبتسم.

33 م: - يدي.

34 ق: - ولا تكلم.

35 م: الصبيان المراهقين.

36 ق: "تمشي" بالهامش.

37 ق: بقارعة.

38 ق و ك و ز و ت: والعامة.

39 ك و ت: - ذلك.

40 ق: لعلمك.

41 ز: + "الذي في القاموس: زرى عليه زريا وزرية وزراية بالكسرة عابه واستهزأ به، وأزرى به إزرأ تهاون به. وعلى هذا يكون الصواب (ازدرى ذلك بعلمك) لأن ازدرى يتعدى بنفسه، تقول ازدرت الأمر." بالهامش.

42 م و ك و ز و ت: - ذلك.

43 ق و م و ك و ز: أنه.

44 ت: قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم.

45 م: "قال في الحموي شرح الأشباه فإذا دعاك ذلك أي إذا طلبت منك نفسك ذلك فخالفتها واقعد في المسجد 12. محمد حيدر الله خان " بالهامش. ك: دهاك.

في الأسواق والمساجد ولا تشرب من⁴⁸ السقايات ولا من أيدي السقّاتين. ولا تقعد على

الخوانيت⁴⁹ ولا تلبس الديباج والحلي وأنواع⁵⁰ الإبريسم فإن ذلك يفضى إلى الرعونة.

ولا تكثر الكلام في بيتك مع امرأتك في الفراش إلا وقت حاجتك إليها بقدر ذلك، ولا

تكثر مسها ولمسها⁵¹ ولا تقربها⁵² إلا بذكر الله تعالى وتستخير فيه،⁵³ ولا تتكلم بأمر نساء

الغير⁵⁴ بين يديها ولا بأمر الجوّاري فإنها تنبسط إليك ككلامك⁵⁵ ولعلك⁵⁶ إذا تكلمت

عن غيرها تكلمت عن الرجال الأجانب. ولا تتزوج بامرأة⁵⁷ كان لها بعل أو أب أو أم أو

بنت⁵⁸ إن قدرت إلا بشرط أن لا يدخل عليها أحد⁵⁹ من أقاربها،⁶⁰ فإن المرأة إذا كانت

ذات⁶¹ مال يدعي أبوها أن جميع مالها له وأنه عارية في يدها.⁶² ولا تدخل بيت أبويها⁶³ ما

-
- 46 ق: - ذلك.
 47 م: + ولا تقعد في الخوانيت.
 48 ت: في.
 49 م: - ولا تقعد في الخوانيت.
 50 ق: - أنواع.
 51 م و ك و ز و ت: لمسها ومسها.
 52 م و ك: ولا تقرب إليها.
 53 ق و ك و ز و ت: - وتستخير فيه.
 54 ت: نساؤها الغير.
 55 ك: تنبسط فيك بكلامك.
 56 ق: وفعلك.
 57 م و ك و ت: امرأة.
 58 ت: - أو بنت.
 59 م: غيرك. ك: - أحد.
 60 ق: أقاربك. ز: + "قال النوى ص 226 من عمر عيون البصائر (والتقدير بشرط ألا يدخل عليها أحد من أقاربها، وبشرط ألا تدخل هي في بيت أبيها. هذا تقرير كلامه. وفيه نظر فتدبر)" بالهامش.
 61 م و ك: ذا.
 62 ك: في يدها عارية.
 63 ق و ت: أبيها. ز: بيت أبيها.

قدرت، وإيّاك أن⁶⁴ ترضى أن تُزفّ في بيت أبيها⁶⁵ فإنهم يأخذون أموالك ويطمعون فيها
غاية الطمع. ولا تثبت المرأة على سحيتك وحلقك،⁶⁶ وإيّاك أن تتزوج بذات⁶⁷ البنين
والبنات فإنها تدخر جميع المال وتنفقه عليهم⁶⁸ فإن الولد أعز عليها منك. ولا تجمع بين
امرأتين في دار⁶⁹ واحدة، ولا تتزوج إلا بعد أن تعلم أنك تقدر على القيام بجميع حوائجها.
واطلب العلم أولاً ثم اجمع المال من الحلال ثم تزوج،⁷⁰ فإنك إن طلبت⁷¹ المال في وقت
ز/429/ التعلّم عجزت عن طلب العلم ودعاك المال إلى شراء⁷² الجوارى والغلمان وتشتغل
بالدنيا والنساء⁷³ قبل تحصيل العلم فيضيع وقتك ويجمع عليك الولد⁷⁴ ويكثر⁷⁵ عيالك
فتحتاج إلى القيام بمصالحتهم⁷⁶ وتترك⁷⁷ العلم. واشتغل بالعلم أيام⁷⁸ شبابك⁷⁹ ووقت⁸⁰ فراغ

64 م: وأن.

65 م: بيتهم. ق: أبيها.

66 ق و ك و ز و ت: - ولا تثبت المرأة على سحيتك وحلقك.

67 م: ذات.

68 م: فإنها تدخر جميع المال وتسرق مالك وتنفق عليهم. ك و ز و ت: فإنها تدخر جميع المال وتسرق من مالك وتنفق عليهم.

69 ق: "دار" بالهامش.

70 م: ثم اشتغل بالتزوج.

71 م: إن اشتغلت.

72 ت: طلب.

73 م: وإيّاك أن تشتغل بالنساء.

74 ق: ويجمع الولد عليك.

75 ت: وتكثر.

76 م و ك: بحوائجهم.

77 ق و ت: وترك. م: وتبقى عن. ك: وتبقى.

78 ز و ت: في عنفوان.

79 م و ك: في عنفوان أمرك.

80 ز: وقت.

- 83 قلبك وخاطرك ثم اشتغل⁸¹ بالمال ليجتمع عندك⁸² فإن كثرة الولد والعيال يشوّش البال،
- 84 فإذا جمعت المال فتزوّج،⁸⁴ وعاشر امرأتك على ما بينت لك.⁸⁵ وعليك بتقوى الله تعالى⁸⁶
- وأداء الأمانة والنصيحة لجميع الخاصة⁸⁷ والعامّة. ولا تستخف بالناس ووقّر نفسك⁸⁸
- ووقّرههم ولا تكثر معاشرتهم إلا بعد⁸⁹ أن يعاشروك وقابل معاشرهم بذكر المسائل، فإنه⁹⁰
- إن⁹¹ كان من أهله اشتغل بالعلم وإن لم يكن من أهله أحببك.⁹² وإيّاك أن تكلم العامة في
- أصول الدي من الكلام⁹³ فإنهم قوم⁹⁴ يقلدونك فيشتغلونك⁹⁵ بذلك. ومن جاءك
- يستفتيك في المسائل فلا تجب إلا عن سؤاله ولا تضم إليه غيره فإنه يشوّش عليك⁹⁶ الجواب
- سؤاله. وإن بقيت عشر سنين بغير⁹⁷ كسب⁹⁸ ولا قوت⁹⁹ فلا تعرض عن العلم فإنك

81 م: - اشتغل.

82 ق: عنك.

83 ق: في المال. م: سوس المال.

84 م: فاشتغل بالتزوّج.

85 ق و ك و ز و ت: - وعاشر امرأتك على ما بينت لك.

86 م و ت: - تعالى.

87 م: - الخاصة.

88 م: - ووقّر نفسك.

89 ق: - بعد.

90 م: حتى.

91 ق: "إن" بالهامش.

92 م: يجتنبك ولا يجد عليك بل لا يحوم حولك.

93 ق و ك و ز و ت: بأمر الدين في الكلام.

94 ق: - قوم.

95 م: ويشغلون. ت: فيشتغلون.

96 م و ت: عليه.

97 م: من غير. ز: بلا.

98 ق: كتبه. ت: كتب.

99 م: قوت ولا كسب. ت: قوة.

إن¹⁰⁰ أَعْرَضَتْ عَنْهُ¹⁰¹ كَانَتْ مَعِيشَتَكَ ضَنْكَاً¹⁰² عَلَى مَا¹⁰³ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى: وَمَنْ أَعْرَضَ

عَنْ ذِكْرِي فَإِنَّ لَهُ مَعِيشَةً ضَنْكاً...الآية.¹⁰⁴ وَأَقْبَلَ¹⁰⁵ مَتَفَقِّهِيكَ¹⁰⁶ كَأَنَّكَ اتَّخَذْتَ كُلَّ

وَاحِدٍ مِنْهُمْ ابْنًا وَوَلَدًا لِتَرْبِيهِمْ¹⁰⁷ رَغْبَةً فِي الْعِلْمِ. وَمَنْ نَاقَشَكَ مِنَ الْعَامَةِ وَالسُّوقَةِ¹⁰⁸ فَلَا

تَنَاقَشُهُ فَإِنَّهُ يَذْهَبُ مَاءً¹⁰⁹ وَجْهَكَ، وَلَا تُحْتَشِمُ¹¹⁰ مِنْ أَحَدٍ عِنْدَ ذِكْرِ الْحَقِّ وَإِنْ كَانَ

سُلْطَانًا.

وَلَا تَرْضَ لِنَفْسِكَ¹¹¹ مِنَ الْعِبَادَاتِ إِلَّا بِأَكْثَرِ مِمَّا يَفْعَلُهُ غَيْرُكَ وَيَتَعَاطَاهَا¹¹² فَالْعَامَةُ¹¹³ إِذَا لَمْ

يُرُوا مِنْكَ الْإِقْبَالَ عَلَيْهَا¹¹⁴ بِأَكْثَرِ مِمَّا يَفْعَلُونَ اعْتَقَدُوا¹¹⁵ فِيكَ قَلَةً¹¹⁶ الرِّغْبَةَ وَاعْتَقَدُوا¹¹⁷ أَنْ

100 م: إذا.

101 م: - عنه.

102 ك: ضنك.

103 ق و ك و ز و ت: - على ما قال.

104 سورة طه (20): 124. ق و ز و ت: - قال الله تعالى: - وَمَنْ أَعْرَضَ عَنْ ذِكْرِي فَإِنَّ لَهُ مَعِيشَةً ضَنْكاً...الآية.

105 ق: - وأقبل.

106 ق و م و ك: متفقهتك.

107 م: ليزيدهم. ت: يزيدهم.

108 ت: السوق.

109 ز: ماد.

110 ق: - ولا تحشم.

111 م: من نفسك.

112 ز: + "الصواب فيه (يتعاطاه) بالتذكير وإلا عاد الضمير على العبادات" بالهامش. ت: وتعاطاها.

113 م و ت: فإن العامة.

114 م: على الطاعات.

115 م: يفعلونها يعتقدون.

116 م: السوء وقلة.

117 م: ويعتقدون.

علمك¹¹⁸ لا ينفعك ولا يفيدك¹¹⁹ إلا ما نفعهم¹²⁰ الجهل الذيهم فيه.¹²¹ وإذا دخلت

البلدة فيها أهل العلم¹²² فلا تتخذها¹²³ لنفسك بل كن كواحد من أهلهم¹²⁴ ليعلموا أنك

لا تقصد جاههم وإلا¹²⁵ يخرجون عليك¹²⁶ بأجمعهم و¹²⁷ طعنون في مذهبك والعامه

يخرجون عليك وينظرون إليك بأعينهم¹²⁸ فتصير¹²⁹ مطعوناً عندهم بلا فائدة.¹³⁰ وإن

استفتوك¹³¹ في المسائل فلا¹³² تناقشهم في المناظرات¹³³ والمطارحات ولا تذكر لهم شيئاً إلا

عن دليل واضح، ولا تطعن في أساتذتهم¹³⁴ فإنهم يطعنون فيك، قال¹³⁵ الله تعالى: وَلَا

تَسُبُّوا الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَيَسُبُّوا اللَّهَ عَدَوًّا بَغِيْرَ عِلْمٍ.¹³⁶ وكن من الناس

118 ق: عملك.

119 ق و ك و ز و ت: - ولا يفيدك.

120 م: أفادهم.

121 م و ك: الذي فيهم.

122 ق: - العلم.

123 ت: تتخذوا.

124 ق و ت: أهلها. ك: منهم.

125 م: ومنعتهم فأحتم.

126 ق: - عليك.

127 م: أو.

128 ت: - والعامه يخرجون عليك وينظرون إليك بأعينهم.

129 ت: تصير.

130 م: + ولا تفت.

131 ق: استفتوا.

132 م: ولا.

133 ق و ز و ت: المناظرة.

134 ق: أسانيدهم.

135 م: لقول.

136 سورة الأنعام (6): 108. ق و ز و ت: - قال الله تعالى: وَلَا تَسُبُّوا الَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَيَسُبُّوا اللَّهَ عَدَوًّا بَغِيْرَ عِلْمٍ*.

على حذر وكنمن الله¹³⁷ تعالى¹³⁸ في سرّك كما أنت له في علانيتك،¹³⁹ ولا تصلح¹⁴⁰ أمر
 العلم إلا بعد أن¹⁴¹ تجعل¹⁴² سره كعلانيته. وإذا/ز430/ ولاك¹⁴³ السلطان¹⁴⁴ عملا
 مما¹⁴⁵ لا¹⁴⁶ يصلح لك¹⁴⁷ فلا تقبل ذلك منه إلا بعد أن تعلم أنه إنما¹⁴⁸ يوليئك ذلك¹⁴⁹
 لعلمك.¹⁵⁰ وإيّاك أن تتكلم في مجلس النظر¹⁵¹ على خوف أو وجل¹⁵² فإن ذلك
 مما¹⁵³ يورث الخلل في الألفاظ¹⁵⁴ والكلل¹⁵⁵ في اللسان،¹⁵⁶ وإيّاك¹⁵⁷ أن تكثر الضحك
 فإنه يميت القلب.¹⁵⁸ ولا تمش إلا على طمأنينة والسكون¹⁵⁹ ولا تكن عجولا في الأمور،

137 م و ك و ز: وكن لله. ت: ومن الله.

138 م: - تعالى.

139 ك: العلانية.

140 م: فلا يصلح. ت: يصلح.

141 م: بأن.

142 ت: يجعل.

143 ك: أولاك. ز: أولاك، + "في القاموس المحيط: أوليته الأمر: وليته إياه" بالهامش.

144 ق: - الساطان، وبالهامش "السلطان صح". ت: سلطانا.

145 ق: - مما.

146 م: - لا.

147 ت: - مما لا يصلح لك.

148 ز: + لا.

149 ك و ز: + إلا.

150 م: بعلمك.

151 ق: - النظر.

152 ق و ك و ز و ت: - أو وجل.

153 ق و ك و ز و ت: - مما.

154 ق: الاحتياط. م: الخاطر. ز: الإحاطة.

155 ق و ز: الكل. م: الكلال.

156 ك: - وإيّاك أن تتكلم في مجلس النظر على خوف فإن ذلك يورث الخلل في الألفاظ والكلل في اللسان.

157 ق: - وإيّاك.

158 م: + ولا تكثر محادثة النساء ومجالستهن فإنه يميت القلب.

159 ق و ك و ز و ت: - السكون.

ومن دعاك¹⁶⁰ من خلفك فلا تجبه فإن البهائم تُنادى من خلف. ¹⁶¹ فإذا تكلمت فلا تكثر
صياحك ولا ترفع صوتك واتخذ لنفسك السكون وقلة الحركة عادة¹⁶² كي يتحقق عند الناس
ثباتك. ¹⁶³ وأكثر ذكر الله تعالى فيما بين الناس ليتعلموا ذلك منك، ¹⁶⁴ واتخذ لنفسك وردا
خلف الصلوات تقرأ فيه ¹⁶⁵ القرآن وتذكر الله تعالى ¹⁶⁶ وتشكره على ما أودعك من
الصبر ¹⁶⁷ وأولادك ¹⁶⁸ من النعم. واتخذ ¹⁶⁹ لنفسك ¹⁷⁰ أياما معدودة من كل شهر ¹⁷¹ تصوم
فيها ليقتدي غيرك بك في ذلك. ¹⁷² ولا ترض من نفسك من العبادات بما ترضى به
العامه. ¹⁷³ وراقب ¹⁷⁴ نفسك وحافظ على الغير ¹⁷⁵ لتنتفع من دنياك وآخرتك بعلمك. ولا
تشتت بنفسك ولا تبع ¹⁷⁶ بل اتخذ لك غلاما ¹⁷⁷ مصلحا ¹⁷⁸ يقوم بأشغالك واعتمد ¹⁷⁹ في

160 ق: - ومن دعاك.

161 ز و ت: من خلفها.

162 م: + وعده. ت: - عادة.

163 م: شأنك.

164 م: منك ذلك. ق: - واتخذ لنفسك السكون وقلة الحركة عادة كي يتحقق عند الناس ثباتك، وأكثر ذكر الله تعالى فيما بين الناس ليتعلموا ذلك منك.

165 ق و م و ك و ز: فيها.

166 ق: - تعالى. م: فيها. ك: + فيه.

167 م: + وعلى ما.

168 ت: وأولادك.

169 ق: - واتخذ.

170 ت: - لنفسك.

171 م: كل شهر أياما معدودة.

172 ق و ك و ز و ت: - في ذلك.

173 ق و ك و ز و ت: - ولا ترض من نفسك بما ترضى به العامة.

174 ك و ت: وراقب.

175 ق: القبر. م: - على الغير.

176 ت: تبع.

177 ق و م و ك و ت: - غلاما.

178 ز: + "المراد غلام يصلح ما يقوم به ولا يفسده، ويكون أمينا" بالهامش.

179 م و ك و ز و ت: تعتمد عليه.

أمورك ولا تطمئن¹⁸⁰ إلى دنياك وإلى¹⁸¹ ما أنت فيه، فإن الله تعالى سائلك عن جميع ذلك.
 ولا¹⁸² تشتت الغلمان المردان،¹⁸³ ولا تظهر من نفسك التقرب إلى سلطان وإن قربك فإنه
 يُرفع¹⁸⁴ إليك الحوائج،¹⁸⁵ فإن قمت أهابك¹⁸⁶ وإن لم تقم أعابك.¹⁸⁷ ولا¹⁸⁸ تتبع الناس
 في خطاياهم¹⁸⁹ بل اتبع¹⁹⁰ في صوابهم، وإذا عرفت إنسانا بالشر فلا تذكره به¹⁹¹ بل
 اطلب منه¹⁹² خيرا فاذكره به¹⁹³ إلا في باب الدين، فإنك إن عرفت¹⁹⁴ في دينه ذلك
 فاذكره للناس كيلا يتبعوه¹⁹⁵ ويحذروه، قال¹⁹⁶ عليه الصلاة والسلام¹⁹⁷: اذكروا الفاجر بما
 فيه حتى¹⁹⁸ يحذره الناس وإن¹⁹⁹ كان ذاجاه ومنزلة. والذي²⁰⁰ ترى منه الخلل في الدين²⁰¹

180 ق: تظهر.
 181 ك: ولا إلى.
 182 ق: - ولا.
 183 ق و م و ت: المرد.
 184 م: وإن قريوك فإثم يرفعون. ز: ترفع.
 185 ك و ت: ترفع إليه الحوائج.
 186 م: أهانوك. ك و ز و ت: أهانك.
 187 م: عابوك، + وعد نفسك منهم إلا في فنك وهو العلم.
 188 ق: - ولا.
 189 ق: خطاهم. م: بالخطايا. ز: خطفهم.
 190 م: اتبعهم.
 191 ق: - به. م: فلا تذكر ذلك منه.
 192 م: له.
 193 ق: - فاذكره به.
 194 م: فإن من عرفت منه ذلك.
 195 م: - لا يتبعوه.
 196 ق: - قال. ز: وقال.
 197 م: فإن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال. ز: عليه السلام.
 198 م: كي.
 199 م: وإذا.
 200 م: من.
 201 ت: - والذي ترى منه الخلل في الدين.

فأذكره²⁰² ذلك ولا تبال من جاهه فإن الله تعالى²⁰³ معينك وناصرك وناصر الدين، فإذا

فعلت ذلك مرة هابوك ولم يتجاسر²⁰⁴ أحد على إظهار البدعة²⁰⁵ في الدين /431/ بين

يديك وفي بلدك وسلط العامة عليه في ذلك ليقتدوا بك في الحد في الدين.²⁰⁶

وإذا رأيت من سلطانك ما لا يوافق العلم فأذكر ذلك مع طاعتك²⁰⁷ إياه، فإن يده أقوى

من يدك، تقول له: أنا مطيع لك في الذي أنت فيه سلطان ومسلط²⁰⁸ عليّ غير²⁰⁹ أي

أذكر لك²¹⁰ من سيرتك ما لا يوافق العلم. فإذا فعلت ذلك²¹¹ مع السلطان مرة كفاك

لأنك إذا²¹² واظبت عليه ودمت لعلهم يقيمونك²¹³ فيكون ذلك قمع للدين²¹⁴ تماونوا

بالدين²¹⁵ وإذا فعلت²¹⁶ ذلك مرة أو مرتين يُعرف²¹⁷ منك الحد في الدين والحرص في²¹⁸

202 م و ك و ت: فأذكر.

203 م: عز وجل.

204 ق: يتظاهر.

205 ق: بدعته.

206 ق و ك و ز و ت: - بين يديك وفي بلدك وسلط العامة عليه في ذلك ليقتدوا بك في الحد في الدين.

207 ق: إطاعتك.

208 م: مسلط فيه.

209 ق: سلط على غير.

210 م و ز: - لك.

211 ز: - ذلك.

212 ق: إن.

213 ق: يعتبرونك. ز: يقهرونك. ت: يهتدونك.

214 م و ك: فيكون في ذلك قمع الدين. ت: فيكون قمعا للدين.

215 ك و ز و ت: - تماونوا بالدين.

216 م: وافعل. ك: فافعل.

217 م و ك و ز: ليعرف.

218 ق: على.

الأمر بالمعروف، فإذا فعلت ذلك²¹⁹ مرة بحيث عرف الناس منك ذلك²²⁰ الجد²²¹ ثم رأيت

مرة أخرى ذلك²²² فادخل عليه وحدك²²³ في داره وانصحه في الدين وناظره إن كان مبتدعا

وإن كان سلطانا، فاذكر له ما يحضرك من كتاب الله تعالى وسنة رسوله عليه السلام²²⁴ فإن

قبل منك فيها،²²⁵ وإلا فاسأل الله تعالى أن يحفظك منه.²²⁶ واذكر الموت²²⁷ واستغفر

الله²²⁸ للأستاذ²²⁹ ومن أخذت عنهم²³⁰ العلم²³¹ ودوام على التلاوة²³² وأكثر²³³ زيارة

القبور والمشايخ²³⁴ والمواضع المباركة.

واقبل من العامة ما يعرضون²³⁵ عليك من رؤياهم في النبي²³⁶ صلى الله عليه²³⁷

وسلم وفي²³⁸ رؤيا الصالحين في المساجد والمنازل²³⁹ والمقابر. ولا تجالس أحدا من أهل

219 ك: عرفت.

220 ك: - ذلك.

221 ق و ز: - فإذا فعلت ذلك مرة بحيث عرف الناس منك ذلك الجد. ت: - فافعل ذلك مرة أو مرتين ليعرف منك الجد في الدين والحرص في الأمر بالمعروف فإذا فعلت ذلك مرة بحيث عرف الناس منك ذلك الجد.

222 ق: وإذا فعلت مرة أخرى. ك: فإذا فعل ذلك الأخرى. ز: فإذا فعلت ذلك مرة أخرى. ت: فإذا فعلت مرة أخرى.

223 م: + وداره.

224 م: - عليه السلام. ز: رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم. ت: عليه الصلاة والسلام.

225 م: فإن قبل ذلك منك. ك و ز و ت: - فيها.

226 م: عن ظالمك. ك: من ظالمك.

227 ق: - الموت.

228 ك و ز و ت: - الله.

229 م: الأستاذين.

230 ك: منهم.

231 م: منهم الدين.

232 م: قراءة القرآن.

233 ز: + من.

234 ز: + "لعله يقصد العلماء الذين ننتفع بعلمهم وتجاربهم في الحياة" بالهامش.

235 ت: يقصون.

236 ت: للنبي.

الأهواء²⁴⁰ إلا على سبيل الدعوة إلى الدين والصراط المستقيم،²⁴¹ ولا تكثر اللعب²⁴²
 والشتم،²⁴³ وإذا أذن المؤذن فتأهّب لدخول المسجد كيلا يتقدم²⁴⁴ عليك العامة. ولا تتخذ
 دارك في جوار السلطان، وما رأيت على جارك فاستره عليه فإنه أمانة،²⁴⁵ ولا تظهر أسرار
 الناس، ومن استشارك في شيء فأشر عليه بما تعلم أنه²⁴⁶ يقربك إلى الله تعالى. واقبل وصيبي
 هذه²⁴⁷ فإنها تنتفعك في الأول إن شاء الله وفي الآخر.²⁴⁸ وإياك والبخل فإنه يبغض به²⁴⁹
 المرء،²⁵⁰ ولا تكن²⁵¹ طمّاعا ولا كذّابا ولا صاحب تخاليط بل احفظ مروءتك في الأمور
 كلها، والبس من الثياب البياض²⁵² في أحوالك²⁵³ كلها، وأظهر²⁵⁴ غنى القلب مظهرها
 في²⁵⁵ نفسك قلة /432/ الحرص والرغبة في الدنيا، وأظهر²⁵⁶ من نفسك الغنى²⁵⁷ ولا

237 ز: + وآله.
 238 ت: - في.
 239 ق: - والمنازل. م: + المباركة. ت: المنازل والمساجد.
 240 ق: + والشتم.
 241 ق و ك و ز و ت: - والصراط المستقيم.
 242 م: اللعن.
 243 ق: - إلا على سبيل الدعوة إلى الدين، ولا تكثر اللعب والشتم.
 244 ت: تتقدم.
 245 م: عندك.
 246 ت: - تعلم أنه.
 247 ق: - واقبل وصيبي هذه.
 248 ك: فإنك تنفع بما في أولاك وأخراك إن شاء الله. م و ز: فإنك تنفع بما في أولاك وأخراك إن شاء الله تعالى. ت: - واقبل وصيبي هذه فإنك تنفع بما في أولاك وأخراك إن شاء الله.
 249 م: يفتضح لديه.
 250 ق: - المرء.
 251 ك و ز و ت: ولا تك.
 252 م و ك و ز و ت: البيض.
 253 م و ك و ز و ت: الأحوال.
 254 م: وكن.
 255 م: من.

تظهر من نفسك²⁵⁸ الفقر وإن²⁵⁹ كنت فقيراً، وكن ذا همّة، فإن من ضعفت²⁶⁰ همته

ضعفت منزلته. وإذا مشيت في الطريق فلا تلتفت يمينا ولا شمالاً²⁶¹ بل دوام النظر إلى

الأرض، وإذا دخلت الحمام فلا تقاوم²⁶² الناس في أجرة الحمام والمنزل²⁶³ بل ارجح²⁶⁴

على ما تعطي²⁶⁵ العامة لتظهر مروءتك بينهم فيعظّمونك. ولا تسلم الأمتعة إلى الحائك

وسائر الصنّاع بل اتخذ لنفسك ثقة يفعل ذلك، ولا تماكس²⁶⁶ بالحبّات والدوانيق²⁶⁷ ولا

ترن²⁶⁸ الدراهم²⁶⁹ بل اعتمد على غيرك، وحقّر الدنيا المحقّرة عند أهل العلم فإن ما عند

الله²⁷⁰ خير منها، وولّ أمورك غيرك ليتمكنك الإقبال على العلم فذاك²⁷¹ أحفظ

لحاجتك²⁷². وإياك²⁷³ أن تكلم المجانين ومن لا يعرف المناظرة والحجة من أهل العلم والذين

256 ق: - وأظهر غنى القلب مظهرها في نفسك قلة الحرص والرغبة في الدنيا وأظهر.

257 ز: الغناء.

258 م و ز و ت: - من نفسك.

259 ق: إن.

260 ك: ضعف.

261 م: بمّة ويسرة.

262 ز و ت: تساو.

263 م: في المجلس وأجرة الحمام. ك و ز: والمجلس. ت: - والمنزل.

264 م: رجح.

265 ق: يعطي.

266 ق: تماكس.

267 ك: الدوانق.

268 ق: - ولا ترن.

269 ق: بالدراهم.

270 م: عندك.

271 م و ت: فذلك. ز: فإن ذلك.

272 م: لجاهك.

273 ق: - وإياك.

يطلبون الجاه ويستغرقون²⁷⁴ بذكر المسائل فيما بين الناس فإنهم يقصدون²⁷⁵ تخجيلك²⁷⁶ ولا

يبالون²⁷⁷ منك وإن عرفوك على الحق. وإذا دخلت على قوم كبار فلا ترتفع²⁷⁸ عليهم ما لم

يرفعوك لئلا²⁷⁹ يلحق بك²⁸⁰ منهم أذية. وإذا كنت في²⁸¹ قوم كبار²⁸² فلا تتقدم عليهم

في الصلاة ما لم يقدموك على وجه التعظيم. ولا تدخل الحمام²⁸³ وقت الظهيرة أو

الغداة²⁸⁴ ولا تخرج إلى النظارات،²⁸⁵ ولا تحضر²⁸⁶ مظالم السلاطين إلا إذا عرفت²⁸⁷ أنك

إذا قلت شيئا ينزلون²⁸⁸ على قولك بالحق²⁸⁹ فإنهم إن فعلوا ما لا يحل وأنت عندهم

ربما²⁹⁰ لا تملك²⁹¹ منعهم ويظن²⁹² الناس²⁹³ أن ذلك حق بسكوتك²⁹⁴ فيما بينهم وقت

الإقدام عليه.

274 م: يستوفون.

275 ق و ز و ت: يطلبون.

276 ق: بحجلك. م: تخجيلك.

277 ك: ينالون.

278 م: ترتفع.

279 ز: كيلا.

280 م: يلحقك.

281 ت: دخلت على.

282 ق و م و ز: - كبار.

283 م: + إلا.

284 م: بالغدوات. ك: الغدوات. ز: والغداة. ت: الغداء.

285 ق: النظرات. ت: - ولا تخرج إلى النظارات.

286 ق: - ولا تحضر.

287 م: بعد أن تعرف.

288 ك: نزلوا.

289 م و ك: في الحق.

290 ق: إن رأيت عند ربا.

291 م: يمكنك.

292 ق: ونظر.

وإيّاك والغضب في مجلس العلم، ولا تقصّ على العامة فإن القاص²⁹⁵ لا بد له²⁹⁶ أن يكذب،²⁹⁷ وإذا أردت²⁹⁸ اتخاذ مجلس لأحد من أهل العلم فإن كان مجلس الفقه²⁹⁹ فاحضر بنفسك واذكر فيه³⁰⁰ ما تعلمه³⁰¹ كيلا يغتر³⁰² الناس بحضورك فيظنون أنه على صفة ودرجة³⁰³ من³⁰⁴ العلم وليس³⁰⁵ هو على تلك الصفة، فإن³⁰⁶ كان يصلح للفتوى³⁰⁷ فاذكر منه ذلك³⁰⁸ وإلا فلا، ولا³⁰⁹ تقعد أنت³¹⁰ ليدرس³¹¹ بين يديك بل اترك عنده³¹² من أصحابك ليخبرك بكيفية كلامه وكميّة علمه. ولا تحضر مجالس الذكر أو من يتخذ مجلس عظة³¹³ بجاهك وتزكيتك³¹⁴ له بل وجه أهل محلّتك وعامتك الذين تعتمد

293 ت: الذين هناك.

294 م و ك و ت: لسكوتك.

295 ق: القاضي.

296 ق: - له.

297 م: من الكذب.

298 ق: - أردت.

299 ك: فقه. ت: - فإن كان مجلس فقه.

300 م: منه.

301 ز: وإلا فلا.

302 ق: يفر.

303 ق و ك و ز و ت: - ودرجة.

304 ق: حيفة في.

305 م: ليس.

306 ز: وإن.

307 م: للفتيا.

308 م: ذلك منه.

309 ق و م: - ولا.

310 ق و ز: - أنت. ت: - تقعد أنت.

311 ز: + الآخر.

312 ت: + أحدا.

313 ك و ت: عظمة. ز: وعظ

314 ق: عظة بجاهل وتزكية.

عليهم مع واحد من أصحابك،³¹⁵ /433/ وفوض أمر³¹⁶ المناكح إلى خطيب ناحيتك

وكذا³¹⁷ صلاة الجنائز والعيدين، ولا تنسني³¹⁸ من³¹⁹ صالح دعائك، وأقبل³²⁰ هذه

الموعظة مني فإني إنما³²¹ أوصيك لمصلحتك ومصلحة المسلمين.³²²

مما قال فيه وفي هذا المعنى؛

نعمان ارهب بالمواعظ صحبه فراوا وراء الحق في إرهابه

وسألني عنه وعن آدابه فاقراً وصاياهم إلى أصحابه

ترى عالم الفقه المعظم شأنه والحلم والتقوى ضمير أهابه

وترى العبادة والتحزن والبكا والخوف قائمة إلى محرابه

اقرأ كتاب أبي حنيفة تلتقط درر السعادة من سطور كتابه

اقرأ لتعلم أنه خان على كل الخليقة من جلال خطابه

أن الأئمة كلهم من بعده في رفعة العبراء من كتابه³²³

³¹⁵ ت: - ولا تحضر مجالس الذكر أو من يتخذ مجلس عظمة بجاهك وتزكيتك له بل وجه أهل محلثك وعامتك الذين تعتمد عليهم مع واحد من أصحابك.

³¹⁶ م: + الخطبة في. ك: + الخطب في.

³¹⁷ م: وكذلك.

³¹⁸ ق: تنسانا.

³¹⁹ م: في.

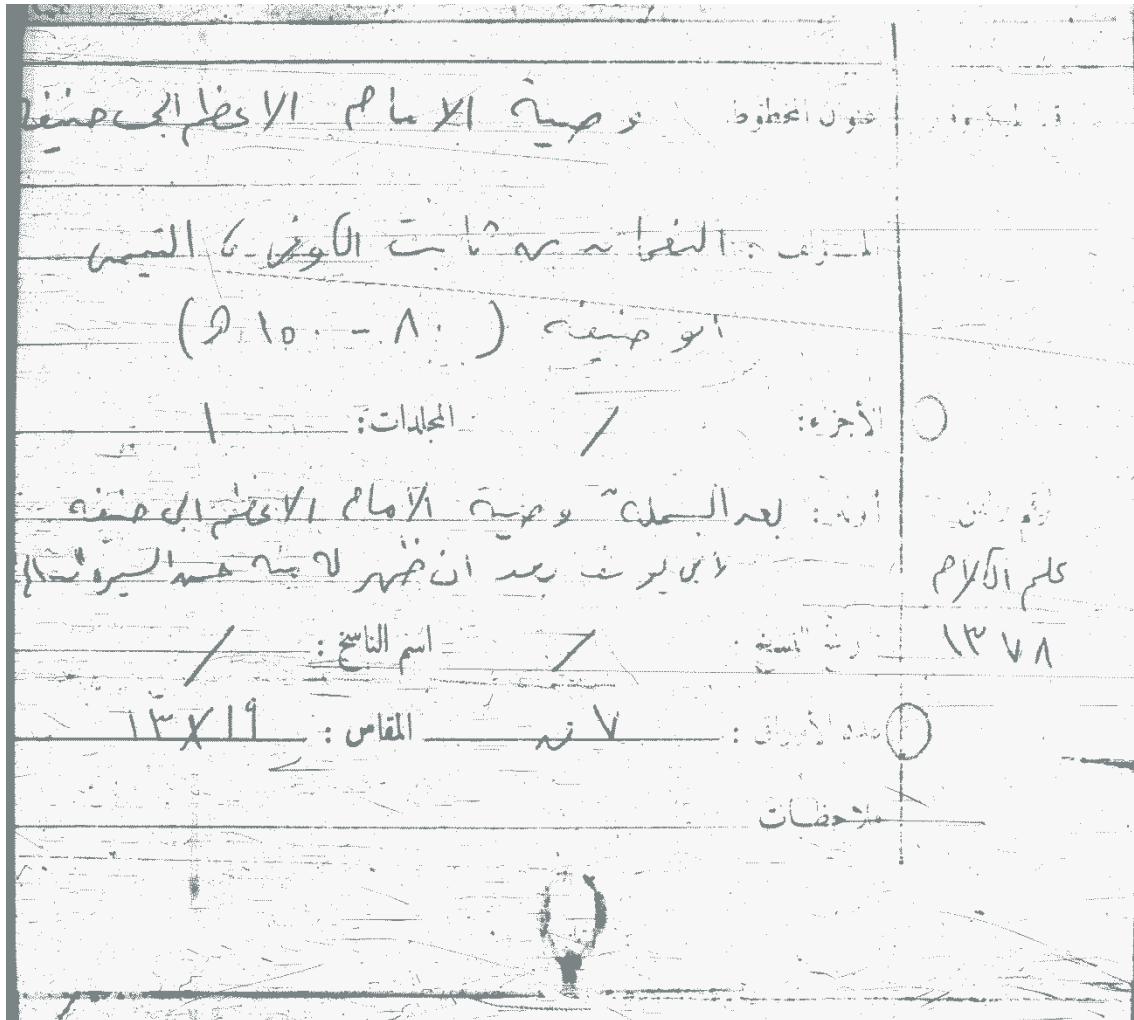
³²⁰ ق: - وأقبل.

³²¹ ق و ك و ز و ت: وإنما.

³²² ق: + انتهى بحمد الله وعونه وحسن توفيقه وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد خاتم الأنبياء.

Lampiran

Manuskrip Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah



**METODOLOGI PENGAJARAN DAN PEMBELAJARAN
MENURUT IBN KHALDUN DAN JOHN DEWEY: KAJIAN
PERBANDINGAN**

Oleh:

Abd Munir bin Mohamed Noh*

ABSTRAK

Perbahasan mengenai metodologi dan kaedah pendidikan merupakan perbahasan yang panjang kerana ianya telah mendatangkan minat dan kecenderungan para pengkaji untuk melakukan kajian dan penyelidikan. Berbagai-bagai teori dan pendekatan telah dikemukakan oleh ahli dan pakar dalam bidang pendidikan dalam usaha untuk memperkenalkan kaedah pengajaran dan pembelajaran yang berkesan. Kajian ini bertujuan untuk menyingkap metodologi pengajaran dan pembelajaran yang telah digunakan oleh dua orang tokoh iaitu Ibn Khaldun yang lahir dari dunia Islam serta John Dewey yang mewakili dunia Barat serta perbandingan di antara keduanya. Selain daripada itu, kajian ini turut menyingkap permasalahan yang dihadapi oleh murid dan penyelesaian yang dikemukakan oleh kedua orang tokoh pendidikan tersebut. Segala teori dan kaedah yang dikemukakan oleh kedua orang sarjana ini bukan hanya teori pemikiran semata-mata tetapi ianya telah dibuktikan dengan pengalaman praktikal, pengembaraan dan eksperimen ujikaji. Penulis melakukan kajian ini secara kajian perpustakaan dan ia telah menatijahkan bahawa kaedah-kaedah dan metod-metod yang diketengahkan oleh kedua-dua orang tokoh pendidikan ini sangat relevan dan sesuai untuk terus diaplikasikan dalam proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran sepanjang zaman.

BIOADATA IBN KHALDŪN: RIWAYAT HIDUP DAN PENDIDIKAN

Ibn Khaldūn atau nama sebenarnya *Wali al-Dīn* ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Muhammad ibn Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin Jabir bin Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Khaldūn telah dilahirkan pada tanggal 1 Ramadhan 732H¹ bersamaan 27 Mei 1332M di Tunisia². Kawasan

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¹Inān, Muhammad ‘Abdullah (1965) *Ibn Khaldun : Hayātuhi wa Turāthuhu al-Fikr*, C.3. Kaherah : Matba’ah Lajnah Li al-Taklīf wa al-Tarjamah wa al-Nashr, h.11-12

² Ibn Khald Khaldūn : His Life and Work, Ibn Khaldun Homepage, <http://www.jamil.com/personalities>, 26 Disember 2006

Khaldūniyyah yang terletak di Tunis masih ada sekarang dan dikatakan ianya hampir-hampir tidak berubah dengan rumah yang dipercayai tempat kelahirannya.³ Di kalangan penduduk Tunisia ramai yang mengetahui rumah kelahiran Ibn Khaldūn yang terletak di salah sebatang jalan utama yang dikenali dengan Jalan Tarbah al-Bāi di sebuah pekan lama.⁴

Dalam beberapa kajian, terdapat rujukan⁵ yang menyebutkan namanya sebagai Wali al-Dīn Abu Zaid ‘Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad bin Khaldun al-Maghribī al-Hadramī al-Malikī. Digolongkan dengan *al-Maghribī* kerana dia lahir dan dibesarkan di kota Tunis, Maghribi. Dinamakan pula sebagai *al-Hadramī* kerana keturunannya berasal dari Hadramaut, Yaman dan dikatakan sebagai *al-Malikī* kerana dia menganut madhhab Malikī.⁶ Bahkan ketika menetap di Mesir, beliau pernah dilantik sebagai hakim dalam madhhab Malikī.⁷ *Kuniyyah* atau gelaran Abu Zaid pula merujuk kepada anak sulungnya yang bernama Zaid manakala panggilan *Wali al-Dīn* diterima selepas menjadi hakim di Mesir.⁸

Beliau dibesarkan dalam sebuah keluarga yang ternama dan disanjung tinggi oleh masyarakat setempat. Bapanya bernama Abu ‘Abdullah Muhammad telah berkecimpung ke dalam dunia politik namun dia telah mengundurkan diri untuk mendalami ilmu pengetahuan. Kesungguhan bapanya menuntut ilmu membuahkan hasil apabila dia mendapat pengiktirafan yang tinggi dalam bidang bahasa dan sastera ‘Arab⁹, Ilmu Hukum dan Ilmu Kalam. Walaubagaimanapun, usia bapanya tidak panjang. Beliau telah dijangkiti oleh penyakit taun dan seterusnya meninggal dunia akibat serangan wabak penyakit taun yang melanda perkampungan mereka pada tahun 749H bersamaan 1349M.¹⁰ Beliau meninggalkan lima orang anak termasuk Ibn Khaldun yang pada waktu itu berusia 18 tahun.¹¹

Dalam lapangan keilmuan, Ibn Khaldūn memulakan pengajiannya secara formal di tempat lahirnya, Tunis. Sejak kecil lagi beliau telah menghafal al-Qurān di bawah bimbingan Muhammad bin Sa‘ad bin Bursal al-Ansārī. Bapanya juga merupakan guru yang pertama dalam Ilmu Feqh dan Bahasa Arab. Seterusnya Ibn Khaldūn mendalami bidang keilmuan yang lain seperti r, bidang Hadīth □ sastera sejak daripada gurunya yang bernama Muhammad bin Bah daripada Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Jābir (w.1348M).¹² Selain daripada nama-nama yang tersebut di atas, Ibn Kaldun turut menimba ilmu dengan beberapa orang lagi guru yang masyhur pada zamannya seperti Muhammad bin Sulaiman al-

³ Lihat Pemerkaasan Kebudayaan , Traditional Muslim Homepage

⁴ Ali ‘Abd al-Wahid Wafi, Dr (t.t), *op.cit*, h.25

⁵ Riwayat hidup Ibn Khaldun dibicarakan oleh banyak penulis seperti Abdullah Enan di dalam bukunya *Ibn Khaldūn: Hayātuhi wa Turāthuhu al-Fikr*; Dr. Ali ‘Abd al-Wahid Wafi dalam tulisannya yang berjudul *‘Abd al-Rahman bin Khaldūn: Hayatuhi wa Āthāruhi wa Mazāhir ‘Abqariyyatih*, Muhammad Hosien di dalam tulisannya yang bertajuk *Ibn Khaldun : His Life and Work* dalam <http://www.jamil.com/personalities>; Abu Suhaib al-Karamī di dalam Pendahuluan Bab kitab *al-Tārīkh Ibn Khaldun* dan lain-lain lagi.

⁶ Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *Prinsip-Prinsip Pendidikan Islam*, Pahang : PTS Publications & Distributor Sdn. Bhd. h. 113

⁷ Musa bin Daia (1973), *Sejarah Perkembangan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan*, C.2, Kota Bharu : Pustaka Aman Press, h.54

⁸ Ali ‘Abd al-Wahid Wafi, Dr (t.t) *op.cit*, h.12, dan Mustafa Ghalush, Dr (t.t), *Ibn Khaldun : Munsyi’ ‘Ilm al-Ijtīmā’ (Dirasah Muqaranah)*, al-Zaqaziq : Maktabah al-Arqaq, h.10

⁹ Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *op.cit*. h.114

¹⁰ Inan, Muhammad ‘Abdullah (1965), *op.cit*, h.22

¹¹ Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *op.cit*, h.114

¹² Mohd Nasir Omar, Dr. dan Muda @ Ismail Ab. Rahman, Dr. (1996), (1996), *op.cit.*, h.4; Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *op.cit*, h.114

Satti, ‘Abd al-Muhaimīn al-Hadramī, Muhammad bin ‘Abd al-Salām dan Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Abīlī. Daripada mereka, Ibn Khaldūn belajar ilmu logik, asas-asas falsafah, ilmu pasti dan seluruh ilmu (teknik) kebijaksanaan dan pengajaran di samping dua ilmu asas iaitu al-Qurān dan al-Hadīth.

Namun begitu, Ibn Khaldūn meletakkan dua orang daripada guru-gurunya pada tempat yang istimewa; dimana kedua-duanya sangat berpengaruh dalam pengetahuan bahasa, falsafah dan hukum Islam iaitu Syeikh Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm al-Abīlī dan Syeikh ‘Abd al-Muhaimīn al-Hadramī dalam ilmu-ilmu agama.¹³

KERJAYA DAN SUMBANGAN

Ibn Khaldūn telah dikurniakan oleh Allah s.w.t dengan kemampuan akal yang cerdas dan bijaksana. Justeru, belumpun usianya mencapai 20 tahun, beliau telah berjaya menguasai pelbagai disiplin ilmu sehingga dikurniakan dengan pelbagai ijazah. Beliau kemudiannya telah dilantik menjadi penulis kepada Sultan Abi Ishaq ketika berusia 20 genap tahun.¹⁴ Daripada perlantikan ini, bermulalah karier Ibn Khaldūn dalam bidang politik dan pentadbiran.

Nama Ibn Khaldūn terus mendapat tempat di kalangan pembesar dan pemimpin pada waktu itu. Justeru, beliau sering dipelawa dan ditawarkan untuk memegang jawatan penting dalam pentadbiran negara. Antara jawatan penting yang pernah disandang oleh Ibn Khaldūn sepanjang penglibatannya dalam dunia pekerjaan ketika berada di Andalusia dan Tunisia ialah;¹⁵

- 1) Menjadi penasihat kepada Sultan Abu Ishaq, Tunis (1350M).
- 2) Menjadi setiausaha kepada Sultan Abu ‘Inan di Fez, Maghribi (1355M)
- 3) Menjadi setiausaha sulit kepada Sultan Abu Salim di Fez, Maghribi (1358M)
- 4) Mengetuai delegasi Sultan Muhammad V Granada bagi memeterai perjanjian perdamaian dengan Pedro, pemerintah Kristian di Siville, Sepanyol (1362M).
- 5) Menjadi Perdana Menteri kepada Sultan Bougi di al-Jazāir (1356M-1365M) dan memimpin pasukan-pasukan kecil untuk mendamaikan rusuhan yang ditimbulkan oleh suku Barbar.¹⁶

Antara tahun 1366M-1368M, karier politik Ibn Khaldūn agak tidak menentu. Ini disebabkan oleh seringnya berlaku pertukaran kuasa pemerintahan kepada satu kuasa pemerintahan yang lain. Dari kuasa pemerintahan yang kuat kepada pemerintahan yang lemah; daripada Sultan ‘Abdullah kepada Sultan Abu ‘Abbās, kepada Abu Hammu, kepada ‘Abd ‘Azīz (w.1372M) dan lain-lain.¹⁷ Perkara ini juga mendorong kepada Ibn Khaldūn merubah minat kepada bidang akademik dan penulisan. Pada tahun 1374M-1382M, ketika berumur empat puluh tahun, beliau telah mengambil keputusan untuk bersara dari kesemua jawatan politik dan pentadbiran.¹⁸ Kekosongan waktu yang dimilikinya pada waktu itu diisi dengan menulis buku sejarahnya yang terbilang iaitu *Kitab al-‘Ibar* sewaktu berada di Qala’at Ibn Salamah dan Tunis. Pada bulan Julai hingga November 1377, Ibn Khaldūn telah berjaya

¹³ Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *op.cit.*, h.115

¹⁴ Hussien, Muhammad al-Hadr (1994), *op.cit.*, h.12

¹⁵ Mohd Nasir Omar, Dr. dan Muda @ Ismail Ab. Rahman, Dr. (1996), *op.cit.*, h.5

¹⁶ M. Daud Ramantan, Drs. (ed.) (1982), *Pengantar Filsafat Islam*, Banda Aceh : Projek Pembinaan Perguruan Tinggi Agama IAIN, h.102

¹⁷ Mohd Nasir Omar, Dr. dan Muda @ Ismail Ab. Rahman, Dr. (1996), *op.cit.*, h.5

¹⁸ Hussien, Muhammad al-Hadr (1994), *op.cit.* h.37

menyiapkan lagi sebuah karya ulung dan sangat terkenal hingga ke hari ini iaitu *Muqaddimah* dalam tempoh lima bulan.

Pada pertengahan bulan Sya'ban 784H bersamaan Oktober 1382M, ketika usia Ibn Khaldūn mencapai lima puluh tahun, beliau mengambil keputusan untuk berhijrah ke Mesir. Beliau sampai di Iskandariyyah, Mesir pada 8 hb. Disember 1382 ketika umat Islam sedang menyambut Hari Raya *Eīd al-Fitr* setelah melalui pelayaran yang panjang. Setelah menetap beberapa ketika di Iskandariyah, beliau kemudiannya meneruskan perjalanan ke Kaherah pada 6 hb. Januari 1383.¹⁹ Secara umumnya, penduduk Mesir menerima baik kehadiran beliau kerana mereka telahpun mengenali Ibn Khaldūn melalui reputasi kerjaya dan karya-karya yang telah dihasilkan oleh Ibn Khaldūn sendiri terutamanya *Muqaddimah*.

Ketokohan Ibn Khaldūn dalam bidang pentadbiran mahupun bidang akademik telah mendapat pengiktirafan daripada Abu Sa'īd Barqūq pemerintah Mesir pada waktu itu, Sultan al-Zahir (1382M-1399M). Sehubungan itu, Sultan Barqūq telah melantik Ibn Khaldūn ke beberapa jawatan penting di Mesir antaranya ialah;²⁰

- 1) Menjadi penasihat Hal Ehwal Kerajaan Maghribi kepada Sultan.
- 2) Menjadi pensyarah dan professor dalam bidang kepakarannya seperti Falsafah, Sosiologi, Hadith dan Feqh Imam Malik di beberapa buah institusi pengajian tinggi seperti Universiti al-Azhar, Kolej Qamhiyya dan Kolej Barquqiyyah.
- 3) Menjadi ketua Kadi Mazhab Maliki sebanyak enam kali antara tahun 1384M-1406M meskipun pada waktu itu Mazhab Syafi'i merupakan mazhab yang dominan di Mesir.

Sepanjang Ibn Khaldūn melaksanakan perkhidmatannya dalam bidang kehakiman, beliau telah melakukan beberapa reformasi undang-undang seperti memerangi pelbagai bentuk ketidakadilan, korupsi dan *favouratism* dari akar umbi hinggalah kepada fatwa menentang Sultan Barquq sendiri.²¹ Selain daripada itu, sifat kejujurannya dalam bidang pentadbiran juga telah mendapat reaksi pro dan kontra daripada pemimpin dan rakan sejawatan.

Setelah menetap kira-kira 23 tahun di Mesir, Ibn Khaldūn menghembuskan nafasnya yang terakhir di kota Kaherah pada 26 Ramadhan 808H/16 Mac 1406M dalam usia 74 tahun.²² Jasadnya telah disemadikan bersama para ahli sufi di luar Bab al-Nasr, Kaherah.²³ Sehingga hari ini, terdapat ramai pengunjung menziarahi makam persemadian beliau bagi tujuan sama ada untuk mengenang jasa-jasa beliau dalam dunia Islam atau hanya sekadar melawat dan melihat makam persemadiannya.

Daripada ringkasan biodata Ibn Khaldūn, dapat disimpulkan bahawa Ibn Khaldūn telah melalui tingkatan hidupnya sebanyak tiga peringkat. Peringkat pertama bermula sejak dari kelahirannya sehingga usia beliau mencecah ke 20 tahun; kehidupannya diisi dengan aktiviti menuntut ilmu dan meningkatkan tahap keintelektualannya. Peringkat kedua iaitu ketika beliau berusia antara 20

¹⁹ Inan, Muhammad 'Abdullah (1965), *op.cit.*, h.72

²⁰ Mohd Nasir Omar, Dr. dan Muda @ Ismail Ab. Rahman, Dr. (1996), *op.cit.* h.6-7

²¹ *ibid*

²² Mustafa Ghalush, Dr (t.t), *Ibn Khaldūn : Musyi' 'Ilm al-Ijtima' (Dirasah Muqaranah)*, al-Zaqaziq : Maktabah al-Arqam, h.11

²³ M. Daud Ramantan, Drs. (ed.) (1982), *op.cit.*, h.102

tahun hingga 50 tahun; beliau menceburkan diri dalam lapangan politik dan pemerintahan. Pada peringkat ini juga beliau telah mula berjinak-jinak dengan lapangan penulisan di samping melanjutkan lagi pelajarannya ke peringkat yang lebih tinggi. Peringkat ketiga iaitu ketika beliau berpindah ke Mesir sehingga akhir hayatnya; menjadi sarjana di beberapa buah universiti yang terkemuka di Mesir, menjadi Ketua Kadhi dan bertindak sebagai penguasa dalam bidang penghakiman.

BIODATA JOHN DEWEY : RIWAYAT HIDUP DAN PENDIDIKAN

John Dewey dilahirkan pada tanggal 20 hb Oktober 1859 di Burlington, Vermont²⁴ iaitu sebuah pekan yang terletak di sebelah Timur Laut Amerika Syarikat.²⁵ Beliau merupakan anak yang ketiga daripada empat adik-beradik hasil daripada perkahwinan pasangan Archibald dan Lucina Dewey. Ibu bapanya merupakan generasi ketiga yang mendiami kota Vermont dan dibesarkan dalam keluarga petani. Kemudian mereka berpindah ke Burlington iaitu tempat di mana Dewey dilahirkan dan di sana bapanya bekerja sebagai pekedai runcit.²⁶

Beberapa tahun kemudian, bapanya telah dilantik menjadi ketua tentera berkuda di Utara Virginia sedangkan Dewey terus menetap di Vermont dan membesar di situ. Di daerah Burlington, Dewey memulakan pengajiannya di peringkat awal dan meneruskan kehidupan hariannya seperti orang lain dengan menaiki bot di Tasik Champlain, mendaki gunung Adirondacks, menjadi penghantar surat khabar, memasuki sekolah umum dan dipaksa oleh ibunya untuk menghadiri perhimpunan di gereja ketika usianya mencecah 11 tahun. Pada tahun 1872, Dewey telah memasuki sekolah tinggi untuk mendalami bidang Tatabahasa, Kesusasteraan dan Matematik dalam bahasa Latin, Greek, Perancis dan Inggeris. Beliau berjaya menamatkan kesemua pengajiannya dalam tempoh 3 tahun sahaja.²⁷

Pada tahun 1874 ketika berusia 15 tahun, beliau telah diterima masuk ke University Vermont dan berjaya menamatkan pengajiannya pada tahun 1879 bersama-sama dengan 17 orang kawannya yang lain.²⁸ Dengan memperolehi keputusan yang cemerlang dalam pengajiannya di universiti tersebut, Dewey kemudiannya ditawarkan untuk mengajar di sekolah tinggi di Oil City, Pennsylvania. Dewey mengajar di sekolah tinggi tersebut selama 2 tahun sebelum beliau menyambung pelajarannya dalam bidang falsafah.²⁹ Ketika beliau mengajar di sekolah tinggi ini, beliau telah berjinak-jinak dalam lapangan falsafah. Kemudian beliau telah membuat percubaan untuk menghasilkan idea falsafahnya dengan menulis artikel berbentuk tulisan ilmiah. Tulisannya yang pertama bertajuk 'The Metaphysical Assumption of Materialism' telah dihantar kepada W.T Harris³⁰ yang merupakan editor bagi *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* sebagai langkah pertamanya dalam menceburkan diri dalam bidang

²⁴ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *American Philosophy From Edwards to John Dewey*, Canada: D. Van Nostrand Company LTD, h.237, Zakaria Ibrahim (Dr) (t.t), *Dirasat fi al-Falsafah al-Ma'asarah*, al-Fujjalah : Maktabah Misr, h.58, John J. Stuhr (2000), *Pragmatism and Classical American Philosophy : Essential Readings and Interpretive Essays*, New York : Oxford University Press, h.431

²⁵ Albert Nadir (1959), *al-Mantiq wa al-Ma'rifah 'Inda John Dewey* dalam al-Abhath : Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut, Fuad Sarruf (ed.) no.4, h.529

²⁶ John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.431

²⁷ *Ibid*, 431

²⁸ *Ibid.*, h.431

²⁹ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.237

³⁰ John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.432

yang baru diminatinya.³¹ Nasib telah menyebelahi Dewey apabila artikel yang dihantar telah diterima baik oleh editor. Selepas mengenali Harris, Dewey telah mendapat pengetahuan asas mengenai Falsafah daripadanya sebelum dia menceburkan diri secara langsung ke dalam bidang tersebut.

Atas sokongan dan dorongan dari W.T Harris pada tahun 1880, Dewey meneruskan pengajiannya untuk mengembangkan minat dan bakatnya dengan memasuki Universiti Johns Hopkins bagi mendapatkan Ijazah Kedoktoran. Beliau telah mengambil jurusan dalam bidang Sejarah dan Sains Politik di universiti tersebut. Dewey meminjam wang sebanyak USD500 daripada mak ciknya untuk membiayai pengajiannya kerana dia tidak mendapat sebarang biasiswa dan tajaan³². Pada tahun 1884, Dewey telah berjaya menamatkan pengajian Ijazah Kedoktorannya dengan menghasilkan sebuah tesis berjudul *Psychology Based On Kent*.³³

Ketika di Universiti Johns Hopkins, Dewey telah mendalami bidang Falsafah secara serius dengan mendapat bimbingan daripada Charles Peirce dalam Ilmu Logik.³⁴ Akan tetapi pengajaran yang diterima oleh Dewey daripada G.Stanley Hall iaitu seorang ahli Psikologi³⁵ dan George S. Morris iaitu seorang ahli Falsafah Idealis telah memberi kesan yang sangat mendalam dalam bidang yang diceburi. Dewey sangat terpengaruh dengan pemikiran Hall melalui pendekatan psikologi yang diperkenalkan kepadanya sehingga Dewey telah berjaya menghasilkan bukunya yang pertama berjudul *Psychology* pada tahun 1887.³⁶ Bahkan ketika menjadi Ketua Jabatan Falsafah, Psikologi dan Pedagogi di Universiti Chicago, Dewey telah menubuhkan sebuah makmal atau pusat percubaan dan di situ beliau telah menguji, mengubahsuai dan membentuk idea-ideanya mengenai psikologi dan pendidikan. Hasil dari pengalaman tersebut, Dewey telah menghasilkan lima karya³⁷ yang telah menyatakan falsafah pendidikan dan psikologi pembelajarannya dengan jelas dan langsung. Setiap kajiannya ini menghasilkan natijah bahawa pengalaman merupakan sumber asas terhadap pendidikan.³⁸

KERJAYA DAN SUMBANGAN

John Dewey telah memulakan kerjayanya secara sambilan dengan mengajar di sekolah tinggi di Oil City, Pennsylvania pada tahun 1879 selama 2 tahun.³⁹ Selepas dia mengajar sekolah tinggi, Dewey telah menyambung pengajiannya dalam bidang Doktor Falsafah di Universiti Johns Hopkins bagi melayakkannya menyandang jawatan sebagai pensyarah tetap. Pada tahun 1888, setelah menamatkan pengajiannya Dewey telah ditawarkan untuk menjawat jawatan sebagai pensyarah dalam bidang Falsafah di Universiti Minnesota. Dia menerima tawaran tersebut dan berkhidmat di universiti tersebut

³¹ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.238

³² John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.432

³³ Zakaria Ibrahim (Dr) (t.t.), *op.cit*, h.58

³⁴ John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.432

³⁵ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.238

³⁶ *ibid*, h.238

³⁷ Lima karya tersebut ialah *My Pedagogy Creed*, Washington D.C:Progressive Education Association, 1929, *The Child and the Curriculum and the School and Society*, Chicago:Phoenix, 1956, *How We Think : A Restatement of the Relation of Reflective Thinking to the Education Process* (Rev. ed.), Boston Heath (1910), 1933, *Democracy and Education*, New York: MacMillan,1916, dan *Expirience and Education*, New York: MacMillan,1936

³⁸ Ibrahim Zakaria, Dr (t.t.), *Dirasāt fi al-Falsafah al-Ma'arah*, □ās al-Fujjālah r, h.60□: Maktabah Mis

³⁹ John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.432

selama setahun.⁴⁰ Setahun kemudian, pada tahun 1889 Dewey telah menerima pelawaan Morris untuk menjadi pensyarah di Universiti Michigan kerana terpengaruh dan terkesan dengan pemikiran pensyarahnya itu. Di universiti ini Dewey telah dilantik menjadi Ketua Jabatan Falsafah dan berkhidmat selama lebih kurang 5 tahun. Dalam tempoh ini, Dewey memberi tumpuan yang sangat mendalam dalam bidang pendidikan dan psikologi secara kritikal sehingga beliau telah menghasilkan sebuah buku yang bertajuk *Applied Psychology : An Introduction to the Principles and Practice of Education* pada tahun 1889.⁴¹

Pada tahun 1886, Dewey telah mendirikan rumahtangga dengan gadis pilihannya iaitu Alice Chipman. Sepanjang perkenalan Dewey dengan Alice, isterinya banyak membantu Dewey dalam melaksanakan eksperimen yang dilakukan oleh Dewey. Hasil daripada perkahwinannya, mereka dikurniakan 6 orang anak; 3 daripadanya dilahirkan di Michigan dan 3 orang yang lain dilahirkan di Chicago sewaktu Dewey berkhidmat sebagai pensyarah di situ.⁴²

Pada tahun 1894, Dewey telah berpindah ke Universiti Chicago untuk menerima tawaran sebagai Profesor dan Ketua Jabatan Falsafah, Psikologi dan Pendidikan di universiti tersebut. Di samping bekerja, Dewey telah menjalankan eksperimen-eksperimen di sekolah untuk kepentingan pendidikan. Hasil daripada eksperimen dan kajian yang dijalankan, Dewey telah memperkenalkan kaedah pedagogi baru atau '*the new pedagogy*' kepada warga pendidik. Idea-ideanya dalam pendidikan telah mendapat perhatian yang sewajarnya oleh ahli-ahli pendidik di seluruh dunia kerana beliau sendiri telah berusaha untuk mengembangkan fahamannya.⁴³

Dalam tahun 1896, Dewey telah mendirikan sebuah sekolah yang berorientasikan eksperimen sepenuhnya buat kali yang pertama di Chicago. Sekolah ini diberi nama *Sekolah Laboratory*⁴⁴ atau popular dengan nama '*Sekolah Dewey*' sahaja.⁴⁵ Sekolah ini mula dibuka pada bulan Januari 1896 dengan pengambilan murid seramai 16 orang dan dikelolakan oleh 2 orang guru. Orang yang bertanggung jawab membantu Dewey dalam mengendalikan perjalanan sekolah ini adalah isterinya, Alice. Enam tahun kemudian, murid di situ bertambah menjadi 140 orang dan gurunya seramai 23 orang. Pada waktu itu, John Dewey telah mengambil tempat sebagai pengarah di sekolah itu manakala pengetuanya pula disandang oleh Ella Flag Yong untuk beberapa ketika.⁴⁶

Menjelang tahun 1905 Dewey telah mendapat tawaran untuk berkhidmat sebagai profesor dalam bidang falsafah di Universiti Columbia, New York sehinggalah dia bersara pada tahun 1930⁴⁷. Di sana, Dewey telah meneruskan usaha-usahanya dalam bidang pendidikan dan penyelidikan dengan penuh gemilang. Di universiti ini jugalah nama Dewey telah diangkat dan dijulang sebagai seorang ahli falsafah yang ulung.⁴⁸ Sepanjang tempoh Dewey berkhidmat di Universiti Columbia, beliau telah

⁴⁰ Albert Nadir (1959), *op.cit*, h.530, John J. Stuhr (2000), *ibid*

⁴¹ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.238

⁴² John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.432

⁴³ Musa bin Daia (1973) *Sejarah Perkembangan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan*, Kelantan:Pustaka Aman Press, h.157

⁴⁴ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.238, John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.433

⁴⁵ Musa bin Daia (1973) *op.cit*, h.157

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, h.157

⁴⁷ John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.433

⁴⁸ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.239

menghasilkan banyak kajian ilmiah berbentuk esai dan jurnal yang menjadi rujukan para pengkaji dan pendidik di seluruh dunia. Antara kajian dan bahan terbitan yang dihasilkan oleh Dewey adalah *The Realism of Pragmatism* (1905), *Experimental Theory of Knowledge* (1906), *What Does Pragmatism Mean by Practical?* (1908), *The Bearings of Pragmatism upon Education* (1908), *The Pragmatic Movement of Contemporary Thought* (1909) dan lain-lain lagi. Atas usaha Dewey dalam mencetus dan melahirkan idea-idea pemikiran yang diterjemahkan dalam bentuk tulisan ilmiah, Dewey telah dianugerahkan sebagai pelopor pembangunan Falsafah Pragmatisme Amerika.⁴⁹

Antara tahun 1908 hingga 1930 Dewey telah memberi tumpuan yang mendalam dalam bidang penulisan. Ia terbukti apabila beliau bekerja sama dengan James H. Tufts telah menghasilkan buku yang bertajuk *Ethics* pada tahun 1908 dan pada tahun 1910 beliau telah menulis sebuah buku yang terkenal iaitu *How We Think*. Buku ini dikatakan telah mendapat tempat yang tinggi di kalangan pemikir dan penyelidik sehingga ia telah diterjemahkan ke dalam beberapa bahasa asing di seluruh dunia seperti Perancis, China, Rusia, Sepanyol, Poland dan lain-lain lagi.⁵⁰

Dalam waktu ini juga, Dewey berkecimpung secara aktif dalam bidang politik. Pada tahun 1912, beliau telah memberi sokongan secara terbuka terhadap pencalonan Theodore Roosevelt sebagai Presiden Amerika. Pada tahun 1915, Dewey telah diberi pengiktirafan untuk menjadi Pengerusi Persatuan Profesor-profesor Universiti Amerika yang pertama⁵¹. Setahun kemudian, pada tahun 1916 Dewey sekali lagi telah menghasilkan buku yang berjudul *Democracy and Education*. Buku ini mempunyai kualiti yang tinggi dan sekaligus mengukuhkan lagi kedudukannya sebagai seorang ahli falsafah dan pendidik yang terulung. Dalam tahun yang sama, Dewey juga telah menulis sebuah buku yang berjudul *Essays in Experimental Logic*.

Pada tahun 1927, Dewey telah kehilangan orang yang tersayang apabila isterinya, Alice telah meninggal dunia akibat penyakit arteriosklerosis.⁵² Dikatakan bahawa, penyakit ini jugalah yang menyerang dua orang anaknya sehingga maut. Terdahulu anak ketiganya telah meninggal dunia pada tahun 1895 ketika berumur 2 tahun dan anaknya yang empat meninggal dunia pada tahun 1904 ketika berusia 8 tahun.⁵³ Pada tahun 1946, ketika Dewey berumur 87 tahun beliau berkahwin buat kali yang kedua dengan Roberta Grant, seorang wanita yang telah lama dikenali sewaktu berada di Oil City. Perkahwinan mereka telah menghasilkan dua orang anak.

Pada tahun 1927 iaitu tahun yang sama dia kehilangan isterinya, Dewey telah menghasilkan sebuah buku yang bertajuk *The Public and Its Problems* dengan mencetuskan idea tentang bagaimana untuk menghasilkan komuniti yang baik 'great community' atau masyarakat yang baik 'great society'. Dalam tahun 1929, iaitu tahun yang terakhir dia menjadi pensyarah dan Profesor Emeritus di Universiti Columbia, Dewey telah menulis bukunya yang terkenal iaitu *The Quest For Certainty*.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, h.239

⁵⁰ *Ibid*

⁵¹ *Ibid*, h. 239

⁵² John J. Stuhr (2000), *op.cit*, h.433

⁵³ *Ibid*, h.432

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, h.433

Selepas bersara dalam lapangan pendidikan, Dewey terus menyambung usahanya dengan memberi tumpuan dan komitmen yang tinggi dalam bidang penulisan sehingga dia meninggal dunia. Banyak buku dan tulisan ilmiah yang telah dihasilkan setelah dia bersara dari jawatan tetapnya. Setahun selepas bersara atau lebih tepatnya pada tahun 1931, Dewey telah menghasilkan buku falsafah yang bertajuk *Philosophy and Civilization* dan pada tahun 1934 dia telah menghasilkan 2 buah buku sekaligus iaitu *Arts as Experience* dan *A Common Faith*. Kedua buku ini telah diiktiraf sebagai antara buku yang paling penting untuk dijadikan sebagai rujukan dalam bidang Falsafah Estetik dan Falsafah Agama.⁵⁵

Dewey kemudiannya telah meneruskan kecemerlangannya dalam menghasilkan penulisan ilmiahnya dengan menerbitkan buku yang menghuraikan mengenai Falsafah Sosial diberi judul *Liberalism and Social Action* pada tahun 1935 dan *Freedom and Culture* pada tahun 1939.⁵⁶ Dalam lapangan pendidikan Dewey juga telah menulis sebuah buku yang bertajuk *Expierience and Education* pada tahun 1938. Dalam tahun yang sama juga, Dewey telah meneruskan usaha dalam bidang penulisan dengan menghasilkan buku yang bertajuk *Logic : The Theory of Inquiry*. Buku ini dianggap sebagai buku yang paling lengkap dalam usahanya menghasilkan idea-idea yang berkaitan dengan lapangan falsafah. Pada tahun 1939 Dewey telah menghasilkan sebuah lagi buku yang bertajuk *Theory of Valuation* yang menjadi rujukan penting dalam bidang Falsafah Kontemperari.

Dalam usia 90 tahun, Dewey masih lagi menerima jemputan untuk menyampaikan ceramah perdana dan memenuhi undangan masyarakat yang memerlukan idea dan pandangannya. Ketika musim luruh di penghujung tahun 1951, Dewey telah mengalami kemalangan kecil yang mengakibatkan tulang pinggulnya patah sewaktu bermain dengan anaknya. Setelah menerima rawatan, Dewey sembuh seperti sediakala namun setahun selepas itu Dewey telah menghidap penyakit pneumonia yang mengakibatkan dia meninggal dunia pada tanggal 31 Mei 1952⁵⁷ dalam usia yang menjangkau 93 tahun. Jasadnya telah disemadikan di New York.⁵⁸

METODOLOGI PENGAJARAN DAN PEMBELAJARAN MENURUT IBN KHALDUN DAN JOHN DEWEY

Dalam huraian tajuk ini, penulis akan mengemukakan pendapat Ibn Khaldun dan John Dewey secara berasingan. Ia bertujuan untuk memudahkan pembaca menilai dan mengkaji kaedah-kaedah pemikiran yang dikemukakan oleh kedua orang tokoh pendidikan ini.

METOD-METOD PENGAJARAN DAN PEMBELAJARAN MENURUT IBN KHALDŪN

Secara umumnya, kaedah atau metod pengajaran bermaksud langkah atau cara yang harus dicontohi dan diikuti oleh guru supaya para pelajar dapat memahami pelajaran yang disampaikan kepada mereka.⁵⁹ Dengan kata lain kaedah pengajaran mencakupi program atau rencana tersebut selepas memasuki ruang pengajaran.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, h.433

⁵⁶ Guy W. Stroh (1968), *op.cit*, h.239-240

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, h.434

⁵⁸ Albert Nadir (1959), *op.cit*, h.530

⁵⁹ Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *op.cit*, h. 141

Ibn Khaldūn termasuk salah seorang pendidik yang menyadari bahawa untuk sampai kepada matlamat dan tujuan pendidikan yang diinginkan terdapat dua saranan utama yang harus diberi perhatian yang sewajarnya oleh sistem pendidikan;

Pertama: Dari segi ilmu pengetahuan atau kokurikulum pendidikan yang sesuai harus diajarkan kepada murid.

Kedua: Kaedah dan langkah yang harus digunakan oleh guru dalam pendidikan.⁶⁰

Ibn Khaldūn membahaskan dua saranan tersebut di atas dalam beberapa bab mukadimahnyanya. Perlu juga disebutkan di sini, Ibn Khaldūn tidak membincangkan kaedah-kaedah tertentu yang harus diperhatikan dalam setiap disiplin ilmu secara tersendiri kecuali mengenai pengajaran Bahasa Arab. Dalam pengajaran Bahasa Arab Ibn Khaldūn menjelaskan kaedah yang harus dicontohi oleh guru-guru. Berdasarkan pembahasan ini, penulis cuba untuk menghuraikan kaedah dan langkah yang harus diperhatikan oleh para guru dalam pengajaran umum. Penulis tidak berhasrat untuk membahaskan pengajaran Bahasa Arab secara khusus dalam kajian ini.

Melalui penilaian dan pemerhatian penulis, Ibn Khaldūn mempunyai pandangan yang sangat menarik tentang kaedah-kaedah pendidikan. Beliau menulis dan menghuraikannya secara panjang lebar untuk panduan ahli pendidikan dan pencinta keilmuan bagi mengembangkan pemikirannya yang terus relaven sepanjang zaman. Dalam ruangan ini, penulis akan cuba mencungkil beberapa kaedah yang telah dikemukakan oleh Ibn Khaldūn dalam penulisannya iaitu;

Pandang Dengar (*Talqīn*)

Ibn Khaldūn berpendapat kaedah ini berjalan dengan guru memberi atau mengarahkan murid supaya menghafal pelajaran terlebih dahulu. Dalam mempelajari Al-Quran umpamanya, murid dimestikan untuk menghafal sebelum diajarkan kepada mereka intipati yang terkandung dalam Al-Quran. Kanak-kanak dimestikan menghafal Al-Quran kerana ia merupakan mata pelajaran terpenting dalam peringkat pengajaran yang pertama.⁶¹

Kaedah pandang dengar atau *talqīn* ini juga turut diamalkan oleh sarjana pendidikan Islam yang lain seperti al-Qabisi. Menurut al-Qabisi kaedah pandang dengar dalam pengajaran al-Quran contohnya, kanak-kanak akan mengulangi setiap perenggan yang disebutkan oleh gurunya sehinggalah dia dapat menghafaznya. Pada peringkat ini guru tidak perlu menghuraikan maksud ungkapan yang dihafal disebabkan ketidakmampuan kanak-kanak memahaminya.⁶²

Meskipun kaedah pandang dengar yang dikemukakan oleh al-Qabisi ini dilihat mempunyai persamaan dengan kaedah yang dikemukakan oleh Ibn Khaldūn, namun hakikatnya terdapat perbezaan yang ketara kerana kaedah Ibn Khaldūn sangat menitik beratkan pemahaman daripada hafazan. Sedangkan al-Qabisi mementingkan hafazan terlebih dahulu meskipun murid tidak dapat memahami

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, h.140

⁶¹ Na'mi, Abdullah al-Amīn (1994), *op.cit*, h.103

⁶² Gamal Abdul Nasir Zakaria, Dr. (2003), *op.cit*, h.93

pelajaran.⁶³ Menurut Ibn Khaldūn lagi apabila murid telah menguasai dan memahami sesuatu pelajaran, maka ia diberi kemudahan untuk menghafalnya.⁶⁴

a. Pengajaran Secara Berperingkat Dan Beransur-Ansur (*Tadrīj*)

Ibn Khaldūn berpendapat bahawa kaedah pendidikan dan pengajaran secara beransur-ansur merupakan kaedah yang sangat berkesan dalam memberi kefahaman kepada anak-anak semasa proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran berlangsung. Kaedah ini dijelaskan melalui kenyataan beliau;

Suatu yang harus kita ketahui bahawa pengajaran ilmu pengetahuan kepada para pelajar hanya akan dapat dirasakan berkesan apabila ianya dilakukan secara beransur-ansur, sedikit demi sedikit.⁶⁵

Dalam menghuraikan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran secara beransur-ansur ini, Ibn Khaldūn menyatakan sekurang-kurangnya terdapat tiga langkah pengajaran yang perlu dilaksanakan oleh seorang guru dalam menyampaikan pengajarannya. Langkah pertama, guru akan memaparkan kepada pelajar-pelajarnya mengenai masalah-masalah utama yang terdapat dalam setiap bab cabang ilmu tertentu. Sewaktu mengajar, guru akan membuat huraian secara ringkas mengenai tajuk tersebut. Tujuannya adalah untuk mengenal pasti kemampuan akal dan persiapan pelajar dalam menerima pelajaran yang diajarkan. Dengan cara ini, pelajar akan dapat membiasakan diri dengan disiplin ilmu yang diajarkannya. Langkah kedua, guru akan mengajar muridnya pada peringkat yang lebih tinggi. Kali ini guru tidak lagi memberi penjelasan secara sepintas lalu sahaja tetapi melakukan ulasan dan penjelasan yang menyeluruh. Guru akan mengaitkan pelajaran dengan keadaan dan pandangan semasa yang selari dan bertentangan dengan tajuk yang diajarkan. Dengan itu sikap kecendakiawanan murid dapat ditingkatkan. Langkah yang terakhir adalah langkah pengukuhan dan pemantapan dengan perbincangan yang lebih berasas.⁶⁶ Ibn Khaldūn berpendapat bahawa dalam proses pengukuhan ini guru tidak seharusnya membiarkan murid dalam keadaan rumit, kabur dan tertanya-tanya. Justeru, guru harus memberi ruang dan peluang kepada pelajarannya untuk bertanyakan soalan dan semua persoalan itu harus dijelaskan dengan cara yang terbuka kepada murid. Dengan itu, apabila selesai membicarakan disiplin ilmu ini, para pelajarannya telah mencapai tahap keahlian yang boleh dibanggakan.⁶⁷

Mendasari pemikiran Ibn Khaldūn mengenai kaedah pembelajaran, penulis melihat Ibn Khaldun sangat berpegang kepada kaedah pengajaran secara berperingkat dan beransur-ansur. Ia dapat dilihat melalui pengakuannya yang menjelaskan bahawa kaedah ini adalah kaedah yang sebaik-baiknya.⁶⁸ Ini kerana murid yang dihasilkan daripada kaedah pembelajaran ini akan mampu menguasai sepenuhnya pelajaran dan seterusnya akan menjadi ahli ilmu yang mantap.

Dalam dunia pendidikan moden, barangkali inilah yang dikatakan sebagai kaedah pembelajaran *mastery learning* di mana murid-murid akan dikukuhkan pengetahuan dan penguasaannya terhadap sesuatu ilmu sebelum berpindah kepada ilmu yang lain. Kaedah dan cara

⁶³ Na'mi, Abdullah al-Amīn (1994), *op.cit.*, h.103

⁶⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, Abd Rah mān bin Muhammad (1958), *op.cit.*, h. 1353

⁶⁵ *Ibid*

⁶⁶ *Ibid*,h.1355

⁶⁷ *Ibid*

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, h.1353

pengajaran yang telah dikemukakan oleh Ibn Khaldūn ini telahpun digunapakai oleh guru-guru yang mengajar murid masa kini. Ia dibuat mengikut langkah pengajaran yang pada kebiasaannya berupa langkah pertama, langkah kedua dan langkah ketiga. Kebiasaannya ia dimulakan dengan langkah induksi yang bertujuan untuk menarik perhatian dan merangsang minat murid kepada isi pengajaran dan diakhiri dengan proses pemulihan, pengukuhan atau pengayaan. Ia bergantung kepada pencapaian murid sepanjang proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran berlangsung.

b. Pengajaran Yang Fokus

Pengajaran yang fokus di sini bermaksud, guru menyatakan tajuk yang jelas kepada murid dan tidak mengajarkan kepada muridnya dua disiplin ilmu sekaligus dalam satu-satu masa dia mengajar. Ini kerana murid akan mendapat bebanan dan kesukaran yang hebat kerana terpaksa memikirkan dua masalah di dalam satu masa. Hakikat ini dapat difahami melalui ungkapan Ibn Khaldūn yang menyebut bahawa ;

Suatu cara dan metode yang harus dilaksanakan dalam pengajaran adalah dengan tidak mengajarkan dua cabang ilmu pengetahuan secara sekaligus. Sebab dengan cara itu murid akan mendapat kesukaran dalam menguasai salah satu daripada kedua disiplin ilmu tersebut kerana pada waktu itu perhatian murid akan terbahagi dan terganggu oleh satu dari yang lainnya.⁶⁹

Ibn Khaldūn secara terbuka telah menempelak sebahagian guru dan pendidik yang memulakan pengajaran dengan mengemukakan masalah yang tidak jelas kepada murid. Sedangkan murid-murid dituntut untuk memerah otak bagi memahami dan menyelesaikan masalah pelajaran yang diajarkan. Mereka menganggap cara ini adalah cara yang paling berpengalaman dan merupakan satu latihan yang tepat⁷⁰ untuk menjadikan murid-murid menguasai ilmu. Namun hakikatnya mereka telah mengelirukan murid-murid dengan mendedahkan bahagian-bahagian pelajaran yang mendalam sedangkan mereka masih belum mengetahui perkara-perkara yang asas.⁷¹

Seterusnya Ibn Khaldūn menyatakan bahawa sekiranya seseorang murid itu diberi kebebasan untuk menumpukan sepenuh perhatian kepada pelajaran yang diminatinya, maka cara demikian adalah lebih sesuai untuk menyerap ilmu yang diinginkan.⁷² Guru juga tidak harus menuntut sesuatu yang lebih dari apa yang dipelajari dan difahami oleh muridnya, sesuai dengan tahap umurnya dan kesediaannya dalam menguasai pelajaran. Justeru, guru tidak perlu menimbulkan masalah-masalah selain daripada apa yang ditemui di dalam buku sehinggalah murid-murid dapat memahami seluruh pelajaran dari awal hingga akhir. Apabila seseorang murid telah mengembangkan keinginannya untuk mengetahui sesuatu disiplin ilmu, maka dia akan meningkatkan minatnya dengan lebih tinggi dan secara tidak langsung dia akan berusaha untuk mencapainya . Maka akhirnya dia akan berjaya mendapat keseluruhan ilmu. Tetapi jika sekiranya seseorang itu mengelirukan pelajarannya, dia tidak

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, h.1355

⁷⁰ *ibid*, h.1154

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁷² Ibn Khaldūn, Abd Rah mān bin Muhammad (1958), *op.cit*, h..1355

akan memahaminya. Otaknya akan menjadi tumpul dan bebal. Dia tidak sanggup bekerja dan mudah berputus asa. Akhirnya dia akan menyisihkan ilmu yang sedang dipelajari.⁷³

c. Peniruan (Muhākah Atau Taklid)

Muhākah atau *taklīd* termasuk dalam pendekatan yang berjaya dalam pengajaran. Kaedah ini juga dikenal dengan peniruan atau lakon semula. Dengan cara ini, kanak-kanak akan memindahkan apa yang disaksikan melalui pancaindera penglihatannya kepada perlakuan atau tingkahlaku hasil daripada pemerhatian dan maklumat yang diperolehinya. Justeru itu, Ibn Khaldūn menganggap *muhākah* atau *taklīd* adalah kaedah yang penting dalam pengajaran.

Melalui kaedah *muhākah* atau *taklīd*, guru atau ibu bapa sewajarnya menunjukkan lakonan atau contoh yang baik terhadap anak-anaknya kerana setiap perbuatan yang disaksikan oleh mereka akan diikutinya. Hakikat ini dapat diperolehi melalui kenyataan Ibn Khaldūn yang menyebut bahawa; kadangkala Allah s.w.t memermudahkan ke atas manusia untuk memperolehi ilmu dalam jarak dan jangka masa yang singkat, iaitu apabila manusia bertaklidkan ibubapa, guru-guru dan orang tua. Lantaran ini manusia tidak perlu berada dalam keperitan yang lama untuk mengikut realiti-reliti dan menggali faedahnya. Sesiapa yang kehilangan ilmu pada realiti-realiti itu dan tidak bertaklid padanya atau berpaling daripada mendengarkannya, berpanjanganlah keperitannya dalam pengadabannya. Oleh kerana itu, pengadabannya berlangsung dengan tidak sewajarnya dan akibatnya status hidupnya di kalangan anak bangsa akan menjadi rosak.⁷⁴

Dalam konteks yang lebih luas lagi, penulis berpendapat bahawa pemikiran Ibn Khaldūn ini mungkin membayangkan salah satu perbezaan antara manusia dan binatang dalam menghasilkan pengalaman, iaitu manusia mengaut faedah dalam hidupnya melalui pengalaman yang pernah dihadapi oleh orang-orang yang sebelumnya. Berbanding dengan binatang, ia perlu mengulangi apa yang telah dilalui oleh binatang yang lain untuk menghasilkan sesuatu pengalaman baru. Sedangkan manusia menggunakan akal untuk menilai setiap perbuatan yang telah dilalui.

Kaedah *muhākah* atau *taklīd* dalam konteks pengajaran moden ia dikenali sebagai kaedah simulasi. Kaedah ini menuntut guru mengajar murid dengan cara guru atau murid diambil sebagai model dan contoh kepada murid-murid yang lain. Kebiasannya kaedah ini juga di laksanakan dalam bentuk lakonan untuk menggambarkan situasi dan keadaan tertentu dengan berobjektifkan supaya proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran mampu dilaksanakan dengan lebih berkesan. Di samping itu juga, kaedah ini dapat menarik minat murid serta dapat membentuk sifat keberanian di dalam diri mereka untuk berada di depan khalayak. Ternyata Ibn Khaldūn telah menjadi pelopor kepada kaedah simulasi meskipun pengistilahannya yang digunakan pada masa kini agak berbeza, namun perlaksanaannya adalah sama.

d. Al-Tajrībah Atau Percubaan

Salah satu kaedah pendidikan yang telah dikemukakan oleh Ibn Khaldūn dalam lapangan pendidikan ialah melalui percubaan. Bahkan beliau percaya bahawa kaedah ini penting dalam

⁷³ *Ibid*

⁷⁴ Na'mi, Abdullah al-Amīn (1994), *op.cit.*, h.104

memindahkan ilmu dan *makrifah*. Beliau berpendapat bahawa percubaan memerlukan kepada pengalaman dan penyaksian yang mana kedua anasir ini sangat berkait dengan pancaindera.⁷⁵

Ibn Khaldūn berpendapat bahawa pemerhati tidak boleh mencapai sesuatu objektif seandainya ianya hanya dilakukan dengan perhatian yang mendalam semata-mata, bahkan ianya hanya boleh dilakukan dengan percubaan. Dengan percubaan inilah murid-murid akan mengambil faedah pengetahuan lantaran ianya dapat merasainya secara langsung. Mereka akan mengetahui kebenaran dan kepalsuan secara nyata dan realiti. Maka, murid-murid dapat memperolehi ilmu dengan percubaan yang dilakukan dengan pancainderanya.⁷⁶

Dalam teks ini Ibn Khaldūn memfokuskan kepentingan alat-alat deria sebagai asas bagi setiap pengajian khususnya pengajian berbentuk teori dan penyuburan potensi akal dalam pemikiran. Dengan demikian, beliau menegaskan asas kepada pengajaran dan pengalaman yang melibatkan kaedah percubaan adalah deria yang sihat. Pengalaman-pengalaman yang berbentuk deria ini secara keseluruhannya akan membawa kepada pengajaran yang berkesan.⁷⁷

Dalam konteks dunia moden, kaedah pendidikan seumpama ini dikenali sebagai eksperimen. Murid digalakkan untuk menguji kaji sesuatu benda atau dihidangkan dengan permasalahan dan cuba untuk menyelesaikannya dengan menggunakan kaedah yang tertentu. Dalam hal ini murid diberi kebebasan untuk menyelesaikan masalah yang dikemukakan berdasarkan dengan kaedah penyelesaian yang diberi.

e. *Al-Tikrār* Atau Pengulangan

Antara pendekatan-pendekatan pengajaran yang digunakan oleh Ibn Khaldūn di dalam proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran adalah pengalaman lalu,⁷⁸ dimana kadangkala murid-murid sering lupa atau tidak dapat memahami pelajaran dalam penjelasan yang pertama atau kedua. Justeru, guru diminta supaya mengulang semula pelajaran tersebut sehingga pelajar dapat memahaminya.⁷⁹ Kemudian persediaan pada ilmu itu dibuat secara beransur-ansur. Sebagaimana langkah pengajaran beransur-ansur itu melalui tiga peringkat, maka sebaik-baik pengulangan juga hendaklah dilakukan sebanyak tiga kali.⁸⁰ Tujuannya sangat jelas, iaitu supaya murid dapat memahami penjelasan guru dengan lebih tepat dan lebih mantap. Ini akan menambahkan lagi kefahaman serta keahliannya dalam sesuatu disiplin ilmu yang dipelajari.

Guru juga disaran supaya tidak berpindah kepada tajuk yang lain selama mana muridnya tidak menguasai suatu disiplin ilmu yang diajarkannya. Ilmu yang diperolehi oleh seseorang murid umpama suatu bebanan yang mendatang. Sekiranya dia masih belum menguasai sesuatu ilmu kemudiannya dia akan diajar ilmu yang lain maka mereka akan merasa terbeban dengan kerja yang belum selesai dengan memikul tugas yang baru.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, h. 105

⁷⁶ *Ibid*

⁷⁷ *Ibid*

⁷⁸ Ibn Khaldūn, Abd Rah mān bin Muhammad (1958), *op.cit*, h..1353

⁷⁹ *Ibid*

⁸⁰ *Ibid*

Daripada beberapa kaedah pendidikan yang digariskan oleh Ibn Khaldūn di atas, penulis berpendapat bahawa Ibn Khaldūn merupakan antara pencetus kaedah pendidikan moden yang sedang berlangsung dalam dunia pendidikan kini. Kaedah peniruan dan percubaan umpamanya yang dikenali sebagai kaedah simulasi dan eksperimen dalam pendidikan moden adalah antara cetus idea yang dikemukakan oleh Ibn Khaldūn. Justeru, penulis melihat Ibn Khaldūn memberi sumbangan yang besar dalam dunia pendidikan terutamanya dalam penghasilan kaedah pelajaran. Meskipun dalam dunia moden kaedah-kaedah ini diberi nama dan nafas yang baru oleh para ilmuan namun hakikatnya kaedah ini telah dicetuskan dahulu oleh Ibn Khaldūn.

METOD-METOD PENGAJARAN DAN PEMBELAJARAN MENURUT JOHN DEWEY

Dewey berpendapat bahawa proses pendidikan melibatkan dua aspek utama iaitu psikologi dan sosiologi.⁸¹ Kedua-dua aspek ini harus dititikberatkan agar murid-murid.. Melihat kepada kepentingan dua aspek ini, Dewey berpendapat bahawa aspek psikologi merupakan aspek yang asas. Ini kerana manusia pada dasarnya mempunyai sifat yang sentiasa berkembang dan berubah-ubah mengikut perkembangan usia dan persekitaran. Justeru, manusia perlu diberi bekalan yang cukup untuk membina pertumbuhan dan perkembangan mereka dengan pendidikan yang sempurna dan mencakupi. Kesempurnaan dan keberkesanan pembelajaran yang diterima oleh seseorang individu itu sangat berkait rapat dengan kaedah yang digunakan.

Menyentuh mengenai kaedah pendidikan, Dewey telah meringkaskan dengan ringkas lima langkah yang terlibat dengan proses pendidikan;⁸²

- i. Pelajar mesti berada dalam situasi masalah yang asli yang membolehkan dia berminat untuk menyelesaikan masalahnya dengan sendiri.
- ii. Permasalahan itu mesti berupaya untuk merangsang pemikiran untuk berfikir.
- iii. Pelajar perlu mempunyai semua maklumat berkenaan dan mampu melakukan penilaian untuk menanganinya.
- iv. Pelajar perlu dipastikan memperolehi jalan-jalan penyelesaian yang dia sendiri bertanggungjawab membinanya.
- v. Pelajar perlu diberi peluang untuk mengguna pakai ideanya bagi membolehkannya memperolehi makna idea itu dengan jelas dan mengesahkan kebenarannya.

Berdasarkan kepada lima prinsip yang telah dinyatakan di atas dan juga kajian secara menyeluruh tentang kaedah pengajaran dan pembelajaran yang dilakukan oleh Dewey, penulis menggariskan beberapa perkara penting mengenai pendapat Dewey berkaitan dengan kaedah pengajaran dan pembelajaran seperti berikut;

f. *Learning By Doing* Atau Pendidikan Melalui Proses Tindakan Dan Perbuatan

Bagi Dewey, bilik darjah dan sekolah perlu menjadi mikrokosmos bagi masyarakat. Lanjutan daripada itu, Dewey mahukan supaya sesebuah sekolah itu mestilah memainkan peranan dan

⁸¹ Ibrahim Zakaria, Dr (t.t.), *op.cit*, h.60

⁸² John Dewey(1957), *op.cit*, h.192

menjalankan tugas atas dasar yang praktikal seperti mengadakan pelajaran pertukangan tangan, kecekapan (*skill*), perusahaan dan pelajaran yang dapat menimbulkan daya usaha murid-murid. Cara yang sebeginilah yang dapat membentuk jiwa daya cipta dan rekaan serta mampu untuk membina keyakinan diri.⁸³

Justeru itu Dewey melaksanakan kaedah pembelajaran secara langsung atau dengan kata lain Dewey tidak hanya mengajarkan teori kepada pelajar-pelajarnya tetapi dia telah menjalankan eksperimen untuk mendapatkan hasil yang lebih jelas. Dewey telah menubuhkan *laboratory* atau dikenali sebagai Sekolah Dewey bagi membuktikan teori dan pemikiran yang dibawa olehnya adalah praktikal. Justeru, kaedah *learning by doing* yang diperkenalkan oleh Dewey adalah suatu kaedah yang sangat menekankan bahawa setiap perbuatan yang dilakukan oleh manusia akan menghasilkan pengetahuan dan pengalaman yang baharu.

Dalam melaksanakan proses pendidikan *learning by doing* ini Dewey menyarankan kepada murid-muridnya untuk melakukan uji kaji sendiri secara langsung dan praktikal. Penekanan terhadap eksperimen dan penyelesaian masalah sangat diutamakan. Dewey menyarankan kepada murid-muridnya agar menggunakan pemikiran secara maksimum untuk mendapatkan pengalaman baru. Ini kerana asas kepada teori pembelajaran ini adalah pengalaman yang dihasilkan melalui eksperimen yang telah dijalankan.

g. Pembelajaran Induktif

Sebagai pelopor dan penganut mazhab progresivisme Dewey berpendapat bahawa pelajar-pelajar seharusnya diberi kebebasan mutlak dalam memperolehi kemahiran dalam menyelesaikan sesuatu masalah. Ramai ahli progresivisme berpendapat bahawa pendekatan secara induktif sangat sesuai untuk digunakan untuk mencapai objektif ini. Dalam hal ini, guru berperanan sebagai pembimbing dan penasihat yang membantu pelajar-pelajar mengenali masalah-masalah yang dihadapi oleh mereka dalam persekitaran yang berubah-ubah.

Dalam mendasari mazhab progresivisme yang dianutinya, Dewey sangat menitik beratkan tentang proses pendidikan itu berlangsung berbeza dengan ahli-ahli esensialisme dan perenialisme yang memberi perhatian berat kepada subjek yang diajar. Oleh kerana itu fokus dan penumpuan haruslah diberikan sepenuhnya kepada pelajar dengan mendedahkan mereka kepada perkara-perkara seperti pengalaman sosial, kajian sosial, melaksanakan projek, menyelesaikan masalah berdasarkan eksperimen; yang mana apabila dipelajari melalui kaedah saintifik ianya akan menghasilkan pengetahuan yang boleh digunakan dalam semua bidang pelajaran yang dipelajari. Buku dianggap sebagai alat dalam proses pembelajaran bukan sebagai sumber pengetahuan yang tidak boleh dipersoalkan.⁸⁴

Kaedah pendidikan secara induktif ini dalam pendidikan kini dapat di lihat perlaksanaannya dia institut pengajian tinggi. Dalam merencanakan pemikiran pelajar, para pendidik memberi kebebasan kepada murid-murid untuk menjalankan aktiviti melalui kerja kursus yang diberikan. Para

⁸³ Musa bin Daia (1973) *Sejarah Perkembangan Pendidikan dan Persekolahan*, Kelantan:Pustaka Aman Press, h.157

⁸⁴ Abdul Rahman Md. Aroff & Zakaria Kasa (1987), *op.cit.* h.43

pelajar mengambil kesempatan ini untuk melontarkan idea yang baru serta menghasilkan suatu kajian yang inovatif sejajar dengan kehendak dan tujuan daripada perlaksanaan kaedah pengajaran dan pembelajaran secara induktif.

h. Kaedah Pembelajaran Secara Transaksi

Pragmatisme, dengan tumpuan kepada kecerdasan reflektif, ia menjadi asas kepada kebanyakan pendekatan inkuiri dalam pendidikan. Dalam konteks pengajaran dan pembelajaran, kaedah transaksi diperkenalkan. Melalui kaedah transaksi ini, Dewey berpendapat bahawa pendidikan dianggap sebagai suatu bentuk dialog antara murid dengan kurikulum. Murid melalui proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran dengan cara interaksi langsung dengan kurikulum yang dipelajari. Kaedah transaksi ini memberi tumpuan kepada penyelesaian masalah dan strategi pengajaran yang memupuk penyelesaian masalah.⁸⁵ Kaedah pembelajaran transaksi dilihat bahawa murid melaksanakan proses pelajaran dan pembelajaran secara sendiri. Guru hanyalah dianggap sebagai fasilitator atau pemudah cara bukan sebagai rujukan utama.

Lawan bagi kaedah pengajaran secara transaksi ialah kaedah satu hala atau dikenali sebagai kaedah atomisme yang memberi penekanan kepada pemetakan kurikulum pendidikan kepada unit-unit kecil yang berasingan. Dalam melaksanakan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran atomisme menggunakan kaedah penyiaran di mana guru menyampaikan maklumat dalam bentuk satu hala dan murid-murid diharap akan mempelajari maklumat itu melalui strategi hafalan, peniruan atau replika.⁸⁶ Idea kaedah pengajaran secara transaksi ini tercetus apabila Dewey melihat kaedah pengajaran dan pembelajaran satu hala yang diamalkan oleh guru-guru sebelumnya kurang memberi kesan kepada murid.

PERBANDINGAN METODOLOGI PENGAJARAN DAN PENGAJARAN ANTARA IBN KHALDUN DAN JOHN DEWEY

Daripada perbincangan yang telah dikemukakan di atas, dapat disimpulkan bahawa Ibn Khaldun dan John Dewey mempunyai kaedah dan metod yang tertentu di dalam melaksanakan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran. Metod-metod ini dapat dilihat melalui perbandingan secara khusus yang telah digariskan seperti berikut;

Metodologi Pendidikan Ibn Khaldun Secara Khusus

- Menurut Ibn Khaldun pengajaran yang sempurna hendaklah diberikan sesuai dengan taraf perkembangan akal dan kemampuan murid. Murid-murid tidak harus dibebani dengan pemikiran yang masih belum mampu untuk dicapai. Di samping itu juga, guru hendaklah menggunakan kaedah-kaedah yang sesuai dengan keadaan ketika mereka menjalankan isi kandungan pengajaran selaras dengan petunjuk al-Quran dan al-Hadith kerana Nabi sendiri menganjurkan jika berbicara hendaklah sesuai dengan tahap pemikiran akal manusia. Bahkan al-Quran turut memberi panduan yang jelas jika manusia hendak mengajar

⁸⁵ Nik Azis Nik Pa (1990), *Program Pengajian Pelajar Pintar Cerdas : Teori dan Praktik*, Selangor : Institut Pengajian Ilmu-Ilmu Islam, h. 110

⁸⁶ *Ibid*

manusia ke jalan Allah, maka hendaklah dia menggunakan nasihat dan pesan yang bijaksana bukan dengan kekasaran dan paksaan.

- Dalam melaksanakan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran, seseorang pendidik haruslah mempunyai akhlak dan budi pekerti yang mulia supaya dia mampu untuk menjadi contoh kepada muridnya. Guru hendaklah mempunyai wawasan yang luas, memiliki sifat lemah lembut dan tidak bertindak kasar terhadap pelajarannya. Guru hendaklah memberi penekanan kepada penguasaan murid dalam ilmu-ilmu pokok (*al-'ulūm almaqsūdah bi zātihī*) dan memastikan murid mengisi waktu senggang mereka dengan aktiviti-aktiviti yang bermanfaat.
- Ibn Khaldun telah mengemukakan pendidikan akhlak yang lengkap di dalam penulisannya. Ini dapat di lihat melalui pemikiran beliau yang menekankan tentang bagaimana akhlak seseorang murid itu terbentuk melalui faktor persekitaran seperti sekolah, keluarga, masyarakat dan alat-alat bantu mengajar yang berkesan dalam membentuk akhlak yang baik. Begitu juga seruan beliau terhadap pihak berwajib dalam negara supaya menyebarkan nilai-nilai dan ciri-ciri terpuji di kalangan masyarakat.
- Ibn Khaldūn turut menitik beratkan tentang kaedah pendidikan di samping beliau sendiri telah mengemukakan idea dan gagasan keilmuannya tentang kaedah pendidikan. Ia dapat disimpulkan bahawa dalam menjalankan aktiviti pendidikan guru perlu melalui tiga peringkat dan peringkat untuk menyampaikan ilmu secara berkesan. Peringkat pertama, ianya berlaku secara umum, keduanya secara penerangan dan penjelasan dan ketiganya adalah dengan cara yang menyeluruh atau *ijmāl*.
- Turut ditekankan oleh Ibn Khaldūn adalah semasa proses pendidikan berlangsung seseorang guru hendaklah menghindarkan diri daripada memukul muridnya yang telah melakukan kesilapan dan kecuaiannya apabila perlu. Perbuatan ini akan mendorong murid untuk bertindak bohong dan menipu. Bagaimanapun Ibn Khaldūn menggariskan tujuan seseorang murid itu dipukul adalah kerana mendidik bukan kerana nafsu semata-mata. Justeru itu, Ibn Khaldūn menetapkan bahawa seseorang guru itu tidak boleh memukul di bahagian muka, kepala dan badan. Ia selaras dengan saranan Rasulullah s.a.w melalui hadithnya.
- Selanjutnya, Ibn Khaldūn berpendapat bahawa keserjanaan dan keutuhan ilmu seseorang mampu dicapai melalui pengembaraan ke pelusuk dunia. Melalui pengembaraan ini, seseorang individu dapat menjalinkan hubungan dengan guru-guru yang berpengaruh serta dapat menimba ilmu secara langsung dengan mereka. Ini dapat mengukuhkan lagi keilmuan dan melayakkan mereka mendapat keahlian dalam bidang keilmuan yang diceburi.

Metodologi Pendidikan John Dewey Secara Khusus

- Menurut Dewey, kaedah pendidikan yang terbaik adalah melalui eksperimen sains dan uji kaji langsung yang berperanan untuk mentafsirkan pengalaman yang dilalui. Untuk menyelesaikan masalah yang dihadapi dalam menjalankan eksperimen dan uji kaji,

hipotesis dan andaian yang diuji melalui pengalaman merupakan jalan yang terbaik untuk mencapai matlamatnya.

- Perkara yang paling penting ditekankan oleh Dewey dalam pemikiran pendidikannya adalah pendemokrasian di dalam pendidikan. Dewey berpendapat bahawa setiap individu bebas untuk mendapatkan ilmu pengetahuan tanpa sebarang sekatan dan halangan. Melalui pendidikan inilah manusia akan memahami perubahan dan tabiat manusia yang pelbagai. Idea dan gagasan pemikiran Dewey ini memberi kesan yang sangat besar dalam dunia pendidikan sama ada dunia barat atau dunia Islam sehingga ramai pemikir muslim yang turut terpengaruh dengan idea ini.
- Pendidikan ialah satu proses sosial. Ia merupakan kelangsungan hidup secara bermasyarakat. Oleh kerana itu, Dewey menekankan perlunya ada kerjasama dan jalinan hubungan secara langsung antara masyarakat dengan pihak sekolah. Hubungan yang dibina di kalangan sekolah dan masyarakat ini secara tidak langsung dapat memberi gambaran yang jelas kepada murid tentang kehidupan yang sebenar.
- Dalam melaksanakan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran, guru atau penunjuk ajar mestilah mempunyai keilmuan dan persediaan yang cukup untuk membekalkan ilmu kepada murid-muridnya. Ini kerana melalui kaedah pembelajaran induktif, guru berperanan sebagai penunjuk ajar yang berkesan dan menjadi tempat rujukan kepada murid-murid sekiranya mereka menghadapi kesukaran. Mana mungkin guru yang tidak mempunyai ilmu dan pengalaman yang cukup mampu untuk membekalkan pengalaman dan keilmuan yang baru kepada murid-murid.
- Dewey sangat menitik beratkan tentang proses pendidikan itu berlangsung bukan kepada subjek yang diajar. Oleh kerana itu fokus dan penumpuan haruslah diberikan sepenuhnya kepada pelajar dengan mendedahkan mereka kepada perkara-perkara seperti pengalaman sosial, kajian sosial, melaksanakan projek, menyelesaikan masalah berdasarkan eksperimen; yang mana apabila dipelajari melalui kaedah saintifik ini ianya akan menghasilkan pengetahuan yang boleh digunakan dalam semua bidang pelajaran yang dipelajari. Dewey berpendapat bahawa buku merupakan alat dalam proses pembelajaran bukan sebagai sumber pengetahuan yang tidak boleh dipersoalkan.
- Selanjutnya, di dalam melaksanakan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran secara berkesan Dewey menekankan komunikasi dua hala sebagaimana yang di perkenalkan melalui kaedah transaksi. Kaedah ini memberi peluang yang sangat terbuka untuk pelajar meneroka keilmuan berdasarkan minat dan keinginan individu. Guru tidak boleh memaksa murid untuk meminati sesuatu subjek pengajaran tetapi guru hanya menjadi penasihat dan fasilitator sepanjang proses pembelajaran berlangsung.

KESIMPULAN

Daripada perbincangan yang telah dikemukakan di atas, penulis mendapati bahawa kaedah dan metod pengajaran dan pembelajaran yang telah digariskan oleh Ibn Khaldun dan John Dewey telah

dilaksanakan oleh para pendidik dan tenaga pengajar hari ini. Dalam aspek pengajaran yang menjurus kepada ilmu agama, Ibn Khaldun telah memberi panduan murid-murid perlu diajar dan diasuh untuk menghafal Al-Quran sejak kecil lagi kerana beliau berpendapat bahawa Al-Quran merupakan sumber segala ilmu. Lantaran itu ianya perlu dikuasai terlebih dahulu sebelum mendalami ilmu yang lain. Dalam aspek pengajaran yang menjurus kepada ilmu Sains Moden pula Ibn Khaldun dan John Dewey bersepakat bahawa pelajar mestilah diberi pengajaran dan pengalaman praktikal bagi memantapkan keilmuan seseorang. Ianya dapat diterjemahkan dengan melakukan kajian sosial, melaksanakan projek, menyelesaikan masalah berdasarkan eksperimen, ujikaji dan pengembaraan. Apa yang nyata, metod-metod yang telah dikemukakan oleh kedua orang tokoh ini terus relevan sepanjang zaman kerana ianya menjadi asas yang sangat penting dalam pelaksanaan proses pengajaran dan pembelajaran secara berkesan.

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**THE RELEVANCE OF THE CLASSICAL MALAY-JAWI TEXT TO THE
CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN MALAYSIA: A
PRELIMINARY STUDY UPON SELECTED WORKS
OF PATANI SCHOLARS**

By

Che'Razi Hj Jusoh*

ABSTRACT

The twenty-first century has posed a range of challenges from education, economic, social, and cultural and so on. Of these challenges in education is the content of the curriculum especially with regard to the development of Islamic creed in religious institutions be it in formal religious schools and non-formal religious schools, i.e sekolah agama rakyat (sar), traditional religious institutions (pondok), mosques, surau etc. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to highlight the significance works of classical Malay-Jawi text in the Islamic creed authored by the prominent Malay scholars such as Shaykh Dawud bin 'Abdullah al-Fatani's Durr al-Thamin and Ward al-Zawahir, Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn's al-Fatani's Faridat al-Fara'id and Shaykh Zayn al-Abidin al-Fatani's 'Aqidat al-Najin being the main references in Islamic non-formal religious institutions in Malaysia. The succinct popularity and fame of those works neither due to their method of presentation and content analysis only but also the relevancy of the arguments that accommodate the perennial issues in the Islamic creed with the present predicaments.

INTRODUCTION

There has been scholarly study carried out which examines the classical Malay-Jawi text produced by Patani scholars such as Hassan Madmarn's *Pondok and Madrasah in Patani*,¹ Donwana Taye@Mohd.Lazim Lawee's *Peranan Ulama' Fatani*,² Ab.Aziz bin Hājī Ismail "Sheikh Daud al-

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¹ Published by Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi in 2002, henceforth cited as *Pondok*.

² The unpublished M.A Thesis which the full title is "Peranan Ulama Fatani dalam bidang dakwah Islamiyyah: Menerusi Penulisan-Penulisan Kreatif", submitted to Jabatan Pengajian Dakwah, Fakulti Pengajian Islam Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi in 1995, henceforth will be cited as *Peranan Ulama Fatani*,

Fatani (1769-1847M): Pengaruh Pemikirannya di Kelantan”,³ etc. Hassan Madmarn for instance offered an explicit account on the legacy of Malay-Jawi texts in the tradition of Malay-Jawi literature when he unveiled books that were used as manuals at the pondok in Patani in the 20th century as well as given summaries of the major works of Shaykh Dāwūd Ibn ‘Abdullāh al-Faṭānī, Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn bin Mustafā al-Faṭānī Shaykh Zayn al-Ābidīn al-Faṭānī and Muḥammad bin ‘Ismā‘il Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. Apart from that, he consistently exposed the significant role of Patani scholars in producing works as well as dedicating efforts for teaching and da‘wah for the local community⁴. Donwana however, has done considerable research on the role of Patani scholars in the field of Islamic da‘wah through creative writings. According to him Shaykh Dāwūd bin ‘Abdullāh al-Faṭānī, Shaykh Muḥammad bin Ismā‘il al-Faṭānī and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Faṭānī had played such a significant role in spreading Islamic knowledge in this region. They had successfully composed, translated and commented original works of Arabic into Malay language. Their works and the works of other Patani scholars have served the need of teachers and students of religious knowledge to the main source of knowledge which ultimately contributed to the development of the Islamic civilization in this part of the world⁵. Meanwhile, there are other researches being done on specific Patani scholars for instance the great and prolific author Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani as. Probably the first attempt to introduce Shaykh Dawud was Abdullāh al-Qari Ḥājī Salleh⁶ in his article entitled “Pujangga Syeikh Dāwūd Faṭānī”, followed by P.Voorhoeve who had written “Dāwūd al-Faṭānī”,⁷ in *The Encyclopedia of Islām* in which he elaborated on the influence of the latter amongst the Malay writers and the importance of his writings to the Malay region.⁸ Research on other Patani scholars such as Shaykh Zayn al-Abidin al-Fatani, Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani and others are also being carried out by number of researchers.⁹

By that virtue, this paper is an attempt to expose and examine the Malay-Jawi texts especially the one that produced by the Patani scholars that have long germinated the spirit and soul of knowledge among the people of this part of the world for few centuries. Besides that, it will answer the polemic whether the Malay-Jawi texts are merely dormant and did not, in anyway, contribute to the growth of knowledge, learning and culture of Islām and Malay scholarship in particular.

³ Ab.Aziz bin Ḥājī Ismail (1994), “Sheikh Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847M): Pengaruh Pemikirannya di Kelantan”, (M.A Thesis, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi).

⁴ See details in *The Pondok* especially on chapter two and chapter three.

⁵ See Donwana, *Peranan Ulama Fatani*, p. 222.

⁶ It was published in *Majalah Dian* (1967), vol. 10, pp 131-138, Hereinafter cited as *Pujangga*.

⁷ See *EI2*, II, (1983), p.183.

⁸ Similarly the research done by Ismail Che Daud which entitled *Syaikh Daud al-Fatani (1769-1847)*, Mohd. Mokhtar Shafī‘ī’s *Sheikh Daud al-Fatani; His Life History and Works* and Mohd Zain bin Abd.Rahman, *An Annotated Translation and Transliteration of al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī Bayān Ramz Ahl al-Sufī of Shaykh Shaykh Dāwūd*, Wan Mohd Saghir Wan ‘Abdullāh (d.2005) *Dakwah Islamiah Ulama-Ulama Besar Fatani*, in *Pengasuh, Sheikh Daud bin ‘Abdullāh al-Fatani: Ulama dan Pengarang Terulung Asia Tenggara*⁸, *Sejarah Ringkas Syeikh Daud bin ‘Abdullāh Fatani dan Karya-Karyanya*,⁸ *Tokoh dan Karya Ulama-Ulama Patani*, Azyumardi Azra in *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII* in which he tried to build some connections between Shaykh Dāwūd with his contemporaries and at the same time verified some of the verifications of some of the narratives about Shaykh Dāwūd

⁹ For instance, See Faizuri Abd Latif (2009) “Pemikiran Tuan Minal dalam Akidah ketuhanan : Kajian terhadap kitab 'Aqidah al-Najin”, (Ph.D Thesis. Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Islamic Studies).

A BRIEF OVERVIEW ON THE CLASSICAL MALAY-JAWI TEXT: THE ROLE OF PATANI SCHOLARS

The early Muslim propagators (*dā'ī*, pl. *du'ā*) who first disseminated their teachings via writings in the Malay world which depended on written works which were originally written in Arabic and later had them translated into the native language for the local people to understand the teachings. Malay-Jawi text is of two parts; the first one refers to any piece of writings which are translated from Arabic into Malay by the medium of Jawi script. Second; any piece of writing in Malay language pertaining to Islām that is written in Jawi script¹⁰. It then further divided into prose (*karangan nasyar*) and poem (*puisi/karangan bersajak*) which include *sha'ir*, *nazam*, *pantun* etc.¹¹ As far as the research is concerned, the number of prose works in *kitāb* literature supersedes the number of poetic literary works.

The writings of Patani scholars which started long time ago could be divided into three important main fields; Creed (*tawhid* or *Usul al-Din*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh* or *Shari'ah*) and mysticism (*tasawwuf*). They have become the prime subject of study since the spreading of Islam in this region at the very beginning and continually being studied until today. As for other disciplines like commentary of al-Qur'an (*tafsir al-Qur'an*), Hadith literature, *tajwid al-Qur'an*, Islamic history and etc. they are not so extensively being studied and their numbers in Malay-Jawi corpus are rather very small.

Among the important works that still popular and continually used as text books are; Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad bin Ismail al-Fatani, *Kifayat al-Muhtadi pada Menerangkan Sullam al-Mubtadi*,¹² 'Abdullah bin al-Haj Ibrahim al-Fatani al- Jabi, *Umdat al-Talib al-Mujtahidu fi sharh Faridat al-Fara'id fi darajatin Ibtida'* *Ilm al-'Aqa'id targhiban fi fawz al-fara'id al-fawa'id*, edited by al-Haj Ahmad bin al-Haj 'Abdul Wahhab al-Fusani Perigi bi al-Salam, Zayn al-'Abidin Ibn Muhammad al- Fatani, *Kashf al-Ghaybiyyah*. 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abd 'al-Rahim al-Fatani, *Muhimmah pada 'ilmu Hadith Nabi Sallallahu 'alaihiwasallam*. Ahmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustafa bin Muhammad *'Unwan al-Falah wa 'anfuwan al-Salah*, Shaykh Dawud bin 'Abdullah al-Fatani, *Kitab Ward al- Zawāhir Lihill Alfaz 'Iqd al-Jawahir, Al-Durr al-Thamin, Al-Jawahir al-Saniyyah fi sharh al-'Aqa'id al-diniyyah wa ahkam al-Fiqhi al-mar diyyah wa tariq al-suluk al-Muhammadiyah, Ghayat al-Taqrīb fi al-Arith wa al-Ta'sib*, *Kifayat al-Muhtaj*, Zayn al-'Abidin Ibn Muhammad al-Fatani, *Miftah al-Murid Fi 'Ilm al-Tawhid*, *'Aqidat al-Najin fi Usul al-Din*, *Irshad al-'Ibad Ila Sabil al-Rashad* etc.

The Typology of Malay-Jawi Works Written By Patani Scholars

The basic nature of Malay-Jawi works that needs to be highlighted here is on the typology of the writing ventured by Patani scholars. Patani scholars like other Malay scholars as well have arranged in

¹⁰ Ibrahim Abu Bakar, *Faridat al-Fara'id*, p. ix.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Muhammad Nur bin Muhammad bin Ismail al-Fatani, *Kifayat al-Muhtadi pada Menerangkan Sullam al-Mubtadi* (n.p: Dar al-Fikr),151A.H

such a way for the sake of hindering wrong preference of *kitāb* accordingly. The classification is as follow;

a. Classification by Size

The first empirical aspect that it make easy for someone to identify the nature of a particular work is by looking at its size. Generally, majority of the Malay-Jawi texts is either in small or medium size and not many works are in large size. The reason being that the font used is rather small and that probably the standard size of font used by most of the printing companies¹³ in the 19th and 20th century¹⁴ which could obviously be seen through the complete product in the market. One should bear in mind that besides the standard size of font used as we mentioned above, the size also depends on the original manuscript by which the authors and publishers could agree with on which size they wanted to produce the works. Different sizes indicate different degree and category as well. Even though in general sense the size does not determine the quality and position of a thing, yet as far as the case of Malay-Jawi literature is concerned, we found that the size does matter. That is why we hardly find the grandeur work produced in Malay-Jawi as to compare voluminous works composed in Arabic which not only determine the author but more importantly the prospect reader to whom the work is addressed to, need to be considered as well. The probable assumption could be if they produce large works during which the culture of knowledge are infant and immature that would defeat the purpose, after all for those who have mastered certain degrees in knowledge could outrightly jumped to the original Arabic sources.

Generally we may classify the size into three parts; first, the big size of Malay-Jawi texts which could be put on the same level as *al-mabsūt*; second the intermediate size which we refer as *al-mutawassit*; and third is the tiny size which we named it as *al-mukhtasar*. Since no specific standard of features are established such number of pages, words, line per page etc featuring of *mabsūt* or *mutawassit* or *mukhtasar* then it may put up a simple standard by counting those aspects as the basic measurement. For the Malay-Jawi literature, which most of works are rather in small scale compared to voluminous of the Arabic, thus the number of pages that we suggested will be as follows; the *mabsūt* must at least achieve 300 pages of normal printed work but no maximum number of pages of thickness, while *mutawassit* must at least be 100 pages but the maximum is 299 pages, and the *mukhtasar* has a maximum of 99 pages and, a minimum of one page.

¹³ Among the famous printing companies which responsible for printing the Malay-Jawi works are; 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi in Cairo, al-Miriyyah al-Ka'inah in Makkah, Matba'ah al-Taraqqi al-Majidiyyah in Makkah, Sulayman Mar'i Press in Singapore, Maktabah wa Matba'ah Muhammad Nahdi wa Awladuhu in Bangkok, Muslim Press in Patani, Majlis Agama Islam Patani in Patani, Sahabat Press in Yala, Idaman Darul Ulum in Yala, Percetakan al-Ahmadiyah in Kota Bharu, Maktabah wa Matba'ah Dar al-Mu'arif in Penang, The United Press in Penang and Percetakan al-Mu'arif in Penang.

¹⁴ Malay-Jawi together with Arabic and Turkish works was considered as important part of Islamic literature and they equally treated fairly for printing in Makkah and Cairo, Egypt. See Madmarn, *Pondok*, pp.124.

i. Al-Mabsūṭ

Only few Malay-Jawi works could be set under this category. *Mabsūṭ* means extended, outstretched, sizeable, elaborate book.¹⁵ The very gist of *mabsūṭ* is elaboration which somehow closely connected with the notion of commentary itself. So to speak that *mabsūṭ* type of works is a large and extent elaboration of ideas that an author wanted to convey. With regard to Malay-Jawi texts specifically in ‘aqīdah as the research is based on, there is no writing which suits to place under this category except the *Ward al-Zawāhir* since it is the largest ‘aqīdah work in Malay-Jawi texts. It consists of 430 pages excluding the *Aqd al-Jawāhir* and the outline of pages (*fahrasat*) which in case combining together will amount to 439 pages altogether. In terms of words account the average of 13 words per line and each page comprises 33 lines which total up to 188,331 words altogether. To compare with other commentary on *Jawharat* in Malay-Jawi no one is equal or as big as *Ward al-Zawahir*. Furthermore, if we compare it with Arabic works such as *Hāshiyah Muḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Amir ‘alā sharḥ ‘Abd al-Salām bin Ibrāhīm al-Mālīki* which only consists of 168 pages. The break up will be the average of 22 words per line and there are 36 lines per page. If total up it becomes 792 words per page and 133,056 words in sum out of 168 pages altogether. Still, *Ward* exceeds than the *Hāshiyah Muḥammad* about 55, 275 words. There probably one particular answer for why not many Malay-Jawi literatures have achieved the level of *mabsūṭ* is because in the traditional educational system the Malay-Jawi works operated as the intermediary into the higher level of sources which were written in Arabic. Due to that fact, that’s why perhaps the reason being that the *Ward* was not popular and it was not taught in pondok or pesantren. Normally, for the high level of sources, Tuan guru would go directly to Arabic *kitāb* and they no longer read the Malay-Jawi work.

ii Al-Mutawassīṭ

The needs for the reliable sources in Malay-Jawi literature seem extremely required by the students during the golden era. Malay-Jawi texts which is regarded as the transitory between the so called dependence on the Arabic sources shifted gradually preparing for the beginners and intermediaries in local language i.e Malay, which filled up the gap required in order to perpetuate the studies up to the highest possible level in all fields. Thus, the size which received good attention in Malay-Jawi is the medium size or referred to as *al-mutawassīṭ*. We shall unveil few examples of this type of work in the field of ‘aqīdah in order to show the peculiarities of this category. The first example of Malay-Jawi commentary on ‘aqīdah is *al-Durr al-Thamin* by Shaykh Dāwūd bin ‘Abdullāh al-Faṭānī. The latest printed edition was done by Percetakan al-Mu‘arif Sdn. Bhd. Pulau Pinang. In general it has 35 lines per page with the average of 14 words per line. The total number of words per page is 490 and it turned to 50,470 when it is multiplied by 103 pages which is the total number of the page.

The second ‘aqīdah work which also falls under this category is *‘Aqīdat al-Nājīn fī ‘Ilm Uṣūl al-Dīn* by Shaykh Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Faṭānī. There are two versifications which we found available in the market. The first one is printed by Percetakan al-Mu‘arif Sendirian Berhad but with no date of publication stated. The second one is printed by Maktabah wa Maṭba‘ah Muḥammad Nahdī wa

¹⁵ See Heer, *Concise Handlist*, pp. 57-58.

Awlādahu. Both copies have exactly the same type setting. From the very front page until the end nothing is not identical including the number of page which is 140 altogether. Each page comprises 35 lines which come to average of 18 words per line. Thus, sub total of 630 words per page when times it to 139 pages yields to 87,570 words for the whole lot. The front page is excluded because it only contains the information about the *kitāb* including the title, author and the printing house. Other than the above two works, *Farīdat al-Farā'id* of Shaykh Ahmad al-Faṭānī also is one of them.

iii. Al-Mukhtaṣar

The very term *mukhtaṣar* means shortened, condensed and abridged¹⁶. Throughout the survey we made particularly in 'aqīdah, we found most of Malay-Jawi texts is under this category. One of the most popular works entitled *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* by Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidīn Ibn Muḥammad al-Faṭānī. The seven page work consists of the average 36 lines per page which has 14 words per line. When it total up it comes to 504 words per page and it turn to 3,528 words for the whole lot. As for the attached works by Shaykh 'Umar bin Zayn al-'Abidin al-Faṭānī on a treatise of reason being a polytheist (*Risālah pada asbab jadi murtad*)

b. Classification By Degree

With regard to the Malay-Jawi works which is classified based on the degree, can be divided into three; first is the high degree or we refer it *al-'ālī*; second is the intermediate degree or *al-mutawassiṭ* and the third is the basic degree or *al-mubtadi'*.

i. Al-'Ālī

In many fields of knowledge it is hard to find the high degree of work in Malay-Jawi literature since the very tradition that has been practiced for such a long time where the highest sources are in Arabic language. The high regard upon the writings must have to do with the origin of the teaching of Islām itself which began in the Arab world, disseminated and spread out mostly by the Arabs or non Arabs who are fluent in Arabic either by words or writings. Due to that fact most of the high degree of works were written in Arabic and widely spread all over. As for the highest degree of Malay-Jawi texts they are not necessarily in the category of *mabsūṭ* but rather depending on the content of which suit the appropriate students who achieved certain level of understanding. Among the works that belong to this degree are; *Durr al-Thamin* of Shaykh Dāwūd, *Farīdat al-Farā'id* of Shaykh Aḥmad and '*Aqīdat al-Nājīn* of Zayn al-'Ābidīn. etc.. Meanwhile, there are works that still exist but hardly notice whether they are still being studied or not such as the very own Shaykh Dāwūd's *Ward*.¹⁷ The reason why there is no work available in the market could be many but one for sure is due to shortage of demand

¹⁶ More detailed account on the meaning of the term *mukhtasar* and *ikhtisar* please refer to 2.1.3.

¹⁷ The researcher had made several conversations with few religious teachers who graduated from pondok system and now run the pondok by themselves on the issue of *Ward* that no longer or never being used as a text book in formal and non-formal Islamic institutions and they held that because it is regarded as the "large book" (*kitab besar*), therefore, after finishing the highest level of Malay-Jawi texts, then they straight away shifted to the Arabic sources. Among the conversations recorded are with Baba Ibrahim from Patani was held in July 21, 2010, and the conversation with Tuan Haji 'Ali Lubuk Tapah, Pasir Mas was held in June 18, 2009.

for the work. And, based on the verbal questionnaires to some teachers and scholars in religious education be it traditional and modern the work is no longer being taught in their institutions.

ii. *Al-Mutawassif*

As we mentioned earlier that Malay-Jawi texts works were written mainly to cater for those who are not well verse in Arabic. Hence, the medium level is a dominant position since when they finished the basic level of works they will continue to the medium level but many of which will go into the Arabic sources for the highest level. Among the works under this category are; *Taqrib al-Ikhwān fī Ta'allum 'Aqā'id al-Īmān* by 'Abd al-Qādir bin Wangah¹⁸ etc..

iii. *Al-Mubtadī'*

In some traditional Malay Institutions many Arabic texts have been used as primary texts in order to strengthen students' foundation in Islamic studies. For instance, texts in Arabic syntax like *Matn al-Jurumiyah*, *Matn Alfīyah* etc. are memorized by students. Likewise, other texts in other field of knowledge also received the same treatment. By doing so, the students at the very beginning will be exposed and familiarized with different type of texts by which will help them immensely in understanding the notion of what lies beneath the *kitāb* that they are going to read in verbatim. Though their time is so occupied in memorizing certain Arabic texts, the attention upon the Malay-Jawi works is still strong. An example for the text on creed is "*Umdat al-Ṭālib al-Mujtahid fī Sharḥ Farīdat al-Farā'id*"¹⁹ by al-Ḥajj 'Abdullāh bin al-Ḥaj Ibrāhīm al-Faṭānī al-Jābī as he held in the introduction of his *kitāb*;

[...] and has enlightened the chest (heart) of the beginners [from] the darkness of the words [and] dictions by the light of lamp of commentary for the seekers of knowledge.²⁰

Other texts in this category are *Miftāḥ al-Murīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* by Zayn al-'Ābidin al-Faṭānī²¹, *Bidayat al-Mubtadi wa 'Umdat al-Awlad* by anonymous author²² and so on.

c. Some Peculiar Features Of The Classical Malay-Jawi Text

In all types of works that have been produced by Patani scholars cum writers, there are some features that differentiate between the Malay sharḥ works with the Arabic works. We rather compare with the Arabic works since the Malay sharḥ basically an offshoot of the former yet, only certain aspects would have to be mentioned for the sake of distinguishing of the two.

¹⁸ 'Abd al-Qadir bin Wangah (1402/1981) *Taqrib al-Ikhwan fī Ta'allum 'Aqa'id al-Iman*. Patani: Percetakan Muslim Press.

¹⁹ Al-Hajj 'Abdullah bin al-Hajj Ibrahim al-Fatani al-Jabi (completed in 1380), *Umdat al-Talib al-Mujtahid fī sharḥ Farīdat al-Farā'id*. Bangkok: Maktabat wa Matba'ah Muhammad al-Nahdi wa Awladahu, 3rd print. P. 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2

²¹ Zayn al-'Abidin al-Fatani (n.d), *Miftah al-Murid fī 'Ilm al-Tawhid*. Bangkok: Maktabah wa Matba'ah Muhammad Nahdi wa Awladahu.

²² Anonymous (n.d), *Bidayat al-Mubtadi wa 'Umdat al-Awlad*. Pulau Pinang: Percetakan al-Mu'arif Sendirian Berhad.

i. On the Authorship

Most of the Malay sharḥ works clearly mentioned the author of the writing, but there are some authors who were reluctant to unveil who they were as they were scared that by so doing they could fall into boasting (*riyā'*). In the history of Malay-Jawi texts there is a number of works that belong to this type of authorship. Among those works which were composed by anonymous authors such as the famous work which was unveiled by Professor Syed Muhamamd Naquib al-Attas, i.e. the interlinear Malay translation of '*Aqā'id al-Nasafiyah* which was completed in 1590 A.H. Probably based on this work – being the earliest to be found -became one of the reasons –apart of the three he discussed; *Sejarah Melayu* of Tun Seri Lanang, *Hikayat Aceh of Shamsuddin Pasai* and *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*'s al-Rānirī²³ - led Teuku Iskandar to derive a conclusion that it is a characteristic literary tradition not to mention one's own name in one's work prior to the 17th century²⁴ Teuku also added that the names of the authors only began to appear in Malay writings in the more scholarly works done in Aceh during the 17th century. However, he did not give any specific reason why the tradition was practiced. Other important works that were written by anonymous authors are; *Inilah kitāb sharaḥ bagi Matan Jawharat bagi al-Imām al-Shaykh Ibrāhim al-Laqaṇī*,²⁵ *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Taḥqīq, kitāb Maw'izat li annās pada menyatakan kayfiyyat sembahyang dan segala rukunnya*²⁶ and etc..

ii. On the choice of title

The first distinguish feature of Jawi-text is on the choice of title. Eventually, the title of most of the Jawi-texts are in Arabic such as '*Aqīdat al-Nājīn* by Zayn al-'Abidin al-Faṭānī, '*Unwān al-Falaḥ wa 'anfuwān al-Ṣolaḥ* of al-Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muhammad Zayn bin Mustaffa al-Fatani, *Mabhath al-Kalām fī 'Ilm al-Kalām* of 'Abd al-Qadir Wangah Kampung Sekam, and so on. It is quite rare to find the Malay terms being used for the titles and if they do, there are certain specific Malay words explicitly mentioned which are usually mixed with the Arabic words such as *Risālah Jalan Ma'rifat Allāh*, *Risālah Jawab Persoalan*, *Risālah Kelebihan Ḥamdalah* and so on. Of the three examples only one Malay word is used for each title. As for the first title is the word 'jalan' which means way or road, while *risālah* and *ma'rifat Allāh* are Arabic words. Likewise, in the second and third title respectively the words "jawab persoalan and kelebihan" are the Malay words but *ḥamdalah* and *risālah* are Arabic words.

Amongst the popular Arabic terms that have been used by Malay scholars for the title in their works are; *al-bahjat*, *al-jawāhir*, *bishārat*, *bayān* or *fī bayān*, *durr* or *durar* or *al-durr* or *al-durrat*, *bughyat*, *idāh*, *farā'id* or *faridat*, *fath*, *ghayat*, *ḥidāyat*, *kanz* or *al-kanz*, *kifāyat*, *al-jawāhir*, *minhāj*, *minyat*, *risālah*, *tuhfat*, *nubdhat*, *al-tanbih*, *sharḥ*, '*alā sharḥ*, *fī sharḥ*, *sullam*, *laṭā'if*, *al-lum'at*, *luqṭat*, *madārij*, *majmū'*, *manhaj*, *manzūmāt*, *masā'il* or *mas'alat*, *maslak*, *maṭla'* or *maṭāli'*, *al-mawāhib*, *maw'izat* or *al-mawā'iz*, *mawrid*, *miftāḥ*, *minḥāt*, *mir'āt*, *lubab* and *al-Maram*. The selection

²³ These works' authors though their names were explicitly mentioned but some researchers did not convinced that they were the genuine authors.

²⁴ Teuku Iskandar, "Three Historical Writings in the First Half of the 17th Century", in *JMBRAS*, vol. 40, Part 2, 1967.

²⁵ See anonymous (n.d), *Inilah kitab sharaḥ bagi Matan Jawharat bagi al-Imam al-Shaykh Ibrahim al-Laqaṇi*. Pulau Pinang: Maktabat wa Matba'ah Dar al-Ma'arif.

²⁶ See Muhammad Tayyib Ibn Mas'ud al-Banjari (n.d), *Miftah al-Jannah*. Bangkok: Maktabat wa Matba'ah Muhammad al-Nahdi wa Awladahu.

of a specific Arabic term for the title of each Malay work is based on the author's specific purpose, likewise why Arabic terms are more preferred than the Malay terms.

Arabic Work As A Source Of Malay-Jawi Texts

The majority of Muslims in the Malay Archipelago are the follower of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* long time ago since Islām firstly reached this part of the world. In view to that fact it is not a probable assumption that in every field of study especially in the field of 'aqīdah, fiqh and taṣawwuf which we have mentioned in the foregoing note has its own list of Arabic works which are regarded as the sources for the Malay-Jawi works. There are several ways to trace the original works of Arabic by looking at the Malay-Jawi works in which the authors usually mentioned the sources or references of earlier works that they have referred to, or by looking at the biography of the Malay scholars with whom they have studied with and which lineage of study network they have undergone etc. It is important to note here that the purpose to get acquainted with the sources or references is to investigate the connection of Malay-Jawi texts tradition with the mother of the tradition itself which have begun in the Arab world.

The first field in which the Arabic sharḥ works became the main sources for Jawi classical text could be traced in fiqh. No doubt, there have been hundreds of Arabic works in this field since the 17th century. Many Arabic sources which are familiar to the Patani scholars authors Shaykh Dāwūd in his *Kifāyat al-Muhtadī*, *Iḍāh al-Bāb* etc.. Among those works and authors are *Sharḥ al-Minhāj* of Imām Taqiy al-Dīn al-Subkī (d.756/1355)²⁷, *Fath al-Wahhāb* of Shaykh al-Islām Abū Yaḥyā Zakariya al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī (d.926/1520),²⁸ *Mughnī al-Muhtāj* of Imām al-Khāṭib al-Sharbīnī (d.977/1569), *Nihāyat al-Muhtāj* of al-Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Hamzah al-Ramlī (d.1004/1595), *Tuḥfat al-Muhtāj* of Imām Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī al-Makkī (d.974/1566) *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn* of al-Imām Muḥy al-Dīn Abī Zakariya Yaḥyā bin Sharf al-Nawawī (d.676/1277), *al-Majmu' Sharḥ al-Muhazzab* also by al-Imām al-Nawawī etc..

With regard to the field of Uṣūl al Dīn, prominent authors like Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-Faṭānī, Abd al-Qadir al-Fatani, have composed their works based on some authoritative main Arabic sources such as *'Aqā'id al-Nasafī* of 'Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d.537/1142), *Sharḥ al-Taftazānī 'alā al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafīyah* of Imām al-Taftazānī (d.792),²⁹ *Umm al-Barāhin* of Yusuf al-Sanūsī, *Hāshiyah al-Dusūqī 'alā Umm al-Barāhin* by Imām al-Dusūqī (d.1823), *al-Sharqawī 'alā al-Hudhudī* of Imām Hijāzī al-Sharqawī (d.1815) *Tuḥfat al-Murīd 'alā Jawharat, Hāshiyah al-Bayjūrī 'alā Sharḥ Matn Umm al-Barāhin* of Imām Ibrāhīm al-Bayjūrī (d.1871) *Kifāyat al-'Awām* of Imām al-Fuḍālī (d.) *'Aqīdat al-Ṭahāwīyah* of Imām al-Ṭahāwī (d.942) etc..

²⁷ The full title is *al-Ibhaj fi Sharh al-Minhaj*, in which Imam al-Subki clarified the principles of jurisprudence written by Imam al-Baydawi (d.685).

²⁸ The full title is *Fath al-Wahhab bi Sharh Manhaj al-Tullab*.

²⁹ According to 'allamah Isma'il Basha Baghdadi (d.1339) that the full name of Taftazani is Imam Sa'd al-Din Mas'ud bin 'Umar bin 'Abdullah al-Harawi al-Khurasani, the Hanafi scholar, jurist and a writer better known as Taftazani. See Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani (1972), *Al-Durar al-Kaminah fi A'yan al-Mi'at al-Thaminah*. Al-Hindi: Saydur Abad, (6 Volumes), vol. 2, pp. 639, 430 and 431 respectively.

Similarly with regard to the field of taṣawwuf, Shaykh Dāwūd al-Faṭānī, Shaykh Zayn al-‘Abidin al-Fatani, Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani etc., have referred their works to the authoritative Arabic works in taṣawwuf. Among the main references in Arabic are *Ihyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*, *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* and other works of Ḥujjat al-Islām Imām al-Ghazzālī (d.1111), *Al-Ḥikam* of Abū al-Faḍl ibn ‘Aṭā’illāh al-Iskandari (d.1079), *Ḥikam* of Shu‘ayb Abū Madyan al-Ghawth (d.1197), *Futuḥ al-Ghayb* and *Al-Fath al-Rabbānī* of ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī (d.1166).

In short, it can be concluded that the main texts composed by the leading scholars in respective fields together with commentaries were either done by themselves or later scholars have benefitted all savants of knowledge especially the authors of the significant works for the sake of giving explanation to the people at large. Thus, there are many other important works which have been referred and studied by the local scholars as their sources in their endeavor to further enhance the teachings so that many more people will benefit from them.

Arabic Works Written By Patani Scholars

It is important to note here that based on what we have discovered thus far there are two main kinds of works in general; first, works which were produced in Arabic, and second, works that were written in other languages including Malay-Jawi texts. In other words, we may see a lot of similarities between those works which were written in the original language with the works that have been translated into another language like in the case of *Ward al Zawāhir* which happens to be an adaptation of commentary of *Jawharat* which is equally applied almost the same methodology in *Tuḥfat al-Murīd li Jawharat* by Ibrāhīm al-Bājuri.

Most of the works written by patani scholars are in Malay, but there are some works which were written in Arabic. Most of them had written their works while staying in Makkah, hence no wonder their writings which were printed in the holy land were well received not only amongst the Malays but also other races as well based on the number of printing works recorded. One of the important Patani scholars of the 19th century was Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn al-Faṭānī who had written several works in Arabic in which out of 38 works attributed to him four are in Arabic, they are *Jumānat al-Tawḥīd*, *Nazm Nūr al-Anām*, *al-Thimār al-Shahiyah fī mā lā yastaghni al-Mubtadi ‘un ‘anhu min al-masā’il al-Naḥwiyah* and *Ṭibb al-Iḥsān fī Ṭibb al-Insān*.³⁰

THE RELEVANCE OF THE CLASSICAL MALAY-JAWI TEXT TO THE CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Based on what have been achieved in foregoing discussions, the Malay-Jawi text is still relevance and shall never die out because there are many religious institutions used them as manuals for their classes. Furthermore, The Jawi texts are important because they explained on the things which are necessary for people to discern. Since Islām is the religion of truth and brings peace to the whole created things, thus, whatever teachings in Islām should be made known to other fellow Muslims. That entails the process of which necessitates the conveyance of the truth that we called it as commentary or sharḥ. So sharḥ is always needed regardless of time and space because the truth could never be concealed. In

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Wawasan, I, p.47, V, pp. 94, 155; Heer, *Concise Handlist.*, p.22

general, the task undertaken by the Patani scholars who composed sharḥ in Malay-Jawi literature were to elucidate the content of the bigger works which mainly written in Arabic and they tried to simplify them in their writings.

Hence, hundreds of works have widely spread in Malay world and they were taught day and night in traditional Islamic schools, mosques, surau even at homes. Those works were the writings of dedicated scholars like the 19th century's Shaykh Dāwūd ibn 'Abdullāh al-Faṭānī (d.1265/1847),³¹ Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī (d.1280/1863),³² (d.1290/1873)³³, and Shaykh 'Abd Qādir b.'Abd.Raḥmān al-Faṭānī (d.1315/1898).³⁴ The endeavor then being continued by the 20th century scholars such as Shaykh Aḥmad bin Muḥammad Zayn Al-Faṭānī (d.1324/1906), Ḥājī Wan Muḥammad Idris b.Ḥājī Wan Ismail or Tok Sheikh Jarum (d.1329/1911),³⁵ Shaykh Wan Isma'il bin 'Abd al-Qadīr bin Muṣṭaffā al-Faṭānī or Pakda El al-Faṭānī (d.after 1331/1912),³⁶ Shaykh Nik Mat Kecik Patani (d.1333/1915),³⁷ Qaḍī Ḥājī Wan Isma'il al-Jambui bin Shaykh Wan Aḥmad al-Faṭānī (d./1958),³⁸ Shaykh 'Abdullāh bin Mohd Kassim or Tok Senggora (d.1349/1930),³⁹ Shaykh Wan Daud bin Wan Ismail al-Faṭānī or Wan Daud Khatib (d.1355/1936),⁴⁰ These are amongst the cream of the Patani scholars whose struggle to spread the teaching of *Ahl al-Sunnat wa al-Jamā'ah* in this region via the writings of which some are still being benefitted by the contemporary generation while some others lost and unavailable anymore. Thus, their works undoubtedly have contributed significantly towards the Islamic educational process in Malaysia.

Apart from what we have exposed as above, the writings of Patani scholars have further generated works in more comprehensive spheres of knowledge. Many new ideas and thoughts came into being and creativity pushed forward. It is incomprehensible to accept the idea that if more ideas to share is less knowledge we could get, instead we see it like opening new chapter on the book that exerts the growth of knowledge. Apart from that, the works have managed to balance up the influence of secularization process which has been going on in the Malay Archipelago due to colonialization from the 19th century onwards.

The Role Of Printing

The existence of works done Patani scholars unequivocally has added the number of works in Malay language after the coming of Islam in this region. Since there is no record found explicitly hitherto how was the process of dissemination of Jawi-texts or any written works in Jawi script took place. The most probable assumption that yield from the premise signify the endeavor to copy the works based on the authentic works affirmed by the authoritative teachers or shaykhs in all field of knowledge prior to

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 67.

³² Wan Mohd Shaghir Abdullah (2009), *Koleksi Ulama Nusantara*. Kuala Lumpur: Khazanah Fathaniyah, vol. 2, p. 107. Thereafter cited as *Ulama Nusantara*,

³³ Ismail, *Ulama Melayu*, pp. 67

³⁴ Wan Mohd, *Pengarang Terulung*, p. 42.

³⁵ Ismail, *Ulama Melayu*, p.165.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 189.

³⁸ Wan Mohd, *Ulama Nusantara*, vol. 1, p. 126.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 241.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 371

the introduction of printing machines in this region around the early of the 19th century. Undoubtedly, the innovation of printing machine has greatly contributed to the development of knowledge for the whole world, *vis a vis* the Malay region.

Prior to the usage of printing machine in this region, most probably the pilgrims who returned from hajj had brought along with them various Jawi works written by the Malay acholars whose works had been printed and published in Makkah, Egypt, Turkey and East Indies⁴¹. The Jawi texts was among the favourite works of Muslim scholars started to be printed after the Arabic printing started to be used in Egypt -started with Bulaq in 1822 and followed by Mustaffa al-Bab al-Halabi and Sons and Dar al-Ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabiah. Even though the first Arabic printing was introduced in Istanbul in 1729 but there was no record shown the Jawi works by Patani scholar ever printed thereafter. The earliest that we found was published in Turkey was *Minhaj al-'Abidin* of Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani by Maktabah al-Haj Muharram Affandi in 1305/1887.⁴²

As for al-Makkat al-Mukarramah, few important publishing companies namely Matba'ah al-Miriyyah al-Ka'inah, Matba'ah al-Taraqqi al-Majidiyyah, Maktabat al-Karamiyyah and Maktabah Fataniah have responsible for the printing works of Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani's *Minyat al-Musalli* (1310/1892), *Kanz al-Minan* (1328/1910) *Diya' al-Murid* (1329/1911), *Fath al-Mannan* (1330/1911), *Kifayat al-Muhtaj* (1330/1911), *Ghayat al-Taqrif* (1330/1911), *Ward al-Zawahir* (1332/1913) etc. In sum, the printed Malay-Jawi texts that available in this region before the end of the 19th century were imported from other Muslim countries as mentioned above.

CONCLUSION

The process of Islamization in this part of the world is a very long process that includes the perpetual efforts of the Patani scholars in producing works in Malay-Jawi that amounted to hundreds or more perhaps. It is not an exaggeration to record that the rises of Patani scholars like Shaykh Dawud al-Fatani, Shaykh 'Abdul Qadir al-Fatani, Shaykh Ahmad al-Fatani, Shaykh Zayn al-'Abidin al-Fatani, have contributed immensely towards the Islamic educational process in Malaysia. Undoubtedly, the works of Patani scholars be it in any field of knowledge are relevant and very much useful to the contemporary generation.

⁴¹ *The Malays*, pp.25-28.

⁴² *Tokoh Ulama*, p.62

ONTO-THEOLOGICAL DEBATES ON VALUE EDUCATION: SOCRATES AND AL-GHAZALI'S PERSPECTIVES

By

Abdurachman Assegaf*

ABSTRACT

Education is intrinsically and by definition value-oriented, and value education could be scrutinized through deep understanding of religious dimension as well as philosophical point of view. Ontological or philosophical debates on value education have been initiated since classical Greece through Socrates' theory of value which introduced many things about virtues (arête), knowledge and dialectical method or inquiry for critical thinking. In this regards, Socrates elaborated pillars of virtues which consist of piety (holiness), courage, temperance (sophrosune), and justice. Reason, mind and idea are basic elements to acquire the ultimate knowledge and truth through wisdom, since knowledge itself is wisdom and intelligence (shopia, phronesis). Socratic method of education, which known as method of elenchus or Socratic debate, means as a form of inquiry and debate between individuals with opposing viewpoints based on asking and answering questions to stimulate critical thinking and to illuminate ideas. Ontological approach set up by Socrates has induced Islamic world as well as Western civilization for such a long period, and influenced Muslim scholars such as al-Farabi and ibn Sina. In Islamic treatise, al-Ghazali is among the utmost vocal scholars who introduced theological approach, different from Socrates, he criticized ontological arguments which he assumed unable to prove the existence and the role of God (Allah) to perform. Al-Ghazali ranked reason below the rational discernment or tamyiz which consist of intellect, intuition, and soul as spiritual substance (jauhar ruhaniy). Al-Ghazali preferred to avoid such debate-dialectic method of education and used exemplary profile of teacher as a way of transmitting knowledge. On one hand, Socrates stressed on ontological perspective to elaborate value and virtue, whereas al-Ghazali criticized it and used theological approach to comprehend the above mentioned issues. This paper tries to analyze further on Socrates and al-Ghazali point of views towards value, virtue, knowledge, and education.

Keywords: Socrates, al-Ghazali, Value Education, Ontology, Theology

INTRODUCTION

Value may not be seen just as a symbol of morality, ethics, or *akhlak*, but also as a dynamic system that should be performed in daily activities, especially in education, so as to strengthen good attitude, behavior and personality of the students. Values can be defined as “those things that are important to

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or valued by someone”¹. Also, value as quality of a thing according to which it is thought of as being more or less desirable, useful, estimable, important, worth or the degree of worth that which is desirable or worthy of esteem for its own sake; thing or quality having intrinsic worth and social principle, goal, or standard held or accepted by an individual, class, society, etc.² The failure to internalize the values would have deep impact on character building of the students and humankind as a whole. In this regards, education have a pivotal role to deliberate and internalize positive values for humanity. Here the problems arise whenever education failed to imply the appropriate instructions to internalize value in the classroom setting or school could trigger bad morality and personality of the students.

Value education could be scrutinized through deep understanding of religious dimension as well as philosophical point of view. Religious teachings cope with many absolute values concerning about human actions and its implications towards social lives. In this point, *akhlak* (Islamic moral values) will be elaborated more closely to explain its principles on value education. *Akhlak* relates with human psychological phenomenon that could precipitate action and behavior, both good and bad manners.³ While, philosophical point of views tries to studies rationally the significant of values in society, its reasoning, concept and explanation on value education. At this point, Socrates⁴ (469-399 B.C.) occupying a place in the history of Greece, and also in the history of humankind,⁵ that is unique to exclaim the debates on values with dialectical approach and reasoning to ensure people to conduct virtues and avoid bad deeds.

Different from philosophical standpoint as had been initiated by Socrates, al-Ghazali⁶ (1058-1111 A.D.) argued the pivotal role of theological and divine guidance towards values, and at the same

¹ Sultan Muhammad, *Concept of Reality, Knowledge and Value in Islam*, in <http://www.blogger.com/profile/03032393678477163501>.

² Eow Boon Hin, *Moral Education* (Malaysia: Pearson Education, 2002), p.2.

³ Abdurachman Assegaf, *Filsafat Pendidikan Islam: Paradigma Baru Pendidikan Hadhari Berbasis Integratif-Interkonektif* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2011), p.43.

⁴ Socrates lived through the second half of the war. He is the son of a stonemason and a midwife, and devoted most of his life to philosophy or the quest for knowledge and truth. Socrates married Xanthippe, who was much younger than he. She bore for him three sons, Lamprocles, Sophroniscus and Menexenus. It is unclear how Socrates earned a living. Ancient texts seem to indicate that Socrates did not work. According to Timon of Phlius and later sources, Socrates took over the profession of stonemasonry from his father. Several of Plato's dialogues refer to Socrates' military service. Socrates says he served in the Athenian army during three campaigns: at Potidaea, Amphipolis, and Delium. In the *Symposium* Alcibiades describes Socrates' valour in the battles of Potidaea and Delium, recounting how Socrates saved his life in the former battle. In 406 he was a member of the Boule, and his tribe the Antiochis held the Prytany on the day the Generals of the Battle of Arginusae, who abandoned the slain and the survivors of foundered ships to pursue the defeated Spartan navy, were discussed. Socrates was the Epistates and resisted the unconstitutional demand for a collective trial to establish the guilt of all eight Generals, proposed by Callixeinus. Eventually, Socrates refused to be cowed by threats of impeachment and imprisonment and blocked the vote until his Prytany ended the next day, whereupon the six Generals who had returned to Athens were condemned to death. In 404 the Thirty Tyrants sought to ensure the loyalty of those opposed to them by making them complicit in their activities. Socrates and four others were ordered to bring a certain Leon of Salamis from his home for unjust execution. Socrates quietly refused, his death averted only by the overthrow of the Tyrants soon afterwards.

⁵ Laszlo Versenyi. *Socratic Humanism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), p.73.

⁶ Al-Ghazali was born in Tus, a city in Khorasan province of Persia (Iran). His father, a traditional Sufi, died when he and his younger brother, Ahmad Ghazali, were still young. One of their father's friends took care of them for the next few years. He became the student of the famous Muslim scholar Abu'l Ma'ālī Juwaynī, known as *Imam al-Haramayn*. After the death of Al-Juwayni in 1085, Al-Ghazālī was invited to go to the court

time criticizes the previous philosophers' approaches in understanding God, nature, soul, knowledge and values. Al-Ghazali introduced theological approach in comprehending values and wrote many books to defend his stances. These philosophical (or ontological) and theological debates on values significantly discussed here to attain holistic views on values and re-actualize it in modern education. The expected outcomes and contributions of this study hopefully are to analyze value theories based on philosophical and Islamic overviews.

ISLAMIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL OVERVIEWS

The investigation of value theory to understand how, why and to what degree people should value things has began since ancient philosophy, where it is called axiology or ethics. Early philosophical investigations sought to understand good and evil and the concept of "the good". Today much of value theory is scientifically empirical, recording what people do value and attempting to understand why they value it in the context of psychology, sociology, economics, and also religion. At the general level, there are several usages to do with the conduct of persons, usually leading to praise or blame, namely moral values, natural values, and religious values. Moral values commonly used to judge good or evil based on principles agreed upon psychological and sociological considerations.⁷ Noble personality (Arab: *fadhilah*) is the essence of virtue which has plenty of moral values.⁸ Values to be pursued in the moral and spiritual realm consist of many good conducts which summarized as virtues, such as sincerity, faithfulness, obedience to what one conceives to be the highest, gratitude, honesty, benevolence, generosity, cheerfulness, freedom from egoism, equanimity in joy and suffering, in honour and dishonor, success and failure, etc.⁹ A moral person is not only a person who does the right thing but also one who does the right thing for the right reason.¹⁰ Natural goods, on the other hand, have to do with objects, not persons. Ethics tend to be focused on moral goods within philosophical framework rather than natural goods, while economics tends to be interested in the opposite. While religion (Islam) consist of many Divine values as known through theological concepts.

Ahmad Amin stated that Islamic moral values (*akhlaq*) explain good and bad, and what should man or woman do towards the others with statement of purposes and the way they should do.¹¹ The basic concept of values in Islam consists of many things about human life that should strive in accordance with the Divine laws to realize Allah's attributes. Allah created life to test which of the

of Nizamul Mulk Tusi, the powerful vizier of the Seljuq sultans. The vizier was so impressed by Al-Ghazali's scholarship that in 1091 he appointed him as chief professor in the Nizamiyya of Baghdad. He used to lecture to more than 300 students, and his participations in Islamic debates and discussions made him popular all over the Islamic territories. He passed through a spiritual crisis in 1095 and abandoned his career and left Baghdad on the pretext of going on pilgrimage to Mecca. Making arrangements for his family, he disposed of his wealth and adopted the life of a poor Sufi. He ended his seclusion for a short lecturing period at the Nizamiyyah of Nishapur in 1106. Later he returned to Tus where he remained until his death in December 1111.

⁷ See Vishalance Balakrishnan, *Real-Life Dilemmas in Moral Education* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Mala Press, 2011), p.3.

⁸ Abdul Rahman Md. Aroff, *Pendidikan Moral: Teori Etika dan Amalan Moral* (Serdang: Penerbit Universiti Putra Malaysia, 1999), p.15. See also Abdurachman Assegaf, *Pendidikan Islam Madzhab Kritis: Perbandingan Teori Pendidikan Timur dan Barat* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2008), p.107.

⁹ M.S. Singh, *Value Education* (New Delhi: Adhyayan Publishers & Distributors, 2007), p.3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2.

¹¹ See Abdurachman Assegaf, *Studi Islam Kontekstual* (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2005), p.161.

people are best in point of deed. The present world is a place of sojourn and a place of departure. In fact, life on this earth is a preparation for the life hereafter. Beside, religion is considered as a basic value or fundamental right of every individual.¹² Truth or wisdom, knowledge, justice, love, beauty, and goodness, etc, are also amongst core principles of values in Islam that should be implied in social life. Wisdom as a human ideal stands for search of knowledge and truth. Islam emphasis on the significant values of love, and therefore is befitting for all mankind to be overflowing in his love for God and be thankful to Him for His loving care. Likewise, goodness is an attribute of Allah and therefore, it becomes the duty of every person to obey his own impulse to good. He should do good as Allah has been good to all and love those who do good. In short, Islamic concept of values lay upon revealed guidance combining with all human potentials, including realities of socio-cultural drives and psycho-spiritual dimensions.

While, philosophical foundations raised fundamental questions about reality, truth wisdom, knowledge, justice, beauty and goodness. In this context, Socrates embarked on a quest to discover the universal principles of truth, justice and beauty that governed all humankind. He disputed these forms of situational ethics by claiming that what was true, good, and beautiful was universally the same throughout the world, and that human beings should seek to live lives that were morally excellent.¹³ According to Socrates, the basis of true knowledge existed within the mind and could be brought to consciousness, and that human beings define themselves in terms of the criteria of universal truth.¹⁴ For Socrates, it is human nature rather than opinion, convention, and belief that determines what is good. The good is what fulfills one's nature and the fulfillment of one's nature (self-fulfillment = *eudaimonia* = happiness).¹⁵ All men by nature desire to be happy and no one want to be miserable (Symposium, Meno, etc). Happiness is the final goal of all desire and the ultimate end of human existence.¹⁶ Further details on Socrates' philosophical views on values could be described in his theory of value.

Education is intrinsically and by definition value-oriented. To speak, therefore, of value-oriented education is, in a sense, tautologous. In fact, education is a subset of a larger setting of culture, and culture consists of cultivation of faculties and powers pertaining to reason, ethics and aesthetics in the light of the pursuit of values of truth, beauty and goodness. Culture also consists of infusing the influences of this pursuit into physical and vital impulses, so as to refine them and sublimate them to the highest possible degrees, and to transmit the resultant fund of experience through various modes of expression, including those of poetry, music, dance, drama, art, architecture, and craft. The height of a culture is to be judged by the depth and height that are reached in terms of an ascending process of harmonisation and, in that process, development of quest of spiritual inspiration and revelation and their manifestation in various domains of physical life. Every developed culture, therefore, inspires methodologies of transmission of accumulated normative lessons of culture to

¹² See Qur'an 2:256.

¹³ Gerald L. Gutek, *Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives on Education* (USA, Allyn and Bacon: 1997), p.14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁵ Laszlo Versenyi. *Socratic Humanism*, p.79.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.80.

succeeding generations, and this process of transmission is greatly secured by a process of education which, in turn, discovers and implements a more and more ripened system of acceleration of progress. Thus, the basic thrust of culture and education is inevitably value-oriented.

The question arises as to why we are then obliged to think of value-oriented education? The answer is that there have intervened since long time ago, certain factors that have retarded the right upward impulses of culture and education. This has happened all over the world, and everywhere there is a new awakening today to infuse value-oriented both in culture and in education. That is why reactualization of theories of value was considered beneficial towards developing such efforts. Socrates and al-Ghazali represent the leading figures that spoke vocally about values, although with different approaches, they both has influenced widely to humankind today and deserved to be re-studied.

SOCRATIC THEORY OF VALUE

Socrates belief in the immortality of the soul,¹⁷ and argued that moral excellence was more a matter of divine bequest than parental nurture. Socrates believed the best way for people to live was to focus on self-development rather than the pursuit of material wealth. To some extent, Socratic theory of value could be summarized into several points: *virtue (arête)*, *knowledge*, and his *dialectic method*. The idea that humans possessed certain virtues formed a common thread in Socrates' teachings. These virtues represented the most important qualities for a person to have, foremost of which were the philosophical or intellectual virtues. Socrates stressed that "virtue was the most valuable of all possessions; the ideal life was spent in search of the Good. To know the good is to do the good, and evil is a form of ignorance."¹⁸ Truth lies beneath the shadows of existence, and it is the job of the philosopher to show the rest how little they really know." (www.wikipedia.org). The above mentioned Socratic theories of values on virtue, knowledge and dialectic method would be elaborated briefly as analyzed below.

For Socrates, Some values of virtues are **piety** (holiness), **courage** or the knowledge of what is worth daring and what is good to avoid.¹⁹ Courage is to be found amongst the auxiliaries whose steadfastness of purpose "preserves under all conditions the conviction that what is to be guarded against is whatever the lawgiver (being wise) has laid down and impressed on them in their education should be feared;²⁰ So when Socrates came to define virtue, he thought of courage as one of its prime components;²¹ **temperance** (*sophrosune*) that means moderation or prudence, restrain, a control over the passion, and restriction of unbridled desire;²² philosophy alone is characterized by such a *sophrosune*, and is the enemy of tyrant lover who want to be exclusively admired and obeyed;²³ and **justice** which means to give each man his portion, his due, what is needful, appropriate, proper to him,

¹⁷ Gutek, *Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives on Education*, p.16.

¹⁸ Nel Noddings, *Philosophy of Education* (Cambridge: Westview Press, 2007), p.172.

¹⁹ Laszlo Versenyi, *Socratic Humanism*, p.87.

²⁰ Robin Barrow, *Plato and Education* (London: Henley and Boston: Routledge & Keagan Paul, 1976), p.19-20.

²¹ I.F. Stone, *The Trial of Socrates* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1988), p.52.

²² Laszlo Versenyi, *Socratic Humanism*, p.89.

²³ Seth Benardete, *The Rhetoric of Morality and Philosophy: Plato's Gorgias and Phaedrus* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.125.

what belongs to him, is by nature his own, what is good, beneficial for him, etc.²⁴ Socrates argued that the state is wise in that it wisely adopts wise rulers who rule wisely. So its wisdom is to be found in what is in fact its smallest part, and in the fact that it gives authority to that part.²⁵ Justice and every other form of virtue is wisdom. For just actions and all forms of virtuous activity are beautiful and good. He who knows the beautiful and good will never choose anything else; he who is ignorant of them cannot do them, and even if he tries, will fail. Therefore since just actions and all other forms of beautiful and good activity are virtuous actions, it is clear that justice and every other form of virtue is wisdom. The wisdom described by Socrates is twofold: the virtuous man should know which good actions are and which are vicious, in order to practice virtue and avoid vice. Socrates stated that if we want to improve and educate our young, surely the first thing is to consider what virtue is. Virtue is still a morally neutral word designating excellence for the final end, aim, or good of human existence.

The substance of his moral teaching is laid upon this virtue, and he also concluded that virtue is knowledge.²⁶ The knowledge that makes man good i.e. makes him fulfill his nature and attain to *eudaimonia* (happiness or welfare), is the knowledge of good and evil. This is what Socrates calls *shopia*, *phronesis* (wisdom or intelligence), and the only truly practical knowledge is wisdom.²⁷ Then, virtue is wisdom, knowledge of good and evil and knowledge of self.²⁸ However, knowledge about the true condition of the world does not consist in, and will not be acquired by, the mere accumulation of experience and observation, but the path towards such knowledge is paved by abstraction which means defining the essential characteristic of something, and abstract thinking is looking beyond particulars and appearances.²⁹ Such knowledge should be based on rational thinking and focus on mind, reason and idea. This leads to idealist point of view set up by Socrates and his disciples.

Idealism is perhaps the oldest systematic philosophy in Western culture. Idealists believe that ideas are the only true reality. Although Socrates' ideas were only transmitted orally through a dialectical question-and-answer approach, Plato wrote them down and detailed both the Socrates method and thinking.³⁰ Socrates most important contribution to Western thought is this dialectic method of inquiry, known as the Socratic method or method of "*elenchus*", which he largely applied to the examination of key moral concepts such as the good and justice. To solve a problem, it would be broken down into a series of questions, the answers to which gradually distill the answer a person would seek. The influence of this approach is most strongly felt today in the use of the scientific method, in which hypothesis is the first stage. The development and practice of this method is one of Socrates' most enduring contributions, and is a key factor in earning his mantle as the father of political philosophy, ethics or moral philosophy, and as a figurehead of all the central themes in

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.94.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁶ I.F. Stone, *The Trial of Socrates*, p.39. See also Roslyn Weiss, *The Socratic Paradox and its Enemies* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), p.4.

²⁷ See also R.L. Nettleship, *The Theory of Education in Plato's Republic* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.15 and 23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.85-86.

²⁹ Robin Barrow, *Plato and Education*, p.48, 49, and 54.

³⁰ Howard A. Ozmon, *Philosophical Foundations of Education* (New Jersey: Pearson, 2012), p.7-8. See also Gutek, *Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives on Education*, p.16.

Western philosophy (www.wikipedia.org). *Enkrateia* has been connected with *shopia*, via *sophrosune*, as a necessary condition of moral knowledge.³¹ *Enkrateia* is often defined as self-control, but a much better definition is self-governance. The final stage of the education of the philosopher-kings is almost exclusively concerned with knowledge, culminating in the acquisition of knowledge of the good through dialectic.³²

Dialectic originally meant little more than the art of conversation; it meant considerably more than mere discussion without qualification. An alternative interpretation of the dialectic is that it is a method for direct perception of the form of the good. In Plato's view, every dialectical exercise, precisely because it is an exercise of pure thought, subject to the demands of the logos, turns the soul away from the sensible world, and allows it to convert itself towards the good. To illustrate the use of the Socratic method; a series of questions are posed to help a person or group to determine their underlying beliefs and the extent of their knowledge. The Socratic method is a *negative* method of hypothesis elimination, in that better hypotheses are found by steadily identifying and eliminating those that lead to contradictions. Two of the techniques of dialectic practised by Socrates in the dialogues are "*elenchus* and *epagoge*". *Elenchus* is the technique of causing a man to drop or revise his original statement by leading him in the course of questioning to accept as an ultimate consequence of it a statement contradicting it. *Epagoge* consist of causing another disputant to accept a generalisation by getting him to agree to a series of instances.³³

The students involved in dialectic should submit their own views on the question at issue and should also be arbiters of what criteria they use for assessing the validity of their argument. The student of dialectic is not subject to the authority of any teacher, but he is subject to the rule of reason.³⁴ Through dialogue, Socrates and his students dealt with basic questions by defining them, criticizing them, and developing more adequate and comprehensive definitions.³⁵ The Socratic dialogue is a process in which the mature person, the teacher, act to stimulate the learner's awareness of ideas. The teacher must be prepared to ask leading questions about crucial human concerns. When using the Socratic dialogue in a classroom situation, the teacher must be able to use the group process so that a community of interest develops in which all students want to participate. The Socratic method requires skillful questioning on the part of the teacher and thus is not a simple recall of facts that have been memorized in advance.³⁶ In questioning and discussion sessions during which the dialectic operates, the teacher can help students see alternatives they might otherwise have missed. Socrates spent much time analyzing and discussing ideas with others, and he was deeply committed to action based on reflection. This Socrates idealist-oriented would encourage students to better their thinking and their lives on the basis of such thinking, and greatly concerned with character

³¹ Lindsay Judson and Vassilis Karasmanis, *Remembering Socrates: Philosophical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.9.

³² Robin Barrow, *Plato and Education*, p.45.

³³ *Ibid.*, p.42.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.43.

³⁵ Gutek, *Philosophical and Ideological Perspectives on Education*, p.16.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.25-26.

development, which they believe should be one of the foremost goals of a good education, and they believe that the teacher should have a good character as well.³⁷

However, Socratic method of dialectic questioning with idealist standpoint, for some opponents of idealism, had been considered as hinderance of progress in science and the creation of new ideas and processes. If one accept the concept of absolute ideas, it is not possible to go beyond those ideas without questioning or doubting their absoluteness. This was one chief problem that modern science had in gaining acceptance, because science is premised on tentativeness and hypotheses rather than on absoluteness. Beside, because idealism has been linked intimately with traditional religion, the weakening of the one has led to weakening of the other. From standpoint of education, several issues need further scrutiny that some feel that idealist influence might not have been beneficial. Although idealist education has emphasized not only the spiritual but also the cognitive side of life, charges are that it has tended towards intellectualism to the detriment of the effective and physical side of life.³⁸

Also, many of the beliefs traditionally attributed to Socrates have been characterized as "paradoxical" because they seem to conflict with common sense. The following are among the so-called Socratic Paradoxes: no one desires evil,³⁹ no one errs or does wrong willingly or knowingly, all virtue is knowledge, and that virtue is sufficient for happiness. Doing good means to do what fulfills us, what brings most pleasure in the long run, i.e. what makes man happy? All men by nature desire happiness. In Socratic terms, this also means that all men by nature desire the good. It is impossible that any man should really desire what is evil, because that would be tantamount to wanting to be miserable, and that is not in human nature. This is Socratic ethics that argued that all men by nature desire and love what is good; no man willingly does anything evil.⁴⁰ If we scrutinize carefully the above mentioned paradoxical concept of Socratic ethics, we could find that there are two contradictory propositions that virtue is knowledge and can be taught but according to Socrates, there no teachers and therefore it cannot be taught. The conclusion is that virtue is neither acquired by nature nor teaching. Those who are virtous are so by some kind of divine dispensation.⁴¹ All critiques by the opponents of idealism and paradoxical statement of Socratic ethics have opened continous debates on his theory of values or virtues.

AL-GHAZALI'S CRITIQUES ON PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH

Now, we come to look at al-Ghazali approach to values by describing at firsthand his critiques on philosophy. Al-Ghazali makes it look as though he is bringing theological objections against philosophy, since he suggest that, on a number of issues, philosophers present theories go against basic Islamic principles, and do not try only to extend or reinterpret those principles.⁴² Al-Ghazali embraced

³⁷ Howard A Ozmon, *Philosophical Foundations of Education*, p.27.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.30.

³⁹ Roslyn Weiss, *The Socratic Paradox and its Enemies* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.168 and 171.

⁴⁰ Laszlo Versenyi, *Socratic Humanism*, p.80-82. See also Robin Barrow, *Plato and Education*, p.68.

⁴¹ Robin Barrow, *Plato and Education*, p.68-69.

⁴² Oliver Leaman, *Islamic Philosophy: an Intoduction* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), p.24.

a form of theological occasionalism or the belief that all causal events and interactions are not the product of material conjunctions but rather the immediate and present will of God. Al-Ghazali also marked a turning point in Islamic philosophy in its vehement rejections of Aristotle and Plato. Al-Ghazali's book entitled *the Incoherence of the Philosophers (Tahafut al-Falasifah)*⁴³ loosely defined group of Islamic philosophers from the 8th through the 11th centuries (most notable among them ibn Sina and Al-Farabi) who drew intellectually upon the Ancient Greeks. Al-Ghazali bitterly denounced Aristotle, Socrates and other Greek writers as non-believers and labeled those who employed their methods and ideas as corrupters of the Islamic faith. Al-Ghazali's main objection to ibn Sina is that while he and the other philosophers speak endlessly about God, they actually give God no role to perform.⁴⁴ Through this way, al-Ghazali wants to build theological and sufistic path to criticize philosophy. Seemingly, al-Ghazali ended up in a state of confusion and resorted to the path of those who claim to find out things through spiritual methods. Ibn Rushd (Averroes), a rationalist, famously responded that "to say that philosophers are incoherent is itself to make an incoherent statement." Rushd's book, *The Incoherence of the Incoherence*, attempted to refute Al-Ghazali's views, though the work was not well received in the Muslim community.

In his popular book, *Tahafut al-Falasifah*, al-Ghazali criticized philosophical approach to comprehend God (Allah), nature ('*alam*), and soul (*nafs*). Concerning about Allah, al-Ghazali argued that the philosophers were unable to prove Allah's oneness and the impossibility of two necessary existents both without a cause.⁴⁵ He refuted their denial of attributes to Knowledge, Power, and Will of the First Principle (*al-Mabda' al-Awal*),⁴⁶ and the philosophers' claim that nothing can share with the First its genus, and be differentiated from it through a specific difference, and that with respect to the intellect the division into genus and specific difference cannot be applied to it.⁴⁷ He refuted their theory that the existence of the First is simple, namely that is pure existence and that its existence stands in relation to no quiddity (*mahiyah*) and to no essence (*haqiqah*), but stands to necessary existence as do other beings to their quiddity.⁴⁸ It seems that al-Ghazali want to show the philosophers' incapacity to prove the the First is incorporeal (*jism*),⁴⁹ and to show the incapacity of the philosophers to prove what they believe that the First (i.e. Allah) knows other things besides His own self, and that He knows the general (*kulli*) and the species in a universal way.⁵⁰ Al-Ghazali also criticized the impotence of the philosophers to prove that Allah knows Himself and to refute those who affirm that Allah is ignorant of the individual things (*juz'iyah*) which are divided in time into present, past and future.⁵¹

The book also commented on the philosophers' views on nature and soul. Al-Ghazali showed the refutation of their theory of the eternity of the world, of the incorruptibility of the world and of the

⁴³ Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *Tahafut al-Falasifah* (Lebanon: Dar al-Kotob Al-Ilmiyah, 2008).

⁴⁴ Oliver Leaman, *Islamic Philosophy*, p.25.

⁴⁵ Al-Ghazali, *Tahafut al-Falasifah*, p.104.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.113.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.123.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.128.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.131.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.136.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.128 and 142.

time and of the motion,⁵² and the demonstration of their confusion in saying that Allah is the agent and the maker of the world in His product and act, and that these expressions are in their system only metaphores without any real sense.⁵³ Al-Ghazali asserted that the philosophers are unable to prove the existence of a creator of the world,⁵⁴ and their incapacity to demonstrate that the world has a creator and a cause (*illah*),⁵⁵ and that in fact they are forced to admit atheism. Al-Ghazali refuted their proof that heaven is an animal moving in a circle in obedience to Allah, and to refute the theory of the philosophers about the aim which moves heaven.⁵⁶ He also claimed to refute the philosophical theory that the souls of the heaven observe all the particular events of this world, and the denial of a logical necessity between cause and effect.⁵⁷

About the soul, al-Ghazali stated the importance of the philosophers to show by demonstrative proof that the soul is a spiritual substance (*jauhar ruhaniy*), and criticized the philosophers' denial of bodily resurrection.⁵⁸ He also asserted the refutation of the philosophers' proof for the immortality of the soul,⁵⁹ as defended by Socrates who belief in the immortality of the soul. Al-Ghazali maintained that knowledge corresponds to the soul and ignorance to the body. Likewise, knowledge exists in potentiality inside the soul and defined learning as process which brings knowledge out of potentiality into actuality.⁶⁰ He argued that the learners's soul imitates that of the teacher and tries to get closes to it because the scholar is similar to the peasant in benefiting others, and the learner is similar to the arth in gaining benefit. Moreover, once the basics of any science are learned, the soul uses intuition (*hads*) to reach that which is required. At this stage an insight brings out knowledge that exists in his soul from potentiality to actuality.⁶¹ Al-Ghazali concluded that kind of knowledge as *ladunni* knowledge which deals with inner soul of human being, and he ranked this kind of knowledge higher, more powerful, and clearer than acquired knowledge which attained through learning process.⁶² It is clear that al-Ghazali want to develop a philosophy that is Islamic in its very essence, and use theological approach in understanding the First Principle (God, Allah), nature (*'alam*), and soul (*nafs*), and its implication towards his concept on virtue, knowledge and education.

VIRTUE, KNOWLEDGE AND EDUCATION

If compared to Socrates that primarily focused on pure reason, mind and idea to attain knowledge, al-Ghazali asserted that rational discernment (*tamyiz*) was the source of knowledge that distinguishes human discernment from the ability of animals to discern between things following their instincts. He

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.51 and 76.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.83.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.99.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.134.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.149 and 153.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.156 and 162.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.175 and 166.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.191.

⁶⁰ Muatafa Abu-Sway, *Al-Ghazaliy: A Study in Islamic Epistemology* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1996), p.128 and 129.

⁶¹ See Al-Ghazali, *al-Risalah al-Laduniyah* (Lebanon: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2011), p.68.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.57; Mustafa Abu-Sway, *Al-Ghazaliy: a Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p.128; and see also Che Zarrina Sa'ari., *Al-Ghazali and Intuition: An Analysis, Translation and Text of al-Risalah al-Laduniyah* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, Department of Aqidah and Islamic Thought, Academy of Islamic Studies, 2007).

ranked discernment as higher than the senses but lower than reason.⁶³ In addition, he stated that reason (*'aql*) is not capable of attaining all the goals nor can it solve all problems. Al-Ghazali used reason in showing the limitations of reason in his criticism of philosophy, and as such he was paving the way for a source of knowledge other than that of reason. He wanted to establish a faculty higher than that of reason which he drew on the same source of knowledge as prophets.⁶⁴ It seems that he found his way through sufistic path and replaces the limitations of reason with this source of knowledge, an attempt to place prophecy above reason, a position which was antagonistic to that of the Muslim philosophers who raised reason above prophecy.⁶⁵

Beside, al-Ghazali uses intellect as the source and fountainhead of knowledge as well as its foundation. He described the relationship between knowledge and the intellect, using neoPlatonic theme, as that between light and the sun. He found sufficient evidence for the nobility of the intellect in the fact that it is the means of happiness in this world and the hereafter. He describes knowledge as light and ignorance as darkness.⁶⁶ Many of his books explained the role of knowledge in comprehending Islamic values. Even in his book entitled *Ihya' Ulum al-Din (The Resurrection of Religious Sciences)*,⁶⁷ al-Ghazali initiated his chapter with book of knowledge, something rarely done by previous *fuqaha* or Islamic jurists that usually open their first chapter with *thaharah* or cleanliness subject. It also indicate that his stressing on knowledge as equilibrium to sufistic approach which allocated *tamyiz* higher than reason.

Different from Socrates that used dialectic method in education, a dialogue model of teaching starting with simple and concrete questions into complex and abstract discourses, al-Ghazali combined ethical dimension with teaching method and rely on the significant role of teacher towards his students. In many cases, al-Ghazali describes ethics (*adab*) for teacher (*'alim*) and student (*muta'allim*). According to al-Ghazali, teachers should master deeply the knowledge, well-behaved, sitting down with all respect, bowing down the head, avoid arrogant towards all creatures, and give priority to modesty in meetings, keep away from joking, assist the students, be patient with plodder and improve the dim-witted through best gestures and shun angriness, hinder boastfully talks that he does't understand, to pay attention towards the questioner and let him comprehend, received arguments and guidance towards the truth, etc.⁶⁸ Likewise, student should begin with respect and best regards, minimize talks whenever the teacher is with him, and not to say something the teacher doesn't ask or allow him to talk, not to expose different view of someone else in front of his teacher, not to indicate different opinion as to know the truth other than his teacher, not to ask his place in the

⁶³ Mustafa Abu-Sway, *Al-Ghazali: a Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p.51-52.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.87.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Al-Ghazali, *al-Risalah al-Laduniyah*, p.59; See also Mustafa Abu-Sway, *Al-Ghazali: a Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p.114.

⁶⁷ See Al-Ghazali, *Ihya' Ulum al-Din* (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2011), Vol I.

⁶⁸ Al-Ghazali, *Bidayah Hidayah* (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2011), p.79. See also al-Ghazali, *al-Adab fi al-Dunya* (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2011), p.91.

meeting, not to cast eyes on other direction and sit calmly and ethically as if in praying, and not to give him many questions, etc.⁶⁹

In contrast with the Socratic method, which known as method of *elenchus*, *elenctic* method, Socratic *irony* or Socratic debate, that means as a form of inquiry and debate between individuals with opposing viewpoints based on asking and answering questions to stimulate critical thinking and to illuminate ideas. It is a dialectical method, often involving an oppositional discussion in which the defense of one point of view is pitted against the defense of another; one participant may lead another to contradict himself in some way, thus strengthening the inquirer's own point (www.wikipedia.org). Al-Ghazali preferred to avoid such debates especially with teachers. In fact, al-Ghazali wrote many books on debate, and he spent much time in debating others at the “Camp” of Nizam al-Mulk, show his personal interest in debates which could not be considered, strictly speaking, part his quest for knowledge. Al-Ghazali held that unless the debating parties adhered to etiquette of debate (*adab al-munazarah*) as he outlined in his books, these debates would lead to animosity and hatred. It seems that al-Ghazali did not consider debate to be very positive activity. Indeed, when he visited the tomb of prophet Ibrahim a.s. in Hebron after his departure from Baghdad, which marked a new era in his thought, al-Ghazali despised debating and made a pledge never again to debate with anyone.⁷⁰

It is clear that al-Ghazali adopt idealistic approach to teacher's profession. He stressed the significant combination between knowledge and ethical manner, like the sun that shines arrounds it, or parfume that spays fragrant. On the contrary, he illustrate the scholar who do not want to implement his knowledge like a paper beneficial for others but blank for himself, or like a neddle to sew clothes but remain naked for himself. Depart from this idealistic perspective on teacher's profession, al-Ghazali clarified that the teacher is a man struggling with the most important matter, and thus he should maintain his code of conduct and profession.⁷¹

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Values are so close to the core of our life and conduct, and so the value theory should have application that is neither obscure or oblique, nor equivocal.⁷² Philosophers and theologians hold that values can be known to be true or false, right or wrong, not just for the individual making the value claim but in more general sense. In this respect, Socrates argues that value and virtue are universal relativism. Socrates, while sharing insight into relativity recognized that general concepts were a prerequisite for all rational discourse, the basis of true education, and he insisted on searching for universal applicable formal definitions. He insisted on truth and showed a way to getting at it through one's own critical reflection and thus devised a true form of education. Socrates brought about internal improvement in men, a true therapy of the soul. Socrates presupposed that, in spite of all diversity and multiplicity of goods, it was possible to give a unitary definition embracing all instances and overarching all

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Mustafa Abu-Sway, *Al-Ghazali: Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p.62.

⁷¹ Muhammad Jawad Ridla, *Tiga Teori Utama Pendidikan Islam* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003), p.130.

⁷² Harord N. Lee, “The Meaning of Intrinsic Value” in Ray Lepley (Ed.). *The Language of Value* (New York: Colombia University Press, 1957), p.178.

diversity.⁷³ In this way, Socrates ontologically tried to open the gateway to value education through dialectic method of inquiring knowledge and wisdom.

On the contrary, al-Ghazali brought theological objections against philosophy and embraced a form of theological occasionalism or the belief that all causal events and interactions are not the product of material conjunctions but rather the immediate and present will of God. Value and virtue is Divine rooted and absolute in its forms, whereas human being should exemplify the Divine value and virtue into their conducts. Apparently al-Ghazali opined that value and virtue are able to be taught through internalization process, and this is what Socrates hesitantly to answer the possibly to teach virtue. In conclusion, the role of reason, mind and idea in forming value, virtue and knowledge, as described by Socrates, should be in appropriate or in line with the Divine virtues, as stated by al-Ghazali, such an integrative approach to value education with onto-theological approach.

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⁷³ Laszlo Versenyi, *Socratic Humanism*, p.74-76.

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**AL GHAZALI'S PHILOSOPHY OF KNOWLEDGE: A COMPREHENSIVE
GUIDELINE AND SOLUTIONS TO PROMOTE ISLAMIC EDUCATION
IN HUMAN LIFE**

By:

Muhammad Adil Khan Afridi*

INTRODUCTION

Islam desires human being to study and acquire knowledge in every possible occasion. The stanzas of the Qur'an grasp, assist, counsel, and inspire people to perceive the miracles of nature, the progression of daylight and nighttime, the engagements of stars, the sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies. Muslims are advised to stare into the whole lot of this globe, to explore, scrutinize, discover and cognize them, the healthier to escalate and be grateful for all the phenomena and loveliness of Allah's makings. The first exposure to Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w) disclosed exactly how much Islam cares about knowledge.

Education is mandatory equally for men and women. Moreover, knowledge is not limited to spiritual matters; it embraces all fields of information counting biology, physics, and technology. Researchers have the uppermost standing in Islam, following only to that conferred to prophets. It has been a substance of essential significance from the early days of Islam as to which kind of knowledge Islam applauds; is there any particular kind of knowledge to be pursued? Some well-known Muslim intellectuals have calculated as admirable only those divisions of knowledge which are openly linked with religion. As for additional categories of knowledge, they grasp the view that it is up to the municipal to select which of them are necessary for the nourishment and prosperity of the communal. However, in contemporary era, it is believed that there can be no restraint on the attainment of knowledge, and, if there were any boundaries of this kind, then obviously Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w) would have stated them.

Finally, this study will try to illustrate the necessity and effectiveness of knowledge from the theological corner from the Imam Al Ghazali's view as well as it also will try to establish the interconnectivity between Islam and knowledge to show how Islam emphasizes on knowledge to be a

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good believer. Furthermore, it will also discuss on the philosophical views of Al Ghazali on the importance of knowledge to promote Islamic education system in compare to the others. Finally this study will conclude by sharing views and ideas of Al Ghazali to have a clear understanding of the value of knowledge from the Islamic perspective and promote the methodology of performing Islamic knowledge in our daily life and how to get benefit from it.

AL-GHAZALI'S CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE ¹

THE DEFINITION OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge has always been an essential theory for Muslim scholars throughout the centuries. For much of this time in Islamic educational history, the word knowledge referred only to the learning of a hadith and related subjects. This was largely because the only formal requirements for learning early in Islamic history were that all Muslims memorize at least a part of the Qur'an and the hadith. There were no organized universities during the early days of Islam. As the concept of education broadened and expanded, it more were included to encompass a more comprehensive meaning. Al-Ghazali cited various definitions and aspects of knowledge in his works. He attributed part of the concept of knowledge to gnosis. Al-Ghazali asserted that "there is no meaning to knowledge except that of its being an image that arrives in the soul, which conforms to that which is an image in sense perception, namely, the object known". Like the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w), Al-Ghazali perceived that the pursuit of knowledge should be one's highest priority. He believed that a Muslim's search for knowledge should dominate all aspects of his intellectual, spiritual, and social life. Because knowledge was so important to Al-Ghazali, he intended the opening chapter of his multi-volume *The Revival of the Religious Sciences* "The Book of Knowledge." Al-Ghazali noted that he opened his book with a chapter about knowledge because the harvest of good knowledge is to fear Allah s.w.t. and become pious. Al-Ghazali wrote:

I begin the whole thing with the Book of Knowledge because it is of the utmost importance. First of all, [I do this] in order that I make known the knowledge that is devoted to the service of Allah s.w.t. according to the words of His Prophet (May Allah s.w.t. bless him and grant him salvation), the [kinds of knowledge that are] required to be sought. To this effect, the Prophet (May Allah s.w.t. bless him and grant him salvation) said, 'the pursuit of knowledge is an obligation for every Muslim.'

[Secondly, I begin with this book] in order that I may distinguish the beneficial knowledge from the harmful, since the Prophet (may Allah s.w.t. bless him and grant him salvation) said, "I seek refuge in Allah s.w.t. from knowledge that has no benefit." [All this is] in order that I correct the present generation in their inclination away from the way of what is right, in their willingness to be duped by

¹ Abu Hāmid Mohammad ibn Mohammad Al-Ghazali (1058–1111 C.E.) known as Al-Ghazali or Algazel to the western medieval world, born and died in Tus, in the Khorasan province of Persia (modern day Iran) was a Persian Muslim theologian, jurist, philosopher, and mystic. Ghazali has sometimes been referred to by historians as the single most influential Muslim after the Islamic prophet Muhammad. Others have cited his movement from science to faith as a detriment to Islamic scientific progress. Besides his work that successfully changed the course of Islamic philosophy—the early Islamic Neoplatonism developed on the grounds of Hellenistic philosophy, for example, was so successfully refuted by Ghazali that it never recovered—he also brought the orthodox Islam of his time in close contact with Sufism. The orthodox theologians still went their own way, and so did the mystics, but both develop a sense of mutual appreciation which ensured that no sweeping condemnation could be made by one for the practices of the other.

glimmering phantoms, and in their [total] contentment with sciences [that treat] the outer husk [rather than] the essential core.

In the Book of Knowledge, Al-Ghazali cited more than ten verses of the Qur'an and many prophetic sayings about the virtues of knowledge. This is not unusual because Al-Ghazali relied heavily on the Qur'an for the bases of his own knowledge, and the Qur'an mentions the word for knowledge about 750 times. According to the Qur'an, Allah s.w.t. said, "It is only those who have knowledge among His slaves that fear Allah" (Al-Fater,35:28). In other words, he supported his philosophy of knowledge with the hadith and the Qur'an.

THE MERITS OF KNOWLEDGE

Al-Ghazali recognized that knowledge has two expressions: theory and practice; for him these two dimensions were inseparable. Islam maintains that true knowledge is the marriage of active virtue and knowledge, which requires both knowledge and practice. There is a traditional saying in Islamic literature that essentially states that faith increases when you practice good deeds, but decreases by doing bad deeds. The key is to know the difference between the two. Thus, it is imperative to have knowledge in order to differentiate between what is good and what is not. Within this context, human beings are capable of free choice between right and wrong, growth and stagnation. From a practical aspect, Al-Ghazali believed that children acquire personality characteristics and behavior through living in society and interacting with the environment. Al-Ghazali claimed that, "nobody can be learned unless he puts his learning into practice". Again, both the ahadith and the Qur'an emphasize "knowing" and "doing", that is, both theory and practice. In advising his disciples, Al Ghazali wrote, "Know that obedience and worship are conformity to Sacred Law in commands and prohibitions, in both word and deed"

Like Al-Shatibi, Al-Ghazali believed that "doing" included not only those manifestations of the five senses, but the practices of the heart as well. He referred to the hadith, saying, "Islam is built upon five pillars. Taken together, all of these pillars (duties) lie either in conviction or in action". Thus, Al Ghazali's understanding of knowledge cannot be boned into a single definition because its interpretations are complex and subtle. Al-Ghazali explained his concept of knowledge, which is an essential component of his educational theories. He identified three categories of active learning which are universal among all theistic faiths: belief in Allah s.w.t., action according to Allah's commands, and abstention from what He forbade.

Al-Ghazali asserted that the "noblest kind of knowledge is the knowledge of Allah s.w.t. and His attributes and His acts". Al-Ghazali, in his theory of knowledge, described the role of the intellect as being noble in nature, it is established by its very use, and it is what makes us human. All learning is worship, with the knowledge of Allah s.w.t. as the standing point of knowledge for every Muslim.

THE WAY OF KNOWING

The search for truth through knowledge was Al-Ghazali's highest priority. His illustration was that when seeing an object, one gets an image of that particular object in the imaginative part of the brain. This image is retained in the mind. Using the power of thought, the observer can consider that which is

retained. Thinking or reasoning requires multiple images. This is where the collective faculty of the mind functions as a provider of more images, by recalling past images stored in the memory. The sensory image is then harmonized through the use of common sense. At this point, one would have perceived that object and established the level of understanding of it in the mind. Al-Ghazali believed that the heart plays a vital role in the retention of knowledge, and that it is the foundation of the body. He illustrates the heart and intellect combination and its different faculties, comparing it to a kingdom: The imaginative powers serve as a postal system for gathering and imparting knowledge. The retentive capacity is an icing's treasure and is responsible for storage, with speech functioning as the mind's interpreter. The five senses serve the king as spies, and each is responsible for different, specific information. This interesting analogy shows how the intellect interacts with the rest of the body and its different faculties. This illustration corresponds with the prophetic hadith states that the body contains a morsel of flesh; if it is whole, all the body is whole-if it diseased, all of it is diseased. This concept refers to the heart.

THE LEARNING PROCESS

In the learning process, Al-Ghazali used both theory and practice, stating that "knowledge without work is insanity, and work without knowledge is vanity". He mentioned a general process of knowing, using the analogy that knowledge is the tree and the deeds are the fruit. He described the first step as silence, then bearing, then learning it by heart, then "knowing and doing", and finally, teaching it to others. He noted that:

... whoever learns, acts and teaches shall be mighty in the kingdom of heaven, for he is as the sun, whose resplendence illuminates other bodies, or as musk, whose fragrance perfumes other objects; in undertaking to teach, he accomplishes a great and momentous task, and must therefore be mindful of his rules of conduct and functions.

Al-Ghazali used three elements to explain this process: the perceiver, reality (that which is known), and the occurrence of reality's images in the mind (the learning process). He also believed that the potential for knowledge exists in people's souls before they are created, like the seed in the earth and the gem in the depths of the sea. Thus, the role of the parents and teachers is to help children realize that potential. Each science requires its own approach and its specific method of study. One of his recommendations is that: students should not address themselves at the same time to all branches of knowledge, but they must follow a certain order and begin with the most important for sciences are of necessity so arranged that one branch prepares for another.

Al-Ghazali used two examples to explain his process of knowing. First, he said that knowing is like the relationship of a mirror to the object it reflects. The image of the object reflected in the mirror is like the image of a known object in one's mind. Second, as when one holds a sword, the hand represents the perceiver, the sword is the known, and the holding is the knowing. Thus, images of reality are reflected by one's intellect and images are reflected by one's understanding of reality. The process of reflection (mirroring) is actually the process of learning or having knowledge. Al-Ghazali's theories of knowledge may have been stated of the art then, but that a great many new theories exist

today that eclipse his theories. He offers as an example that Al-Ghazali did not provide “explanations of how a teacher can bring a student to know. He did not talk about the tutorial relationship between a teacher and a student. He only explained the moral duties of teacher and student toward each other. This leaves an opportunity to merge the old and the new in today’s educational environment to develop an integrated context of what works and what doesn’t, which proposes alternatives if the original plan isn’t working (for whatever reason), and which leaves room for adjustment to meet the needs of the students in that setting.

OBSTACLES TO THE LEARNING PROCESS

Al-Ghazali’s works explain that the heart is also a mirror that reflects all people’s knowledge. Although the human heart is capable of knowing the realities, Al-Ghazali believed that the heart might be devoid of knowledge and make the intellect unable to reflect an accurate image due to the various obstacles:

- i. The mirror may be unfinished due to youth, or the natural immaturity of one’s intellect (e.g., the hearts of young children).
- ii. The reflection may not be visible because of the residue of sins accountable to greed, passion, and immoral desires accumulated on its surface (in the intellect) after doing bad deeds. These deeds contaminate the purity of the heart and the intellect, making it impossible for the truth to be reflected by the mirror. Al-Ghazali recommends that if one has committed a sin and wants to compensate for it, one should do the opposite, which is a good deed (i.e., clear off the residue), in order to see the reflection again.
- iii. Worldly distractions may impede one’s ability to see the reflection (turn one away from Allah s.w.t.).
- iv. The mirror might be ‘tarnished’ by confusing tradition (dogma) of principles. (Example, theories about women’s education became merely a reflection of other cultures and traditions.)
- v. Not knowing how to use a mirror properly (ignorance of the direction to be followed in order to get to the truth).

THE ROLE OF INTELLECT

Al-Ghazali suggests four different definitions of intellect. The first definition suggests that intellect is a quality by which man is distinguished from all animals and through which he can comprehend speculative sciences and becomes aware of mental operations within him. In its second meaning, intellect denotes the necessary truths which make their appearance at the time of adolescence when the intellect is fully developed. This, Al-Ghazali says, consists, for example, of the awareness of the possibility of the possible and the impossibility of the impossible, such as the knowledge that two is more than one and that a person cannot be in two places at one time. The third meaning of intellect is knowledge that is attained through experiences and the interrelation of man with his environment, different events, and changing conditions. In this particular sense, one who possesses rich experiences is usually called an experienced person and he who lacks these experiences is usually called

inexperienced layman. Lastly, the word intellect is used to denote the situation in which the inborn power has developed “to such an extent that its owner will be able to tell what the end will be, and consequently he will conquer and subdue his appetite which hankers for immediate pleasures.” The owner of such developed inborn power is also called experienced person. Having completed his exposition of the multiple meanings of intellect Al-Ghazali proceeds to say that the first, i.e., the inborn intellect, is the fountain and the foundation of the other three. The second is the closest branch of the first. The third is a result of the combination of the first and the second, because, Al-Ghazali argues, empirical sciences are acquired through the use of the inborn intellect and axiomatic knowledge. The fourth is the supreme aim and the ultimate result. He then notes that the first two are inherited properties and the other two are acquired. These meanings and divisions of intellect by no means exhaust Al-Ghazali’s complete conception of it. More complicated definitions and classifications of intellect can be found in his other works. He provides a full analysis of intellect and gives various meanings as it was seen by ordinary people, the philosophers, and the theologians. Here one finds a much more detailed treatment and classification of intellect, each with its own definition. However, since these definitions seem to have been specially formulated by Al-Ghazali for philosophical discussion, they will not detain us in the present context. Before going any further it is necessary to note that the term intellect in Al-Ghazali’s writings is closely associated with three other terms. Here it needs to define them briefly, not only because they are closely associated with intellect but also because, at times, they are equated with it. This will be clear from their definitions as given by Al-Ghazali. Heart has two meanings: (1) the physical heart, that is the flesh situated in the left side of one’s breast: and (2) the spiritual heart, that is the very essence of a human being that perceives and knows. Spirit has two meanings too: (1) a subtle thing originating in the heart and brought by the blood to every part of the human body, and on which one’s life depends; and (2) a subtle thing that knows and perceives (the same as heart). There are also two meanings of the term soul: (1) an immaterial entity in which the blameworthy traits such as anger and passion in here; and (2) the essence of man which functions as the locus of the intelligible. The condition of this essence may change from time to time (thus there is, for example, the tranquil soul. Although intellect has several meanings as shown above, they can be reduced to two: (1) knowledge of things (regardless of the nature of the knowledge); and (2) the perceiver of knowledge. In this thesis the word intellect is taken to denote the faculty of man by which he is able to perceive things and to understand certain concepts: more precisely intellect is considered to be a means of knowing or understanding. Al-Ghazali himself uses this term mainly with this meaning. He divides the perceiver of knowledge, into two aspects: (1) the outward aspect which is represented by the five senses: hearing, seeing, smelling, touching, and tasting: and (2) the inward, also five in number: common-sense, imagination, thinking, recollection, and retention. These he calls the soldiers of the heart. He includes the same discussion under his elaboration of the animal soul. Here the perceptive faculty is divided into two parts also: the external, the five senses, and the internal. The internal part is further divided into five. They are: the imaginative power, the retentive power, the estimative power, the recollected power, and the thinking power. The

same discussion is also found in his other writings where these divisions are put in a slightly different order and are called apprehending powers. They are now: common-sense, the imaginative power, the estimative power, the retentive power, and the recollected power. These powers here appear as classes of the human souls which are five in number: the sensory, the imaginative, the intelligential, and the discursive. and the transcendental prophetic and so on From the above one understands that Al-Ghazali uses different terms to denote what are essentially the same thing. This difference is probably due to the different natures of the books which represent different stages of Al-Ghazali's intellectual development. It belongs to the period when Al-Ghazali was teaching in Baghdad, when he had finished his earnest study of philosophy, and when he was at the gate of his conversion to Sufism. Thus one finds that this work exhibits both philosophical as well as Sufi characteristics.

Elsewhere, Al-Ghazali offers an interesting illustration that shows the way intellect, with its different faculties, functions. It is, he says, to a person like a king to a kingdom. The imaginative power works for the king and is in charge of the postal system, since all sorts of sensory information come through it. The retentive power is the king's treasurer and is responsible for storage. The speech organ functions as his interpreter: the active members as his clerks. The five senses serve the king as spies, and each is responsible for different and specific information: the power of seeing is responsible for information related to colors. that of hearing for information related to sounds, and so on. It is with these spies that different bits of information from outside are gleaned and sent, using the postal system, to the treasurer who, on need, presents them before the king, and the king extracts and chooses what is needed to keep his kingdom functioning.

THE MERIT OF KNOWLEDGE

The value of any activity, Al-Ghazali argues, is understood through three things: (1) by looking at the inborn faculty of man by which the activity is realized, such as the realization of the superiority of theoretical sciences over linguistics since the former are attained through the use of intellect while the latter is through hearing, and intellect is nobler than the sense of hearing; (2) by studying the benefits and the value of the activity, like the superiority of agriculture over the work of the goldsmith; and (3) by examining the material object of the profession, such as the material object of a goldsmith being nobler than that of a tanner. When the craft of teaching is examined in the light of these three scales, one finds that the teacher deals with knowledge attained through the use of intellect which is the most excellent faculty of man. As to its general benefit and usefulness, it is plain that people benefit from knowledge disseminated by a teacher since with knowledge they may attain happiness in this world as well as in the world to come. Lastly, teaching is directed toward the intellect and the heart, the noblest parts of human. In conclusion, Al-Ghazali contends that the work of a teacher is partly worshiped.

It has to be noted, however, that although knowledge is very important, Al-Ghazali does not regard it as the final goal. Its importance, once again, rests on the role it plays in attaining eternal happiness. For this reason, he insists that knowledge be followed by good actions that lead one to that happiness. Thus we find him saying: "if a man reads a hundred thousand scientific problems and learns them or teaches them, his knowledge is of no use unless he acts in accordance with it," and that

“knowledge without work is insanity and work without knowledge is vanity,” to show how the two should not be separated. The same sense is also expressed in many other places in his works. This conviction, as we shall see, has its implications in his classification of sciences, in that he divides them into practical and spiritual sciences. Having established knowledge as the most excellent thing, Al-Ghazali goes on to argue that, based on this fact; any activity in the service of knowledge is automatically noble.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF SCIENCES

As has been discussed above, when Al-Ghazali systematizes all the learning of his time for the purpose of his investigation, he comes up with four main branches: scholastic theology, philosophy, Isma'ilism, and Sufism. Al-Ghazali's standpoint toward these sciences has been stated above and will not be repeated here. Rather, in the following, brief statements will be made to see the positions these sciences occupy in his detailed classification of sciences which he did not write until he had completed his investigation of these four sciences

- i. Theology has no clear position in this classification. However, he recognizes its significance in defending faith.
- ii. Philosophy is considered quite apart from the main body of the classification. The sciences that belong to it are enumerated, stressing the fact that parts of it are acceptable while others must be rejected as being contradictory to religion.
- iii. Isma'ilism is not included in the classification since it is considered unacceptable religiously and intellectually.
- iv. Sufism is well represented and is considered one of the two major branches of the sciences.

As one might have expected, the positions of these sciences in Al-Ghazali's classification of sciences reflect the conclusion he came to when he investigated them.

It is quite clear that Al-Ghazali sets up his theory on the classification of sciences, partly as a response to the confusion prevalent during his time. While all Muslims agreed on the importance of learning based on Qur'anic verses and many prophetic traditions, determining what science is compulsory for every Muslim to acquire appears to be at the heart of the confusion. This question became extremely significant in respect to the tradition, “Seeking knowledge is an ordinance obligatory on every Muslim.” More than twenty groups claimed their own branch of knowledge as the one to which the tradition refers. Each group had its own reasons: the theologians, the jurists, the commentators and the traditionalist and the Sufis. Thus the theologians argued for theology; the jurists for jurisprudence; the commentators and traditionalist for the science of al-Qur'an and hadith; and the Sufis for Sufism. One of Al-Ghazali's commentators adds that even grammarians argued for the case of grammar, and so did the scholars of medicine. Regardless of these different claims, we certainly learn one thing from the confusion, that is, the closeness of learning to religion. of which Hossein Nasr says: “Whatever arguments arose as to the definition of that knowledge the acquisition of which was a religious duty, there is no doubt that the Qur'anic verses and prophetic sayings which emphasized the

importance of learning, along with the fact that the central symbol of the Islamic revelation is a book made learning inseparable from religion.”

THE PRACTICAL SCIENCES

First of all, Al-Ghazali divides the practical sciences according to the legal status of their acquisition. By this, sciences fall into two groups: (1) sciences whose acquisition is individual obligation, or (2) those whose acquisition is communal obligation. Under certain circumstances, however, a science that is individual obligation may become communal obligation when a community does not have enough people knowledgeable in sciences fundamental to its wellbeing. While both the communal obligation and the individual obligation sciences are important, people should follow a line of priorities in their study. First of all, one has to make oneself knowledgeable in those which are communal obligation before getting into the individual obligation sciences. Among the latter too, priorities have to be set according to the needs of a community. One has to start with science that is most needed and not concentrate on any science already studied by a sufficient number of people in that community.

THE COMMUNAL OBLIGATION SCIENCES

The first category, the communal obligation sciences, is basically the knowledge of three things:

a. The faith: It is obligatory for every Muslim to learn the basic articles of the faith. When one reaches puberty, he ought to learn the meaning of the words of confession that is to confess that there is no god but Allah s.w.t. and that Muhammad (s.a.w.) is His Messenger. Al-Ghazali' is of the opinion that it is sufficient that one learns and accepts this through authority.

b. Action: Next to the profession of faith, it is then obligatory for every Muslim to learn how to perform the obligatory worship and rituals according to individual needs, which might be vary from one person to another. For example, when the time of prayer is approaching, it is then compulsory for one to learn how to perform prayer as well as its prerequisites, like ablution. One is not obliged, however, to learn something unless it is required in the near future. Thus there is no need to learn about fasting until the month of Ramadan approaches. The same is true about learning about almsgiving for one who is not wealthy.

c. Prohibition: The acquisition of knowledge about the religious prohibitions is obligatory. However, this does not mean that one should know about all of them. It is sufficient for one to be aware of prohibited things that are present in his community, so that he can avoid them. One is not obliged to acquire knowledge of prohibitions to which he is not likely to be exposed. This is most significant when changes happen in a community. Everyone must determine whether the changes involve the emergence of things prohibited. If so, it is obligatory for the knowledgeable to warn those who seem to be unaware.

THE INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATION SCIENCES

The sciences whose acquisition is individual obligation are of two kinds: religious and non-religious. What Al-Ghazali means by the religious sciences are “those which have been acquired from the prophets.” The rest are deemed non-religious.

THE RELIGIOUS SCIENCES

The religious sciences are then classified according to their importance in understanding and practicing religious teachings:

a. The fundamentals: They are the sciences pertaining to al-Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet Muhammad (s.a.w), the consensus of the Muslims, and the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet. Indeed, these are the sources of the religious teachings of Islam without which correct understanding could not be ensured.

b. The branches: These include the sciences resulting from the understanding and rational commentary of the fundamentals. They might be put into two further divisions: the first is that which deals with the present world, such as Fiqh. By this, however, Al-Ghazali does not mean that Fiqh is completely disconnected from religion. It does relate to religion, but only indirectly. Jurisprudence, he says, deals mostly with the outward performance of religion and has little to do with the inner dimension of religious duties. It is, however, related to religion in the same way the present world is the preparation for and thus is closely related to- the world to come. The second comprises sciences that relate to the world to come, that is the sciences of the conditions of the heart and its good or evil character.

c. The auxiliaries: Included in this group are linguistic sciences and the science of writing, which are intrinsically not religious. Nevertheless, since their services are needed by the fundamentals, they become indispensable. The understanding of al-Qur'an and the Sunnah, for example, requires knowledge of Arabic and its derivatives, just as the preservation of them necessitates the art of writing.

d. The supplementary: These sciences supplement the fundamentals and relate generally to study of al-Qur'an and the Sunnah. Such as the science of pronunciation, different readings, the classifications of the verses into general, particular abrogating or abrogated in their relation to al-Qur'an. In the case of the Sunnah, this would include the science that distinguishes valid tradition from others and the science relating to the biography of the transmitters. Elsewhere Al-Ghazali gives a kind of abridged version of this classification where religious sciences are classified into only two: (1) the fundamentals and (2) the branches. The auxiliary and supplementary sciences are included in either. Linguistics and its sub-divisions, for example, are incorporated in the fundamentals and those related to worship are included in the branches.

THE NON-RELIGIOUS SCIENCES

Al-Ghazali's classifications of the non-religious sciences seem to have been based on a different basis from that of the classification of the religious sciences. Here, he relates the sciences to their social significance, from which he determines the moral value of each. Thus he divides the non-religious sciences into praiseworthy, blameworthy, and permissible. (By this category all religious sciences are praiseworthy.) This can be further explained as follows:

1. Praiseworthy science. That is any science essential to the welfare of a community, such as medicine, Arithmetic, agriculture, weaving, politics, and the like. Al-Ghazali regards the acquisition of

these sciences; therefore a given community has to ensure that it has a reasonable number of people whose professions relate to these sciences.

2. Blameworthy science. That is any science which has no benefit to the community in either religious or secular terms; one should therefore refrain from acquiring them. Al-Ghazali makes it clear that none of these sciences are blameworthy in themselves. A science becomes so for one or a combination of three reasons as below:

- (a) it harms people, either its practitioners or others, like magic and talismanic sciences;
- (b) it is generally hazardous, such as astrology; and
- (c) it has no scientific advantage, such as concentrating on supplementary sciences while neglecting the most important ones or going into detailed and complicated things before knowing even the basic and general principles.

3. Permissible science. Included in this kind are all sciences that are neutral, that is, they do not bring benefits like the praiseworthy sciences: yet they also do not harm people as do the blameworthy sciences. Poetry, history, biography, and similar sciences belong to this group. In addition to this, Al-Ghazali seems to have taken philosophy as a discipline quite apart from the rest of the sciences. If one is to put philosophy into his whole classification of sciences, however, it is most likely to belong to the non-religious sciences under the third category, i.e., the permissible. According to Al-Ghazali's philosophy is not a single science, but rather a term that covers six sciences:

1. Mathematics, which includes arithmetic and geometry. The study of these is permissible so long as they do not bring about the danger of falling into the blameworthy sciences.

2 and 3. Logic and Metaphysics. Besides being parts of philosophy, both logic and metaphysics are also included by Al-Ghazali under scholastic theology. Interestingly, however, while having an evidently negative attitude towards metaphysics. Al-Ghazali is of the opinion that theology is important for defending the faith. In fact the science of theology becomes individual obligation when superstitions are widespread among the masses, that is to say when the necessity to defend the faith arises. Perhaps it would be a safe conclusion to say that logic and metaphysics are important so long as they are used within theological framework in the context of defending the faith. Indeed the use of logic in theology has been one of the achievements where Al-Ghazali contributes much.

4. Natural sciences: Some of the natural sciences are considered by Al-Ghazali as contradictory to religion. Others, like the knowledge of the human body, however, are useful, for example, in medicine.

5. Politics: Al-Ghazali's seems to find no objection against politics since according to him it is derived from divine scriptures and the teachings of the early prophets and saints. As a matter of fact he includes politics in the praiseworthy sciences.

6. Ethics. According to Al-Ghazali ethics is derived from the teachings of the Sufis, although the philosophers have incorporated materials of their own into it. His standpoint regarding ethics is that one has to be extremely careful when dealing with it. There is danger in both accepting and

rejecting it without considerations. Only those who are able to differentiate the original teachings from that of the philosophers are allowed to deal with it.

SPIRITUAL SCIENCES

Due to the subtle nature of this science (in comparison to the practical sciences) we do not have detailed information regarding it. Nevertheless, Al-Ghazali provides some material which might help us in understanding what he meant. It is, he says, a secret and inner science that stands as the ultimate aim of the rest of the sciences (including the practical ones). Apparently this science is not attained through the senses or the rational faculties. "It stands for a light which shines in the heart when it is cleansed and purified of its blameworthy qualities." It is this light that facilitates the attainment of the knowledge of the essence of Allah s.w.t. as well as other spiritual beings.

Attached to spiritual science, Al-Ghazali says, is the science of the way to the Hereafter. These functions as the preparation for the boundaries, however, are not very clear and often the two seem to have been mixed and equated with each other since it deals with the methods of the removal of barriers from the heart in the same way that dirt is removed from a mirror. It also deals with the qualities of the heart, which might be divided into two aspects: (1) the knowledge of the qualities, their natures, their causes and results, and the signs of their presence; and (2) the knowledge of the ways of cultivating the praiseworthy qualities (such as patience, gratitude, fear of Allah s.w.t., hope, contentment, piety, and generosity) as well as the ways of removing the blameworthy ones (such as envy, pride, deceit, hypocrisy, hatred, vanity, and brutality). In short, it concerns things that make one fully prepared for the spiritual science. It is to be noted that Al-Ghazali stresses the significance of these qualities for their being the sources of human external actions: the good praiseworthy qualities produce good actions as the evil ones bring about bad actions. This being so, the knowledge of these qualities is considered individual obligation by its exponents, which Al-Ghazali often calls the scholars of the next world. Al-Ghazali tries to put all branches of knowledge into one continuing line by which or(understands the position of a science in relation to other sciences as well as its role in one's striving to achieve the highest science, and to attain the ultimate aim, eternal happiness. In this particular passage he uses the analogy of a slave whose master agrees to free him on the condition that he first makes his way to Mecca and perform the pilgrimage. The freedom here stands for eternal happiness. This slave says Al-Ghazali, deals with three basic stages of a program. The first is the introductory stage when he has to provide himself with a good means of transportation (camel, horse, etc.) and other necessary provisions for his journey (presumably he lives in a distant country from Mecca). The second stage is when he sets for Mecca, leaving his hometown. With excellent provisions he is most likely to reach his destination. Still, he needs to have courage and self-determination in order to make his way. The third stage is the time after his arrival in Mecca, when he has to perform the actual pilgrimage. Once he finishes his pilgrimage and has done it properly, he is certainly free and no longer a slave. The thing to be noted here is that in each stage, several activities have to be done and they have their own rules. The whole range of sciences can be compared with these three stages according to their services for one in achieving endless happiness. Some sciences stand for the

preparatory stage. These are the sciences which deal with daily life and interrelations among men and the physical welfare of the community, such as medicine, jurisprudence, mathematics, agriculture, and so on. Others, associated with the second stage, are concernedly with the process and methods of purifying the heart and removing the barriers between one and Allah s.w.t.. The equivalent of the last stage is the science by which one attains knowledge about Allah s.w.t. and the spiritual world and what is in it. This is the ultimate science to which the rest are auxiliary. What is striking here is that with this continuing line Al-Ghazali in fact tries to tie together all sciences which essentially belong to two different domains. Some might be called the rational sciences. Others, however, in which intuition is more dominant, can be termed the Sufi sciences. But Al-Ghazali connects the two by placing the former as preparatory to the latter. He thus makes every science, from mathematics and medicine to Fiqh and the Sufi science of the secrets of the heart relevant to different degrees, for the achievement of endless happiness. While it is evident that he favors the Sufi sciences, he nevertheless is of the opinion that they need to be accompanied by rational sciences in order to be complete.

SUMMARY OF AL-GHAZALI'S THEORIES OF KNOWLEDGE

Knowledge is pursued and practiced with modesty and humility and leads to dignity, freedom and justice. The main purpose of acquiring knowledge is to bring us closer to our Creator. It is not simply for the gratification of the mind or the senses. It is not knowledge for the sake of knowledge. Knowledge accordingly must be linked with values and goals. Men as his descendent certainly inherited the knowledge of the first human being who was very *close* to the Divine Reality. This is why when he is aware of his intellectual power, leading of dissatisfaction arose in him for virtuous life and whatever related to it. In order to get benefits and make proper use of things in creation, he wanted to know and understand the secrets behind the things around him. Allah s.w.t. has revealed the sciences to His messengers so that they will disseminate those sciences to their people for example, Allah s.w.t. revealed all the intellectual sciences to Prophet Idris who was also a first astrologer. In turn, he disseminated these sciences to mankind or to whom he was exclusively sent.

Al-Ghazali maintained that education is one of the most important opportunities for humans, and that every situation should be considered a chance to seek or transmit knowledge. There are descriptions of Al-Ghazali's theories about knowledge, the merit of knowledge, the ways of acquiring knowledge, the nature of knowledge sources of knowledge, hindrances to the learning process, and individual difference among learners. He asserted that the "taking in" of knowledge involves not just the concept of mental cognition intellect, but also includes the soul, spirit, and heart, which are part of intellect. He described these terms and his understanding of these concepts in several of his books.

CONCLUSION

It is interesting to note that he sometimes used different Arabic words and terms to depict these concepts from different perspectives, but it is clear from studying these texts that he was referring to the same aspects of human knowledge. Al-Ghazali spent a good deal of time investigating knowledge and how humans acquire it. He discussed the value of being knowledgeable, the role intellect plays in the acquisition of knowledge, and how people come to know. In the *Ihya-ul-uloom*, he related the

intellect to a mirror that reflects things observed into the intellect to be known. He offered some conditions that could act as impediments to the knowing process, relating them to similar characteristics in mirrors, such as how not knowing how to use a mirror properly or the mirror's being tarnished result in failure of the observation to be absorbed accurately into the intellect. He also emphasized that learning something without putting it into practice invalidated what had been learned. He referred here not only to expressing one's self through the five physical senses, but also through one's heart. In the he used the analogy of the body being like a kingdom, where the heart and mind were the king and the other part of the body were the king's servants. Al-Ghazali recommended examining the truth, and noted that whoever does not doubt does not look whoever does not look does not see, and whoever does not see remains blind and perplexed. This is not to say that everything is automatically unreliable, but he wanted students to take the time to investigate and not just assume that something is as it appeared. Al-Ghazali asserted that those who do not know the truth will stay in darkness and error.

Taking Al-Ghazali's theories of knowledge, one might conclude that Al-Ghazali in his theories of knowledge wanted to tell that all should be aware of all of these processes of knowing (role of intellect, way of knowing, process of learning, and obstacle to learning) in their educational relationships with the pupils. This concept can be superimposed to the Parent-Child relationship, that is, parents' awareness is important when teaching their children.

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A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY ON ISLAMIC EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN MALAYSIA AND BANGLADESH

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ABSTRACT

Education is one of the most important factors that contribute to reform for the development of a society to a standard level. Islam considers the education as a form of worship ('ibadah) where the education originated and distributed based on the Islamic perspectives especially from the authentic, reliable and ultimate source of knowledge Quran and Hadith that is known as Islamic education. The purpose of Islamic education is to build an individual's mind for the sake of Allah by doing good deeds in this world. The spiritual development is given highest priority in Islamic educational system. Considering the importance of the Islamic education, this paper aims to outline about Islamic educational system in two Muslim countries namely Malaysia and Bangladesh. It addresses Islamic educational system, historical background of Islamic education, its achievements, challenges and opportunities both in Malaysia and Bangladesh. Some research surveys have conducted to assess the Islamic educational perspectives, acceptance and few matters among the different level of personnel. Research findings show different perspectives of the population from Malaysia and Bangladesh. Finally, this paper suggests some guidelines to enhance the Islamic educational system in Malaysia especially in Bangladesh.

INTRODUCTION

Education is one of the most important factors that contribute to reform for the development of a society to a standard level. Generally, education is the sharing of common set of beliefs, values, norms, and understanding from the aged generation to its next generation (Hashim & Langgulung, 2008). Islam considers the education as a form of worship ('ibadah) where the education originated

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and distributed based on the Islamic perspectives especially from the authentic, reliable and ultimate source of knowledge Quran and Hadith. Education is a continuous process that prepares an individual to actualize his role as a vicegerent (Khalifah) of Allah to implement His rules and regulations in the society to form a peaceful society that will bring success in this world and hereafter (Hassan, 1989). The purpose of the education is to establish peace, justice, matured level of understanding, critical thinking and mutual respect to each other in the society. The purpose of Islamic education is not to fill up the student's mind with facts but to prepare them for a life of purity and sincerity (Al-Attas, 1984). The purpose of Islamic education is to build an individual's mind for the sake of Allah by doing good deeds in this world. The spiritual development is given highest priority in Islamic education system.

A more comprehensive definition of Islamic education was composed at the first world conference¹ on Muslim education in Makkah in 1977, the following words:

Education should aim at the balanced growth of the total personality of man through the training of man's spirit, intellect, his rational self, feelings and bodily senses. Education should cater therefore for the growth of man in all its aspects: spiritual, intellectual, imaginative, physical, scientific, linguistic, both individually and collectively and motivate all aspects towards goodness and the attainment of perfection. The ultimate aim of Muslim education lies in the realization of complete submission to Allah on the level of the individual, the community and humanity at large.

Ashraf², S. A. (1985)

Education has three important entities, namely; the individual, the society and the community and these are considered as an important pillar of national development in many societies in the world (Ashraf & Hussain, 1979). Considering these factors for the development, an Islamic educational curriculum is essentially needed to set an objective for the spiritual development. Therefore, Muslim scholars agreed in the Mecca declaration that in order to develop the Islamic system and society, an educational system and its curriculum must be planned according to Islamic worldview. Hence, scholars stress that Islamization of curriculum is to place the curriculum and its four components; aims and objectives, content, methods of teaching and method of evaluation within the Islamic worldview (Langgulung, 2004). The writers strongly believe that the function of Islamic education should endeavor to teach and help students acquire different aspects of knowledge within the parameters of Islam through the use of a well designed curriculum.

¹ The first conference of Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) held at Makkah where Muslim scholars across the country gathered and proposed the framework of the Islamic education in the Muslim countries.

² Syed Ali Ashraf was the representative of Bangladesh and Al-Attas was the delegate from Malaysia to the OIC in 1977 at Makkah

According to the history, Malaysian educational system had developed based on the “Pondok” system. The word pondok is an imitative of the Arabic word “funduq” which philologically means an inn or hotel, (Rosnani, 2004). It implies to the conventional religious school for male students who resides and study under the direction of the teacher known as “*guru*” (Winzeler, 1975). The residential environment of the pondok educational system is described by Rosnani such an institution as consisting of “a centrally located building, usually the teacher’s house or a mosque, surrounded by rows of small huts or dwelling” (Rosnani, 2004). According to (Buang, 2007), such small huts as constituting the pondok around the residence of the guru are normally built by students in order for them to live around his residence and his surau (prayer house) thereby keeping in close proximity with him.

Islamic education or Madrasha education system has a glorious history in Indian sub-continent. In the Indian sub-continent including Bangladesh the madrasha system was conceived with the introduction of Islam preached by Muslim Sufis and saints, and the arrival of Muslim rule. Madrashahs were originally places for spiritual worship or khanqas that later developed into maktabas which taught Quran recitation and Islamic rituals; and at that time madrasha were formed as sites of Islamic theological education. From the 13th to 19th centuries, the Muslim rulers of this region built maktabas or madrashas alongside mosques to teach both religion and science. Consequently, as Muslim rule consolidated, madrashahs became the principal institutions in the education system. As Muslim empires fell or declined, one after another, Muslim learning went into decline and the Muslim education system began to crumble. The subsequent period was, in Muslim history, one that deeply affected the functioning and philosophy of the madrashas all over the Muslim world. Where once they had been open to reason and free thinking, scores of Muslims deserted these pursuits, and began to concentrate on the teachings of Islam as contained in the Quran.

Malaysia and Bangladesh are two Muslim countries in the world those have a great contribution towards the Muslim “*ummah*”. These two countries share many interests themselves where education is one of the main agenda. However, there is a lack of comprehensive study on educational system especially on the Islamic educational system between these two countries. The comparative data are not properly well addressed to be analyzed. Therefore, this paper aims to provide the history of the Islamic educational system between Malaysia and Bangladesh with the background of Islamic educational system in different times.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. Section II reviews the related literatures on this topic and highlights the important points. The methodology is addressed in section III. Section IV evaluates the educational system of Malaysia and Bangladesh with comprehensive analysis. Findings and data analysis is highlighted in section V. Finally, conclusion and future works are address in section VI.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Islamic education is one of the most important elements of the Muslim civilizations. Islamic education is based on the Quran and Sunnah’s philosophy and teaching. Malaysia and Bangladesh are two

Muslim countries where Islamic educations are deployed in different ways. Malaysia is a multicultural country where educational system is developed on the integrated approaches. On the other hand, Bangladesh and in the sub-continent have a long history related to Islamic education. Syed Muhammad Naquib Al-Attas is a famous and respected Malaysian Islamic scholar who has been working on Islamic education more than 40 years (1960 to now). He is renowned in regional as well as international levels among the intellectuals and academic bodies for his depth knowledge of Islamic education. He is the man who presented a keynote paper at the first world conference of Muslim education held at Macca in 1977 that was a milestone towards Islamic Education. In this paper he presents an alternative outline of Islamic education against of secular educational system (Hassan). He has written many books, articles related to the Islamic education. In 1978, he wrote a book, "Islam and Secularism" where he has defined the secularism as follows:

The term secular comes from the Latin saeculum, conveys a meaning with a marked dual connotation of time and location; the time referring to the 'now' or 'present' sense of it, and the location to the 'world' or 'worldly' sense of it. Thus saeculum means 'this age' or 'the present time' refers to events in this world, and it also means 'contemporary events'. The concept secular refers to the condition of the world at this particular time. Secularization is defined as the deliverance of man first from religious and then from metaphysical control over his reason and his language.

Moreover, in 1991 he gave a framework of Islamic education for the Muslim countries through his book "The Concept of Education in Islam: A Framework for an Islamic Philosophy of Education" (Al-Attas, 1991). (Hamid, 2010) described in his book about the Islamic educational development in Malaysia and its curriculum in details. Here he explained the history of Islamic education in Malaysia from different perspectives and showed a guideline towards development of Islamic education. A comprehensive analysis has found about traditional Malay Islamic educational system called "pondok" and its functionalities in the society (Hashim et al, 2011). Moreover, pondok has compared with two other traditional Islamic institutes, namely; Pesantren in Indonesia and traditional Madrasha in Nigeria with its management and operation detailed curriculum. It has discussed properly about the history of Islamic education, goals and aims of Islamic education, curriculum of Islamic education in any country, and teachers' responsibility with emphasizing on the teaching methodologies (Rosnani, 2004). Moreover, it is also highlighted to improve the quality of Islamic education as recommendations. The summary of the recommendations are:

- Teachers need to be more concern for teaching their students
- Religious teachers also need to know some basics of science other basic knowledge
- Teachers have to follow the lectures and discussion method
- Arabic subjects must be compulsory for the Muslim students
- The subjects "Quran" must be a textbook at the primary level
- Translation and explanation of Quran must be read at the schools
- Students should not be punished immediately
- Need to teach ethical and moral values

Islamic education in Bangladesh has a long history from its past history. (Abdalla et al, 2004) completed a research that was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to evaluate the quality of Islamic education in Bangladesh. The researchers have done some surveys across the country related to know information about the quality of Islamic education from many aspects. This research investigated the strengths and weaknesses of the Islamic education in Bangladesh in public and private Islamic institutes. This research provides number of statistical data on Islamic education and gives some suggestions for improving the quality of Islamic education in the country. Finally it has concluded with some recommendations those are:

- Modernizing the curriculum
- Technology education
- Teacher training and preparation
- Educational and recreational facilities
- Vocational training

(Asadullah, 2009) discussed about Islamic institutes namely alia madrasah and qwami Madrasha in details. The findings of this research can be summarized as follows:

- Most of the Madrashahs are established in rural areas
- Generally, poorer households send their children to the Madrasha
- Madrasha enrollment increases rapidly, especially for girls
- Quality of teaching is not satisfactory with compared to general secular school system
- Learning in Mathematics and English needs to be improved
- Girls perform worse than boys especially in Mathematics and English

Rural Madrashahs need more improvements in terms of trained teachers, good management, and enhanced facilities.

METHODOLOGY

A mixed method³ of research namely qualitative and quantitative research methods has used in this research work. The research finds data based on some structured questionnaires. In order to gather a comprehensive picture on Islamic education of Malaysia and Bangladesh, it is important to retrieve relevant information from the personnel who are directly involved like students and teachers. This research has collected some statistical data from official sites of Malaysian Ministry of Education (MOE) and Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBIES). It also gathered some data from many books, journals, conferences, articles and many sources to know more about Islamic education in Malaysia and Bangladesh. Four different locations from Malaysia and four different locations from Bangladesh have considered for the sample collection that reflects in this research on Islamic education. Within these targeted areas, some Islamic institutions and general schools in these two countries are considered as the pilot research locations. It is also noted that, most

³ Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies have been used for this research. Historical background, philosophical concern and conceptual issues of Islamic education cover the qualitative method where interviewed and surveyed data analyzed through quantitative method.

of them are combined Islamic educational institutions except a private female Islamic institute. The research surveys have conducted on the above mentioned geographical area within some Islamic institutions in both countries. In each institution, the researcher followed a structured research model among the sample populations. The overall surveys are classified into two types, namely; urban and rural. In each category different levels of students, are the targeted populations for conducting the surveys. Types of students are classified into three sub-categories, namely; grade five, grade ten and grade twelve in both countries.

EVALUATION ON EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Educational System In Malaysia

Malaysia is one of the developed countries in the world. It has been improving towards advancements in many sectors including educational one. After getting independence from the British rule in 1957, many strategies and initiatives on educational system have been undertaken and implemented for the development. At present, generally Malaysian educational system is integrated in terms of secular system and Islamic educational system from primary level to tertiary levels. Malaysian educational system can be categorized into different segments namely; primary, secondary, diploma and tertiary including postgraduate studies.

The government of Malaysia has been taken all necessary initiatives in providing education to all of its citizens especially to the children for primary and secondary education. The overall education system is divided into several fragments namely; primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary education system consists of two parts; pre-primary that starts from 4 years to 5 years of a child and primary education is for 6 years starting from 6 years old of a child to 11 years old. Similarly, the secondary education also divided into two parts, namely; lower secondary for 3 years until 14 years old and upper secondary for 2 years till 16 years old as depicted in figure 1.

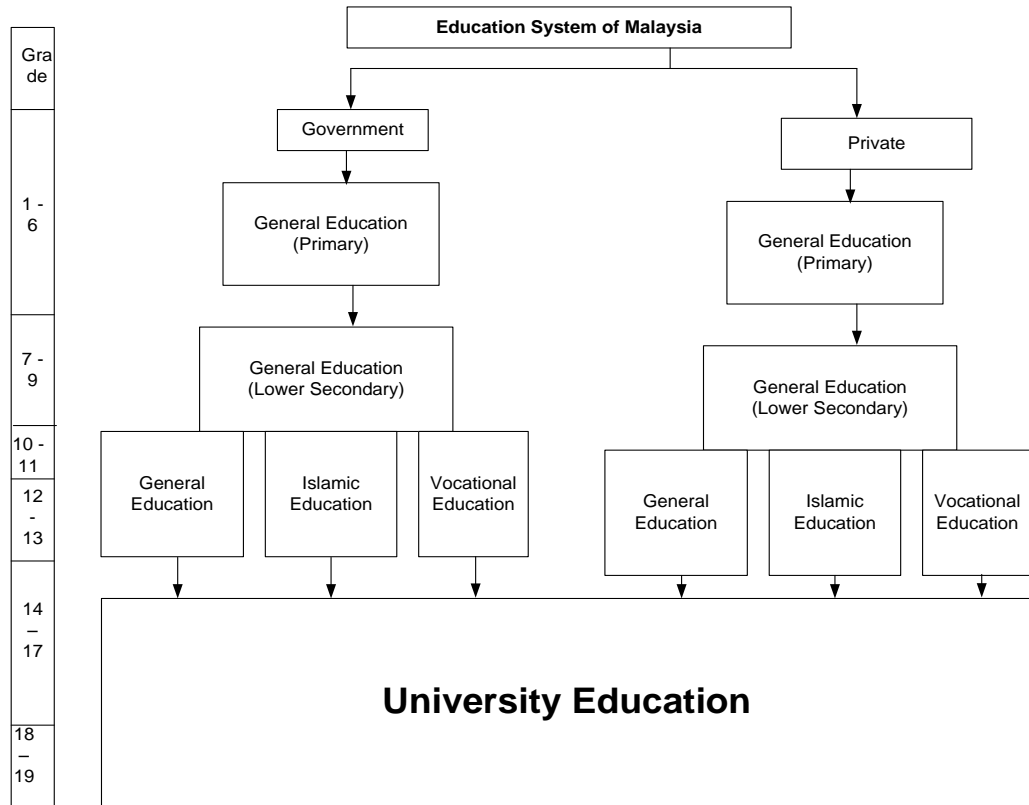


Figure 1: Malaysian educational Structure

The educational curriculum system is same for all the students until lower secondary class and students have to sit for a public examination at the end of the grade 9. After this level, students might have been moving to different fields namely; academic, technical and vocational at the upper level education. All levels of the students have to sit for a public exam at the end of grade 11 at the age of 16 which is equivalent of O-level of British education system known as SPM. Upon completion of upper secondary education, students can choose to pursue 1 to 2 years for post-secondary education which is known as STPM equivalent to A-level. This stage is considered as the preparation field for entering to the university at the tertiary level. Meanwhile, there is an option after completion of secondary for the students to choose alternative education like, technical, vocational or any short courses for example, diploma course from the universities. Generally, at the age of 18, students enter to the universities for higher studies and they spend 4 years to be graduated and additional 2 years for the master’s degree.

It is noted that most of the primary and secondary schools are funded, aided, organized and monitored by the government. The government provides more than 95% of primary and secondary education and about 60% of the tertiary education in the country. The education of these levels is fully free to the entire citizen regardless to its races. There are small number of private primary and secondary schools. However, these private schools also monitored by the government in terms of teacher recruitment, fund management and quality of education. The private institute can be categorized into two, namely; Private Educational Institutions (PEIs) and Private Higher Educational Institutions (PHEIs). PEIs provide education at preschool, primary and secondary levels that is not

more than 5% and balance 95% provided by the government. PEIs comprise private schools and foreign system schools. Moreover, PHEIs provide tertiary education leading to the awarding of certificate, diploma and degree qualifications that is around 40%. There are significant numbers of foreign universities contributing in providing quality education in Malaysia. The government itself provides 60% of tertiary education.

Educational System In Bangladesh

b. Government Institutions

It provides general education to all at the primary level for free. General studies are designed for 5 years. After completing primary education, students move to either secondary education system that is Bangla medium schools or vocational education system. At Bangla medium secondary school students study for 5 years and vocational students study for 7 years. After completion of Bangla medium school, students go to higher secondary level institutes that are known as college meanwhile the vocational students directly go to the university as they have to complete 12 years at the vocational institutes. The overall educational system has shown in figure 2.

c. Semi-Government Institution

It has two types of educational system, namely; general education and Islamic or Madrasha education system. General education system exactly follows the government approved syllabus and monitored by the government. A student can go to the university after completion of secondary and higher secondary education that is for 5 years and 2 years respectively from semi government educational institutions. On the other hand, part of Islamic or Madrasha education systems are provided by the semi government system those are known as Alia Madrasha. Alia Madrasha has basically four types of frameworks of teaching, namely; Dakhil (equivalent to SSC or “O” level), Alim (equivalent to HSC or “A” level), Fadil (equivalent to degree or bachelor) and Kamil (equivalent to Masters).

Dakhil: The level of Dakhil can be divided into three parts, Ibtadayee, Junior Dhakil and Dhakil. The Ibtadayee is equivalent to primary level of general education that is from grade 1 to grade 5. Nowadays, a student sits for the public exam after completion of primary level like general education system known as “Somaponi” or completion examination. After primary level, students proceed to the junior Dhakil that is from grade 6 to grade 8 and sit for a public exam known as Junior Dhakil Certificate (JDC) examination. A student proceed to the Dhakil level after completion JDC exam and this stage is for two years namely from grade 9 to grade 10. The certificate of Dakhil is equivalent of “O” level of British educational system. At the grade 9, a student can choose his major on General, Science and Mujabbid group. In general group, a student studies some common subjects like English, Mathematics, Bangla with the religious subjects for example Quran, Hadith, Arabic in details, Islamic economics and Islamic history.

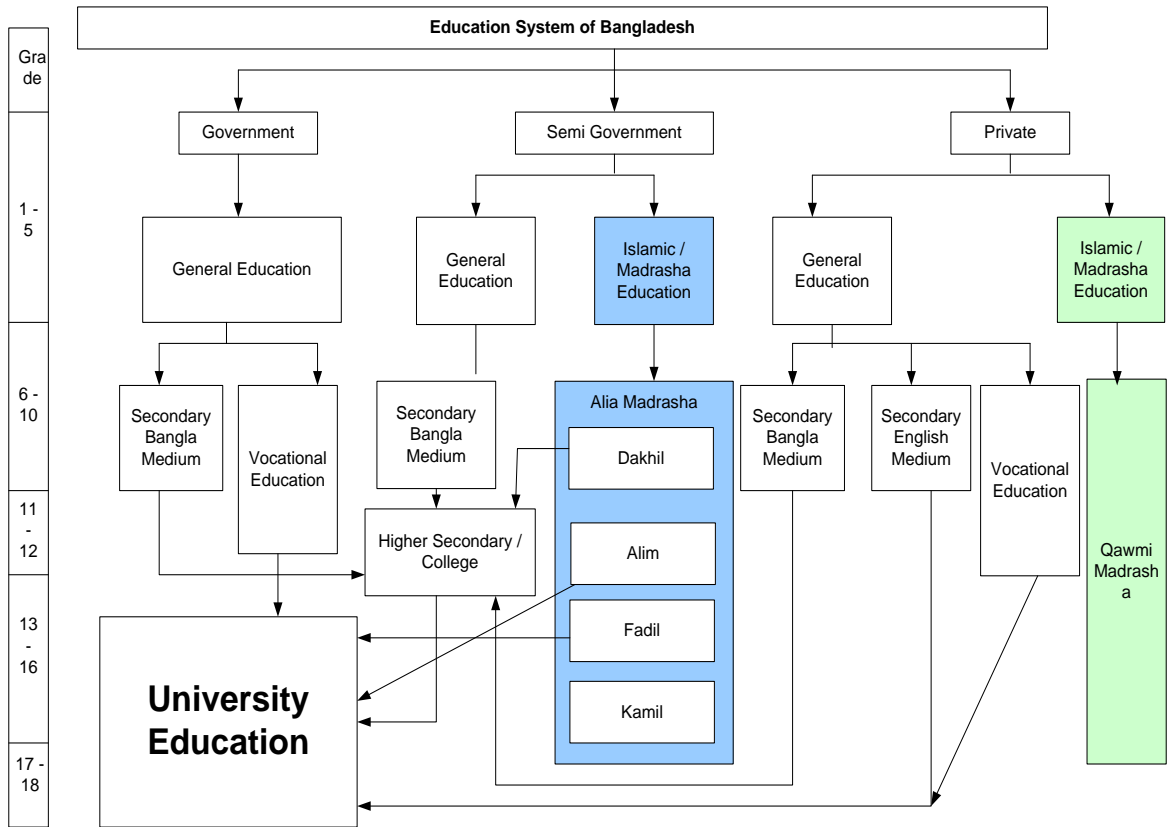


Figure 2: Educational system in Bangladesh

In the science group, a student can study physics, chemistry, mathematics and biology while he is taking religious subjects like Quran, Hadith, Fiqh, and some Arabic subjects. In Mujabbid group, a student can expand his knowledge on more religious subjects basically on Quran recitation and understanding from different perspective. The details of the subjects are given in table 2.

Alim: This is equivalent to the higher secondary level of the mainstream school system (grades 11-12) or equivalent to the “A” level of British educational system. Alim level can be categorized into three sub groups, namely; general (humanities) group, science group and mujabbid (memorization of holy Quran) group. In general group, the basic subjects of Islam like Quran, Hadith, Islamic history, Islamic economics, Islamic jurisprudence, Mathematics, Arabic and English are mainly taught in details. Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics, Arabic, Quran and Hadith are the main subjects in the science group. It is noted that in science group less Arabic and religious subjects are included in the syllabus as core science subjects are added in the syllabus. Most of the students from science group switch to the general educational system at tertiary level like engineering and medical universities. Mujabbid group is mostly related to the understanding and recitation of the holy Quran with some basic subjects like Mathematics, English, Islamic history and Islamic economics. The students from general and mujabbid groups normally continue to the higher madrasha education like Fazil and Kamil and become a real ‘Aleem (a religious person). On the other hand, students from science group mostly move to the university that fills out the lacking of Muslim scholars in the field of science and technology.

Fazil: This level is equal to the bachelor level of the general educational system. The duration of the Fazil degree is for three years (grades 13-15). At this stage, the intensity of religious subjects increases with the addition of subjects such as Islamic logic, law, in depth study of Arabic literature and history. Students also study English and other basic social studies books.

Kamil: This is the highest level of religious education and is equivalent to a Masters degree in Islamic studies from a regular university. After completion of this stage, a student is expected to have gained knowledge on all aspects of Islam and lead large congregations. At this level, students are not required to study any secular subjects. This level can be categorized into four major groups like theology in Hadith, theology in Quran, theology in Fiqh and higher studies in Arabic. In all these four branches, students rich their knowledge and become a Muslim scholar in the field of Islamic studies.

Comprehensive Analysis On Islamic Education In Malaysia And Bangladesh

Malaysia and Bangladesh both are Muslim countries with Muslim majority of 53% and 83% respectively. Both countries expend large amount for their educational development as shown in table 1 that Malaysia budgets for 15% and Bangladesh expend 16%. The quality of Islamic schools in Malaysia are quite satisfactory where in Bangladesh is low.

Table 1: Student Enrollment at Different Levels:

Country (Percent Muslim)	Government Expenditure on Education (Percent)	Public School Access	Public School Quality	Students in Public School (Percent)	Students in Islamic School (Percent)
Bangladesh (83)	16	Primary: High enrollments with regional differences	Low	92	8
		Secondary: Moderate enrollments with regional disparities			
		Gender disparities persist			
Malaysia (53)	15	Primary: High enrollments with regional differences	Relatively good but some improvements	Primary 78	Primary 22
		Secondary: High enrollments with regional differences		Secondary 89	Secondary 11
		Relative gender equity			

In Malaysia, the number of Islamic schools students are significantly more that is 22% in primary level. In Bangladesh, the enrollment at the Islamic school or Madrashas are quite less that is

8% of the total students in country. It is noted that, in both countries enrollment is high to the public institutions which is a great improvement for the development.

Table 2 discusses the Islamic educational management system both in Bangladesh and Malaysia. In Bangladesh, Islamic education has two types of Islamic educational systems namely; Alia madrasha that is public and Qawmi madrasha which is private. In Alia madrasha, both secular and islamic subjects are taught where in the Qwami madrasha only religious subjects are included in the syllabus. Alia madrashas are considered as modern Islamic educational institute that is financed and monitored by the government where less extremist threat happen and in the Qwami madrashas are privately established and some extremist exist. On the other hand, all Malaysian religious schools are established, controlled and monitored by the state government where both secular and religious subjects are taught. Few extremist threats exist but under controlled by the government.

Table 2: Islamic Education Management System

Country	Types of School	Public or Private	Teaches Religious Subjects only	Teaches Secular Subjects	Extremist Threat	Governance
Bangladesh	Alia Madrasha	Public	No	Yes, religious and public school curricula	Low: Not enough evidence for the threat	Finance and governs by the ministry of finance and ministry of education of the state
	Qawmi Madrasha	Private	Yes	No	Some evidence exists	Not regulated by the government
Malaysia	National Religious School	Public	No	All follow public curricula approved by the government with combined religious and secular subjects.	Relatively high in private school but under controlled by the government.	All subjects are approved by the Government. National religious schools are fully funded by the federal government.

FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

Perceptions Of The Students

Students are one of the key elements of the Islamic or Madrasha education both in Malaysia and Bangladesh. Therefore, their opinion is given due consideration to measure the quality of Islamic education in these countries. The students from higher secondary level are considered the matured enough for measurement the quality of Islamic education as they have completed these classes in past years. A survey form has given to a student that has analyzed in qualitative approach that is included in the appendix. They are asked some structured questions to know the about Islamic educational system in Malaysia based on different categories like male and female, rural and urban and four major locations of Malaysia and Bangladesh. The results are discussed in the following sections.

a) A higher secondary student's opinion on primary education

A survey form has distributed among the higher secondary level students both male and female to assess the quality of Islamic education that primary students receive at the Islamic institutes. The responses of the students are categorized into six items namely, don't know, very poor, poor, middle, good and excellent. Table 3 shows the overall results that students have replied both in Malaysia and Bangladesh in number with percentage. The survey has conducted among 291 students where 138 were male and 153 were female in Malaysia.

Table 3: What do you think of the quality of education that primary students receive?

Responses	Malaysia			Bangladesh		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Don't know	3 (2%)	5 (3%)	8 (3%)	2 (1%)	7 (10%)	9 (4%)
Very poor	12 (9%)	17 (11%)	29 (10%)	14 (8%)	5 (7%)	19 (8%)
Poor	18 (13%)	21 (14%)	39 (13%)	25 (14%)	9 (12%)	34 (13%)
Middle	33 (24%)	39 (26%)	72 (25%)	39 (22%)	19 (26%)	58 (23%)
Good	48 (35%)	54 (35%)	102 (35%)	52 (29%)	21 (29%)	73 (29%)
Excellent	24 (17%)	17 (11%)	41 (14%)	46 (26%)	12 (16%)	58 (23%)
Total	138 (100%)	153 (100%)	291 (100%)	178 (100%)	73 (100%)	251 (100%)

On the other hand, in Bangladesh 251 students were surveyed while 178 were male and 73 were female. Same survey has conducted in both countries and they are asked what do you think of the quality of education that primary students receive. It can be noted from the table that female interviewee are more in Malaysia than Bangladesh and 60% of the Malaysian and Bangladeshi students are satisfied with the quality of Islamic education at primary level. 10% Malaysian students responded that the education is very poor while in Bangladesh 8% students indicated this level. On the other hand 23% students of Bangladesh said primary Islamic education is excellent while Malaysian students replied this number is 14%.

b) Students' views on their education

This research has emphasized on students opinions from different perspectives like their favorite subjects, their most likely items and mostly disliked items in the Madrashes. In this research, the students are classified into three categories namely; primary, secondary and higher secondary both in

Malaysia and Bangladesh. Some of the main subjects are listed in the table 4 namely; Arabic, English, Mathematics, Science, Social Science etc. It can be noted from the table that, Arabic subject is favorite to the primary students in both countries and the trend is decreasing slowly among the secondary and higher secondary as shown in shaded area.

English language is favorite to all levels of students in Malaysia while in Bangladesh it is not that much favorite to the primary and secondary students. The increasing trend has observed in Bangladeshi students that higher secondary level students like the English more than primary and secondary which has shaded in the table 11. Most significance difference has noted in case of science and mathematics. According to the survey, mathematics is least likely subjects to Malaysian students at all levels and their number is not exceeded 37%. On the other hand, mathematics is the most favorite subject to Bangladeshi students at all levels as noted primary 78%, secondary 86% and 43% for higher secondary level.

Table 4: What is the favorite subject at your Madrasha?

Subjects	Malaysia			Bangladesh		
	Primary N= 218	Secondary N = 146	Higher secondary N = 98	Primary (Ebtidai) N = 231	Secondary (Dakhil) N = 153	Higher secondary (Alim) N= 104
Arabic	64%	56%	47%	57%	42%	35%
Mother Language	74%	68%	55%	58%	52%	55%
English	34%	43%	51%	28%	47%	68%
Religious Subjects	45%	52%	37%	74%	67%	52%
Math	25%	32%	37%	78%	86%	43%
Science	34%	41%	47%	31%	62%	34%
Social Science	45%	53%	64%	43%	48%	64%
Art/Music	75%	68%	53%	64%	38%	12%

Moreover, science is generally favorite to all levels of students in both countries. Finally, art and music are more favorite among Malaysian students than Bangladeshi students. It is also noted that these extracurricular subjects are more favorite to primary level students in Bangladesh compared to secondary and higher secondary level.

CONCLUSION

This paper aims to investigate the development of Islamic educational system as well as secular educational system between Malaysia and Bangladesh. The comparative study on Islamic education between Malaysia and Bangladesh is very important to know the educational system especially the Islamic educational system of these two friend countries. This study focuses on the curriculum system of these two countries from primary level to higher secondary level, the strength and the weakness of these countries. A comprehensive analysis has done on these two countries in terms of student

enrollment and management system. Higher secondary students' perception has taken for the consideration to assess the quality of Islamic educational system in these two countries.

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ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN WEST AFRICA DURING MEDIEVAL TIMES

By:

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The theme of Islamic education in West Africa during the early and late medieval times is a neglected topic in contemporary writing. If one excludes the few scattered articles that are referenced in this paper, no scholarly work has been focused exclusively on the Islamic education in West Africa. Indeed, at one point the typical view was that before the arrival of the Europeans in the late eighteenth century there were no advanced forms of learning at all in the area as stated by Antwi (1992:23). It is remarkable that Islam and the features of culture that accompany it were often unobserved, even in the most authoritative works on cultural contact in the region. Yet, Islamic education and its various institutions have operated in the area longer than European ones and still continue to hold a significant place in both private and public life. Muslim writing during the medieval period indicates that the area was culturally vibrant and that Islamic learning was deeply rooted there. Additionally, West African students and scholars were studying a broad range of academic disciplines at the Sankore University of Timbuktu, the most famous institution of learning in the region during the period of the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. This paper will shed light on the history of the Islamic education in the West Africa during medieval. It is divided into three sections. In the first section, the transmission of literacy and Islamic learning to the western Sahara and West African people will be traced together with the agents which facilitated the spread of schooling and the tools used to communicate knowledge. Section two, will examine the stages of learning and great attention will be given to secondary and advanced forms of learning analyzing their basics and the teaching methodologies and philosophy. The most famous institutions of learning and examples of some celebrated scholars of the region, in their respective order, are attached in Appendix A and B.

THE TRANSMISSION OF THE LITERACY AND ISLAMIC LEARNING TO THE WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE

The term 'West Africa' designates a region often referred to as western and central Sudan, lying south of the Sahara and separating the Sahara from the equatorial forest⁶⁵⁵. Islam began

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⁶⁵⁵ The entire West Africa currently comprises the countries of Mali, Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Togo, and Benin.

to penetrate into this region from the western Saharan known as Bilad Shinqit, this vast region was peopled by the Berber Sanhaja, whom have no knowledge of literacy. Early Arabic sources narrated that in the second half of the 1st/7th century, Uqba b. Nafaa al-Fihri (d. 63/682-3) conquered the Western Saharan and built the first *masjid* there, which named after him (Ibn Abd al-Hakam, 1922, I, 179 and Ibn Abi Zara, 1959:76). Uqba had left a number of Muslims in the region to assist with the development of literacy and to teach the Quran and Islamic doctrine to the Berbers Sanhaja). It is said that through this act Uqba sowed the first seeds of Islamic learning among these people. These began to grow quickly due to the concerted efforts of Muslim traders and immigrants from North Africa, who settled among Berber Sanhaja. By the 2nd/8th century, many of the Berber Sanhaja were already practising Islam and producing Islamic learning, which they transmitted to the indigenous people of the West Africa through trade dealing (Clarke, 1982:29 and El Hamel, 1999:64).

Prior to their contact with the Berber Sanhaja, the West Africa people are said to have had no knowledge of literacy (Hiskett, 1984:242). They may have relied on the power of memory to preserve their history, narrating it generation after generation, and dating their history by the great events in their lives. Islamic learning was perhaps the first organized educational system to be introduced to these people through trade and migration. By the end of the 3rd/9th century, coinciding with the increase of the immigration and commerce linking the North Africa, the Sahara and the West Africa, there is evidence which shows that literacy and Islamic learning were exercising in most of the Sahelian markets. Ibn Hawqal (d. 367/977) (1992, I: 90) travelled through these markets in the early 4th/10th century, and stated that Tadmekka's rulers, united leadership with learning and jurisprudence, while in Awdaghust, two *masjid's* had alike established. The Maliki *madhhab* also drew his attention, as its doctrines were held in very high regard among people of the town. This suggests that literacy and Islamic learning certainly became well-established in these Sahelian trade towns, and by the 5th/11th century onwards, al-Bakri (2003, I, 174-84) confirmed that literacy and Islamic learning had taken root in the majority of the key towns of the West Africa such as Takrur⁶⁵⁶, Gaw⁶⁵⁷, Jenni⁶⁵⁸ and Ghana⁶⁵⁹, and that Muslim traders and immigrants with sophisticated literary skills could be found in all these towns. Al-Bakri's description of the kingdom of Ghana shows that from the above century onwards, if not earlier most of administrators and the high-ranking officials within the court of the Ghanaian king were Muslim, bringing their knowledge and literacy skills to the service of the kingdom:

The king's interpreters are Muslims, as are his treasurer and most of his ministers (al-Bakri, 2003, I, 175).

⁶⁵⁶ The region located Upper the Senegal River.

⁶⁵⁷ It located on the right bank of the Niger Bend.

⁶⁵⁸ It located on the left side of the Niger Bend downstream from Timbuktu.

⁶⁵⁹ It is the earliest kingdom to be known in West Africa.

More interestingly still, however, was the twelve *masjids*, which established in Kumbi Salih⁶⁶⁰, and from which the learning tradition of the region was evidently formed, indicated by the full range of religious staff they employed. These included *muallims* (teachers), *faqihs* (jurists) and *muazzans* (callers to prayer) (*Ibid*). Certainly the building of so many *masjids* indicates a sustained habitation of the area by a significantly large Muslim community.

It is extraordinary that for the almost five hundred years which followed the Muslim conquest of North Africa and the Sahara, literacy and Islamic education were transmitted to West African societies exclusively through the Muslim traders and immigrations activities. However, after the middle of the 5th/11th century, another remarkable and various factors and agents, must take into account. Among these was the Almoravid conquest of Ghana in 469/1075. Dubois (1897:276-7) credited the Almoravid with being the originators of the intellectual glory of Timbultu, arguing for their grand role in the revolution of Arabic and literature that occurred in the West Africa following their invasion of Ghana. According to several accounts, the Almoravid contribution in the field of Islamic learning was far-reaching since, they continued to send their *shaykhs* to different part of the West African region in order to teach their people about Islam and its tradition. The Almoravid took great interest in Arabic and its sciences such as grammar, syntax and poetry in addition to the legal texts. As a consequence literacy, Arabic, authorship and *Maliki fiqh*⁶⁶¹ were widely circulated in this region (Norris, 1979:147-48; Clarke, 1982: 30 and Lydon, 2009:281-82).

Further growth of Islamic learning in the West Africa occurred with the establishment of *haji* caravans by the West African kings, whom, through their frequent visits to Cairo for the *haji*, established a cultural exchange and scholarly relationship with the eastern Muslim world. These ties were strengthened when the kingdom of Mali⁶⁶² reached its peak under the role of Mansa Musa (r.712-38/1312-37), who took a great interest in Islam and its tradition of learning. His efforts in this regard are marked among many other things by: firstly, the scholars whom he had brought with him from Mecca and secondly, his encouragement of the West African students and scholars to study abroad, especially in Egypt and Fes, and his generosity and support towards students and scholars, providing grants and awarding them with scholarships; thirdly, the bringing back with him many texts concerned with *Maliki fiqh* as reported by several early and later accounts (JH, Ms, f. 6; Ibn Battuta, 1994, IV, 969; Ibn Khaldun, 1959, VI, 201; al-Qalqashandi, 1968, V, 537 and al-Saadi, 1898:8).

Such valuable resources would have been highly effective in further increasing Islamic schooling among his subjects. The correspondence which the West African rulers and their scholars developed with the famed men of learning as a result of their pilgrimage was

⁶⁶⁰ It is the earliest known Muslim settlement in ancient Ghana.

⁶⁶¹ Majority of the North and the Sub-Sahara were Muslims following the legal doctrine developed by Malik b. Anas, the 2nd/8th century scholar resident of Medina.

⁶⁶² It was the earliest Muslim Kingdom to establish in the West Africa.

also a lasting influence on the emergence and developmental of the Islamic education and scholarship in the region.

Such efforts undoubtedly facilitated the spread of literacy and Islamic education throughout the West African regions, reflected in the foundation of several centres for learning both there and in the Sahel, which had become firmly established by the middle of the 8th/14th century. This argument is supported by plentiful evidence, provided, Ibn Battuta's report for instance, is crucial and revealing because the only eye-witness accounts of the state of the Islamic learning in the region at the above time. He travelled throughout the Sahara and the West African regions in the above century, noting amongst other things that in Teghaza⁶⁶³, *masjid* was built of blocks of salt and roofed by camel skin. It hosted Quranic learning and supported the practices of the faith (Ibn Battuta, 1994, IV, 974). While in Walata⁶⁶⁴, Islamic educational activity is said was taking place among the people of Walata, as early as perhaps the 4th/10th century, and by the 6th/12th century, according to Dubois (1897:176), it had grown to be a great market town and Islamic centre of learning that attracting trade caravans from far field. People from many nations lived in Walata, including men of great riches, deep learning and profound piety. It was the efforts of these traders and learned men that by the next century, transcribing of the *Sahih al-Bukhiri* and *al-Shifa* were the chief curriculum among the scholars of Walata and were presented in the *masjid* of Walata, during the three months between Rajab and Ramadan as showed by El Hamel (1999:68-9). Although, Ibn Battuta (1994, IV, 951) found ground to disapprove the Walata's people in customs carried on there which pre-dated the arrival of Islam, their dedication to religious study, learning the Quran by heart and *fiqh* were a source of great interest to him. Meanwhile, the people of Kabara and Zagha⁶⁶⁵ are described as being most devout and extremely keen on studying religion. Such religious activities is reflected in the number of Quran reciters who, having memorised it, made the *khatma* (complete recitation of the Quran) on the 27th night of Ramadan, which at the Malian royal court became an observed custom as reported by Ibn Battuta (1994, IV,974).

While in Timbuktu, Ibn Battuta recorded his impression of the high status of Islamic learning enjoyed among its people, their eagerness in studying the Quran and how they punished their children if they did not memorize the Holy Book. Citing him in this regard permits the discussion not only of the development of Islamic schooling in the town but also the unique traditions of learning which were established and carried on there:

They pay great attention to memorizing the Holy Quran. If their children seem to be slow in learning it, they place shackles on them and do not take them off until they learn it. I visited the qadi on the Feast Day. His children were in shackles. I said to him: Will you not set them free? He said: Not until they memorize the Quran. One day I passed by a comely young man, who was extremely well-attired, with a weighty shackle about his foot. I said to the person accompanying me: What did he do?

⁶⁶³ It is salt mines place in the Saheal.

⁶⁶⁴ It is the first region formed the West African region during medieval times.

⁶⁶⁵ It lies between Walata and Mali.

Did he murder someone? The young man comprehended what I said and expressed amusement. I was informed: He has been shackled to force him to learn the Quran by heart (Ibid, 1994, IV, 966).

The quotation relates the keenness of the people of Timbuktu for Quranic learning, which apparently had become a social obligation, rather than the province of individual interest, since the memorization of the Quran was a compulsory convention for both family as well as public *madrasas*. Consequently, strict regulations were forced upon children and youths, particularly boys. Furthermore, the youths' understanding of Ibn Battuta's talks indicates that Arabic was a widely used language there. Indeed, Ibn Battuta used it with the majority of the people he met, from the *qadi* to ordinary members of the public. The level of scholarship in Timbuktu this time explained in Kaat's (1964:52) account of Sayyidi Abd al-Rahman al-Tamimi, who accompanied Mansa Musa, mentioned above on his returned from the Hijaz, and on his visit to Timbuktu, al-Tamimi realized that Timbuktu's scholars exceed him in Islamic knowledge, and in particularly in the *fiqh* science. It was for this reason that al-Tamimi, travelled to Fes in order to study more of the *fiqh*, before he settled among Timbuktu scholars, see also Levtzion (2000:69).

Timbuktu apparently had long history of Islamic education traditions, the beginnings of which are hard to determine. In his study *Social History of Timbuktu*, Saad (1983:58) attempted to establish a timeline of Timbuktu's origins as an Islamic cultural centre, but was unable to do so. However, tradition surviving today, tells that the originators of the learning in this town were Berber Sanhajs and in particularly, those called Masufa⁶⁶⁶, who established themselves there at some point in the end of the 5th/11th century. Over the next two hundred years, with the growth of Islam in different parts of the West Africa, Timbuktu became the leading trading and Islamic learning centre in the Niger Bend (SA, Ms 2742, f. 7-8 and al-Sadi, 1898:21). Imam Marhaba argues that Timbuktu has never been a local, but rather an international cultural centre of trade and learning, linked West Africa with North Africa and Egypt as early as the Mamluk era (FHM, Ms, f. 233). It is extraordinary that traders and learned men from almost all of the Saharan cities have been recorded as being permanently resident in Timbuktu and thus have not only contributed to its economic prosperity and learning activity, but also formed part of the social and political history of the town (SA, Ms 2742, f. *Ibid* and al-Saadi, 1898:21). The influence of the Touareg of the Sahara and especially, those who called Aqit family of Sanhaja⁶⁶⁷ and their importance to the economic and Islamic scholarship development of the city, is demonstrated by many local writings such as al-Arawani (SA, Ms, 2742, ff. 6-7); JH, (Ms, ff. 9-12); al-Saadi (1898:10) and Kaat (1964:34). These scholars arguing how the Aqit family have brought their customs of learning to the city and credited them with being the origins of the Maliki juristic tradition that surviving today in to the West Africa. It was due to this intermixture of cultures and

⁶⁶⁶ Their original home was the Western Sahara.

⁶⁶⁷ Their original home was Walata.

ethnicities that Timbuktu emerged during the 8th/14th century, as a distinguished centre of scholarly tradition and cultural importance about which more will be said below.

Timbuktu's learning and scholarly tradition, about which more will be said later, is thereafter said to have benefited greatly through the efforts of the Askiys, the kings of the Sunghay Empire during the 15th/16th century, and especially, Askiya Muhammad I (r. 898-935/1492-1528), and Askiya Dawud (r. 956-990/1549-82), who were themselves educated men, Quran reciters and memorisers. The former was viewed as a father figure to the intellectuals and religious men with whom he surrounded himself, and they supported him through their advice and influence (al-Saadi, 1898:72 and Kaat 1964:94-5). Contemporary scholars during their reigns detailed that these kings encouraged education to a level unrivalled in the history of the region. Their interest in learning can be deduced from the important place it occupied in their governing policies, and from the fact that in many instances they took scholars as their counsellors, who themselves were key to the increase of scientific knowledge in the region. These advisors were shown great respect and gratitude, in the form of a generous salary, and fine gifts of slaves, books and land. Material resources for scholarship were also improved by the Askiya dynasty, such as through the founding of public and private libraries for the first time in the region, to permit the collection of valued manuscripts from across the Muslim world. The texts were then reproduced by skilled scribes for the enlightenment of local scholars, to make the knowledge available to local students, or to be presented as impressive gifts to visiting scholars (*Ibid*).

It is remarkable to mention that the wealthy traders of the region were also took part in the furthering of Islamic education, firstly by their financial support for the building of institutions such as *masjids*, and secondly through their efforts to surround themselves with scholarly and holy men, whom they patronised by means of gifts at social and religious events and festivals, such as marriage, circumcision, *aid* and the Prophet's birthday, baptisms and funerals (al-Saadi, *Ibid*). This atmosphere of encouragement, the generous policy towards scholars and learned men, and the support given to students through scholarship provided a suitable environment for both students to study and scholars to work creatively. As well as attracting external scholars to the West Africa, it certainly played a large part in the advance of learning which Leo Africanus had encountered in the majority of the West Africa's towns, during his visit to the region before the middle of the 10th/16th century. The most remarkable of his observations is that the king of Sunghay took a great interest in the Islamic education, funding it from his own treasury. He adds that in Timbuktu, it was very rare to find someone who could not read and write. Leo Africanus was also an eye-witness to the great trade in books, and confirmed that these goods were valued more highly here than any other:

Here are a great store of doctors, judges, priests and other learned men, who are bountifully maintained at the king's cost and charges. And hither are brought divers manuscripts or written bookes out of Barbaric, which are sold for more money than any other merchandize (Leo Africanus, 1896, III, 825).

This description suggests that not only were there sufficient numbers of learned men in the city to maintain a book trade, but that they were so in demand that prices were very high. Additional descriptions of 10th/16th century Timbuktu and its vibrant and sophisticated culture were provided by the later writer Dubois (1897:280), who asserted that each scholar followed his own particular vocation. Some of them concentrated their attention on religious service and the study of religion, while others devoted their time to legal practice and may have acted as judges in cases of law. Still others committed themselves specifically to teaching. The roles were not necessarily mutually exclusive, however, and one scholar may have involved himself in some or all of these areas as he saw fit. What bound all these occupations together was a mutual dedication to both reading and composing written texts. Other scholarly activities included preaching during Ramadan and giving public recitations of the Qurann, as arranged by the Shaykh al-Islam and the Imams. A number of holy men became hermits, practised constant fasting and removed themselves from the everyday world. They would pray all night in the *masjid*, and showed much sympathy and kindness towards orphans. Large scholarly communities were not limited to Timbuktu, however, since Leo Africanus also noted of Gaw, the political and economic capital of the Western Africa, that it was more civilised than Timbuktu (Leo Africanus, 1896, III, 827), with a great deal of intellectual learning activity. This engagement with scholarship was long established in Gaw, perhaps since as early as the 4th/10th century. In Mali, too, the level and extent of the Islamic education among the population was thought noteworthy by the traveler:

Heere are great store of temples, priests, and professours, which professours read their lectures onely in the temples, because they haue no colleges at all. The people of this region excell all other Negros in writing, ciuilitie, and industry; and were the first that embraced the law of Mahumet (ibid, 823).

The city of Jenni, meanwhile, had developed its own strong tradition of Islamic learning, and was known for the religious devotion of its people, who influenced the lands beyond the city (Saad, 1983:31 and Hunwick, 1996:181).

As this collection of evidence indicates, the transmission of literacy and Islamic learning to the people of the West Africa took many forms, depending on the context, and this is reflected in the different ways in which people learnt. The oldest method was oral transmission, in which people were instructed by listening to educated men, who relied on their store of memorised knowledge as they moved from place to place. This approach was particularly employed in the early years of Islam in the West Africa, though it continued also in the later period, despite the availability of books and manuscripts (El Hamel, 1999: 68-9). A second form of learning involved the use of wooden slates, on which one could write. This was the most popular method of learning and transmitting information, and was taken up by the West African scholars as the main educational format from the early stages of Islam's

presence in the region and continues today⁶⁶⁸. These slates were readily available and provided an affordable resource for students to practise writing and transcribing their lessons. Paper was not common in the region until around the 9th/15th century, when the book trade, which brought texts and materials from the North, Egypt and Hijaz developed.

THE STAGES OF SCHOOLING, TEACHING METHODS AND PHILOSOPHY

Of the many forms of interaction between medieval West African culture and the wider Muslim world, the most profound was the emergence of the Islamic schooling and the associated teaching methods and philosophy in the former. However, and on contrast with the eastern Muslim world, there are no written documents concerning the schooling structure in West Africa, meaning that the picture of this subject must be built up from the partial and scattered accounts and occasional references given by early and modern interested and historians. From these it is possible to establish that three principle schooling stages were recognised: primary, secondary and advance form. Each of these and its associated method and philosophy, is discussed below, although one must be conscious of the difficulties caused by the limited data available.

The Primary Stage

It was most often pursued in the *kuttab*, the term is used here, to distinguish it from later parts of the educational process. The *kuttab* applies teaching methods for children which developed early in the Muslim teaching tradition and have stood the test of time. It originated in Medina, but was closely connected to Muslim life wherever such communities grew up, to which the West Africa was no exception. According to O'Halloran (1979:492-3), it may have been taken up in the region first by the Soninke of Ghana and the Mandungh of Mali, and latter, could be found in most of the Muslim settlements of the West Africa. The *kuttab* was not housed in a purpose-built edifice, but might be held in the teacher's home, in an appropriate outdoor space, or under a comfortably shade-giving tree (*ibid*). Similarly, to teach at this level, a teacher might not be highly-qualified, but would share what knowledge he could of the Arabic and religion, writing and the holy book. It involved no especial textbooks or subject divisions rather than, on the basics of Arabic from which the alphabet was learnt for both reading and writing, as well as the principles of arithmetic, fundamental lessons in cleanliness and prayer, rote learning of some Quranic verses, some tales from the Quran, and the life of the Prophet (Imam Marhaba, FHM, Ms, ff. 249, 274).

The tools of study as O'Halloran (1979:493) describes in the case of Mandungh⁶⁶⁹ of Mali were aberrantly very simple, they consisted of a wooden slate for writing on, a pen, cut

⁶⁶⁸ In May, 2006 and July, 2007, I attended the *kuttab* class run on the roof of the home of Mahmud Dadab, one of the most famous *kuttab* teachers in Timbuktu. I noted that the wooden slates were still used by young children as well as youths, who had a high level of learning with the same teacher.

⁶⁶⁹ They are the largest group of the West African population, who established the kingdom of Mali, in the early medieval times.

with a sharp knife from a long strip of bamboo, reed or straw, and ink made of pot-black, which is the scrapings from the outside of the large, black, three - legged cooking pots. These were the chief instruments used in education not only at the primary stage, but throughout the subsequent phases of learning. It was, therefore, an essential skill to be able to create the necessary tools oneself and the first lesson students would learn was how cut their own pen, under the supervision of the teacher and the older students. The student would have to transcribe the alphabet, to practice their writing, from a large wooden slate written on by the teacher (*Ibid*). In the past as it today, in the West African society there is no age-limit for children to join the *kuttab* set, as there is also no limit within which a student has to finish. Rather, the ability and dedication of the child to absorb the required knowledge determines how long they stay in this stage. Furthermore, it is not the rule that students must attend every day, or for a specific period. Most, however, keep up the lessons until they have mastered reading, writing and memorizing the Arabic alphabet, some verses from the Quran and the basics of mathematics (*Ibid*, 495).

Given the structure and method of this stage of learning, and the fact that in Islam, child should not force or oblige to perform any Muslim duties only after certain age, which is seven; one could argue that the fundamental philosophy of this stage of learning, is to provide children with positive guidance which will help them to grow into good adults who will lead happy and fruitful lives and aspire to achieve the reward of the faithful. However, once the basic schooling has been completed; the student progress to the secondary stage of learning in which learning considered a duty and lifelong process without any favouritism given to gender or class.

The Secondary Stage

As there was no intermediary stage of education, in common with the schooling structure of the eastern Muslim world, the secondary stage at that time was equivalent to today's university. Although most of the largest cities in West Africa such as Gaw, Jenni Zagha and Kabara had their own scholars, whom as early as the 5th/11th century, were engaged in teaching the secondary stage, by the 9th /15th century, the secondary stage of learning was provided in Timbuktu. Students from different villages and towns are recorded as having travelled to it to study under the feet of the Sankore's scholars, which Imam Marhaba (FHM, Ms, ff. 249, 275) did not hesitate to refer to as a University of Sankore, about which more will be said later with regarding to its history and establishment. It is said that Sankore established Timbuktu as a great Muslim city that attracted both students and scholars from all over the Sub-Saharan regions and from the northern Saharan cities of Tawat and Fezzan (SA, Ms, f. 19-20 and Hunwick, 2006:40). By the end of 9th -10th/15th -16th century, Sankore became the most renowned centre for religious and Islamic studies in the Sub-Sahara. Its importance can be demonstrated the position of its Imamate and whom al-Arawani (SA, Ms, f. 120-160; al-

Bartali, Fatih al-shukur, 1982: 6-44 and al-Saadi, 1898:56-63), have given an account of their lives in biographical form.

Sankore is said was not a single teaching establishment rather; it was constituted by a number of self-contained colleges, each of which would be under the control of a very highly qualified scholar ,known as Shaykh, whose reputation brought in students from both surrounding and far territories. Classes were reportedly held inside the Sankore, on its open air patio, on the threshold of a house, or in a classroom. Students would attach themselves to an individual scholar and would specialise in his particular area of interest (FHM, Ms, ff. 249, 275 and Dubois, 1897:277). Sankore is said was thriving centre for learning with full of qualified scholars; teaching was centred around the religious scholarships, chiefly the Quran sciences (including *hadith* and jurisprudence) and the Arabic sciences nevertheless, local writing showed that all branches of knowledge, which were taught in the eastern Muslim world during the 9th to 10th/15th to 16th centuries, are recorded as having been subjects of study and commentary in Sankore, including *al-mantaq* (logic), *falsifa* (philosophy), *al-tawhid* (theology), history, mathematics and even medicine according to (SA, Ms 2742, f. 39; FHM, Ms, f. 275 and Dubois, 1897:277). Arabic formed the only language of schooling and discussion and was the main language through which knowledge was imparted (Cissoko, 1964:80). It is interesting that although the proportion of first-language Arabic speakers remained relatively small within the West African population, the Arabic swiftly grew as the chief system of scholarship. Moreover, most of the Muslims scholars of Sankore and other part of the West Africa are said followed the Maliki School, as they met intellectuals from other areas through study abroad and the pilgrimage journeys, the teachers of the West Africa incorporated what they had seen into their lessons and developed their own educational methods and content. These changes were gradual and incremental, however, and the stages of learning, organization of the class and programme of study remained for the most part near identical with what was offered in North Africa, Egypt and al-Hijaz (Hiskett, *et al.*, 1962:105; Cissoko, 1964:80 and Reichmuth, 2000:426). Moreover, lecturing dictation, disputation and *munazara* were recorded as having been the chief methodologies by which the legal studies were taught in the Sankore University. The *talqin* or learning by heart was the most important method by which the Quran was achieved and a retentive memory was, therefore, greatly prized. Repeating the *hadith* by the teacher for view times and then dictating it was so significant because, the text had to be exactly established, there for this was the only method by which this science was taught (Reichmuth, 2000:426-7 and Mikdisa, 1961: 33-35).

Teaching and scholarship were clearly professions and many of these intellectuals preferred to continue working with their students, rather than accept offers of prestigious positions, such as *qadi* or *Imam*. They were dedicated to their academic work and attended to the needs of their people, according to locally written texts and the accounts of later travellers

(Cissoko, 1964:80). Often his commitment to his duty would leave a scholar with little time to see his own family. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr for instance, who became a *qadi* during the rule of Askiya Ishaq (r.956-990/1549-82), was, before this, principally a teacher, and one of the most respected men of learning of his time, yet he seems to have had an extremely busy schedule. From the early hours of the day he would present talks in the Sankore Masjid, on a number of topics until mid-morning, when he would return to his house to pray. He would then go to assist the city's *qadi* with cases of disputes between citizens, acting to mediate between parties. This would be followed by the reciting of the noon public prayer at the Sankore, and then teaching a class which he held every day in his home, until the middle of the afternoon. Thereafter, he would pray the *asr*, visit various locations to provide further teaching until evening and finally give a night-time lecture at Masjid al-Tuwutian in Timbultu (SA, Ms 2742, f. 19; Dubois, 1897:285 and al-Saadi, 1898:121).

Other renowned scholars of Sankore included Muadab Muhammad al-Kaburi, one of the men of great righteousness, who was said to radiate divine grace and to have performed miracles. Another important figure was the Timbuktu's *qadi* Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bair b. al-Haj. His contribution was to introduce to Timbuktu the requirement that people should read *nisf hazb* (one half of a section) of the Quran in the Sankore Masjid daily, after both the *asr* (afternoon) and the *asha* (night) prayers, to aid learning activity (al-Saadi, 1898:27-8, 47). Not only these, Sankore was said to be honoured by the presence of many great names, among them Sidi Yahya, who was originally Maghribi and came to Timbuktu at some point around the middle of the 9th/15th century. He was a supremely gifted and blessed man, of great equanimity of mood, with boundless knowledge and an utterly reliable memory. He was further credited with a number of miracles. Through his wisdom and charisma, he commanded the reverence and compliance of those around him and undertook the instruction of the next generation. His guidance was held in such high regard that people lived exclusively by his laws and rules. He remained, despite the substantial duties of being a judge, an enthusiastic and engaging teacher, adept and clear in conveying his message. With all these fine attributes, Sidi Yahya devoted his life to making possible a great development in Islamic learning, teaching many of Timbuktu's indigenous inhabitants, who later became famous scholars in their own right (al-Saadi, 1898: 47-51 and Dubois, 1897:286-7).

This community of refined and religious men occupied the area surrounding the Sankore, probably before the 9th / 10th century. There they undertook Quranic study, researched into Islamic law, oversaw Sharia legal cases, and analysed the seminal works of the Muslim jurists of the Maliki. Their involvement with legal work extended to ruling on inheritance matters, such as assessing property and deciding its rightful ownership. Their good reputation extended beyond the everyday inhabitants of Timbuktu and was equally well-established among the royal family. As they travelled to other centres of learning, Fes, Cairo

and Hijaz, they greatly impressed the wise men of these places with their eloquence and learning (Dubois, 1897:278).

Many of these intellectuals were known for the magnificent libraries which they compiled, and which were an essential resource for their students. The most important texts in these collections were those on the theme of religion, grammar and law, together with works on the Prophetic traditions, including *Sahih Muslim* and *Sahih al-Bukhari*. These works formed the basis of *fiqh* study. Essential texts on Islamic law were also added to these libraries, especially the great written works of Imam Malik, manuscripts on the sciences such as medicine and astronomy, and literary texts from the famous writers of the Hijaz and the eastern Muslim world (*Ibid*:287-8). Such books were considered invaluable treasures and were carried to the West Africa either by traders, or by pilgrims returning from the *hajj*, to be added to the scholar's own libraries for his research or for use by his students. The unprecedented development of education in the region at this time fed the demand for these manuscripts and the libraries that contained them, as the number of scholars and students eager for knowledge grew.

Statistical documentary evidence giving a detailed account of the number of students attending this stage of learning in Sankore is lacking, but there is no doubt that by the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the number of students had much increased since Kaat (1964:181) argues the large number of *madrasas* which came into being and worked alongside the Sankore. He stated that in Timbuktu alone, there were between 150 and 180 *madrasas*, which were directed by the Sankore scholars themselves. It was the development of the study within the Sankore during the above century, lead to the emergence of the *madrasas*, in which specialization in branch of knowledge was vital and required. These separate teaching institutions were founded by Sankore's men of learning, most often simply as a room connected to the house of the scholar in charge, or to the *masjid*. The teaching was at the same level as in the Sankore, though most tended to specialise in one particular subject of study. One named such learning space was the Maktab Ali Takaryya (School of Takaryya), which began as a single classroom, but grew in reputation and size during the rule of Askiya Dawud, mentioned earliest, until it had many respected instructors working in a considerably sized *madrasa*, with as many a 123 students (*ibid*). Another was the Maktab al-Faqih Sayyidi Abu al-Qasim al-Tawati (School of al-Tawati), which was originally a basic *madrasa*, founded in front of Masjid Sankore, but which flourished to become the famous Quranic *madrasa*, where reciting the Quran was the specialism. Students came in great numbers to be taught by the much respected and highly qualified teachers of these *madrasas* (al-Saadi, 1898: 58). Other schools were also successful, such as the *madrasa* al-Kaburi, which according to al-Saadi (*Ibid*:47), named after the renowned *qadi* of Timbuktu Muadib Muhammad al-Kaburi.

Such specialist institutions were not, however, the only means of experiencing the secondary stage of education. Rather than being set in a *masjid* or *madrassa*, many smaller settlements, lacking a designated place, would organise learning circles in the outdoors for both daytime and night-time classes. In this respect, the report of literacy and learning among the indigenous Mandungh society given by O'Halloran (1979:494) is especially apt, as it movingly describes those who worked as farmhands or shepherd by day attending education sessions after nightfall. Each student would bring a supply of dried wood to make a fire, which would provide the light by which he could practise writing exercises on his wooden slate. That students would go to such lengths, in difficult circumstances, to attend lessons, says much about their enthusiasm for knowledge, especially if compared to the relatively easy access to education of many modern-day students. Opportunities to learn were hard-earned, and the structure of study had to be designed so that students with little time and few resources could take part (*Ibid*).

The programme of study in both Sankore and the *madrassa* is said to have been very well organised; six full working days were followed by one day off, which was Wednesday (FHM, Ms, f. 275). There were usually three subdivisions to a day's study, morning, afternoon and night, to match the varying social requirements of the seasons, and every day life in an agricultural and hunting society, where children were key workers in such activities (O'Halloran, 1979:492). The later session seems to have been created to accommodate those who had to work during the day. In Jenni for instance, where people were said to be very busy during the day, dealing with trade and the markets, learning activities therefore usually took place during the night, and continued until morning prayer (DJ, Ms 2033 f. 6). Again, the system of schooling in Sankore, as well as in other *madrassas*, was not bound by age or a pre-defined time limit, but depending on the skill and motivation of the student himself could continue for three or even beyond ten years. As the class included students at different levels, the learning process required that each student sat alone and practiced material from his wooden slate, and once he had mastered that he would move on to the next assignment .

Although it has been argued by O'Halloran (1979:494) that behaviour was generally very good in these lessons, as with any school, discipline was sometimes necessary. A limited application of physical punishment maintained order, delivered to the student's back by three thin ropes, with a knot tied in the tail of each. Of greater significance was the punishment that a family would inflict on a child who failed to learn his Quran by heart, such as excluding him from social and religious occasions, or imposing penalties like those observed by Ibn Battuta, as quoted earlier. The teacher was not chiefly a disciplinarian and was conscious of the great trust his position demanded. The biographies of West African scholars often mention the gentleness, friendliness and generosity with which these instructors treated their charges and teachers usually established a good relationship with their students. Cissoko (1964:82) cites

al-Saadi speaking of his teacher and it is a moving passage⁶⁷⁰. It is quoted here, as it is the only surviving account depicting the relationship between a student and his teacher, and illustrates how supportive and honoured teachers were in the West Africa:

To tell the truth, he (Muhammad Baghighau) was my teacher, my mentor, and nobody has been so helpful to me as him, either directly or through his books. He gave me university degrees written by his own hand on the subjects which he taught, following his own method or that of another. I gave him some of my work, on which he wrote, in his own hand, flattering annotations and he even described some of the results of my research work, which I have heard him citing in his lessons. This proves his impartiality, his modesty and his respect for liberty under all circumstances (Cissoko, 1964:82).

This glowing remembrance of his teacher shows how influential and honoured he was to the student and how helpful in conducting research, including the lending of sources. It is implied that the relationship between teacher and student did not end when the student graduated, but continued into his life afterwards; for example, he was available to provide feedback on further academic work. The sense of honesty among scholars is also demonstrated, since it was important to them to acknowledge when they had cited another thinker, their own student, in their teaching. Additionally, the ceremonies of graduation at the Sankore can be seen in the above quotation, when an *ijaza* (degree or licence), was issued to the successful student, written and signed by the scholar, certifying that he was now competent to teach or practise those specialisms which had been his focus under the awarding scholar.

As graduates, the students became scholars in their own right, some of them remaining connected to the *masjid* or *madrasa* at which they trained, assisting their teacher and involving themselves with the institution's learning activities and taking on religious roles such as Imams, callers-to-prayer, giving public prayer readings or preaching. Those who decided not to stay might return to their home town or village and perform similar teaching or religious work in their community. Many gained employment with government administration as scribes, or assisted in the correspondence required by merchants. Others were able to found *madrasas* of their own, earning their living through giving Arabic tuition (Dubois, 1897:294). Those students who wished to move to the still more advanced level of learning, which would allow them to specialise in a particular area, may have had to travel outside their homeland, and pursue a famed scholar or Shaykh, who usually worked uniquely in the branch of knowledge that the student had chosen as his specialism.

The Advanced Education

As early as within the first four centuries of Islam in the Sub-Sahara, the seeking of advanced knowledge, and travelling for it as far as North Africa, Egypt and *ejaz*, was itself considered a

⁶⁷⁰ I have unfortunately not been able to trace this quotation in al-Saadi's book of *Tarikh al-Sudan*, so I am citing Cissoko.

virtue, and a social value glorified by society. However, very little has been written about the study in this high stage of education which suggested that learning was provided in the form of *muhadara* (lecture) an alternative mode of teaching the nomadic or semi-nomadic society. Learning in the *muhadara* was very different to the education received in Sankore or other *madradas* of Timbuktu or other Muslim centres. The scholars who delivered it were nomadic and so it could not be linked to a particular building or place, and the onus for identifying and contacting a suitable teacher fell completely on the student. This would have been made all the more challenging by the nomadic way of life these scholars maintained, which kept them largely away from cities like Timbuktu, Gaw or Jenni or al-Azhir or Fes (El Hamel, 1999:67). They would follow the seasons and the needs of their herds in a difficult environment and therefore the *muhadara* had to be compatible with the demands of this challenging type of living. Al-Shinqiti (1380/1961:519) provided a particularly pertinent account, in which he explained how students obtained their knowledge from the Saharan scholars through the *muuhdara*. The relevant passage is quoted below, as it permits one to argue how the patterns of life among the Saharan scholars forced them to develop the methods through which they delivered their lessons to their students. The account also reveals that despite the fact that they lacked many of the assets necessary for the learning process, this did not stop the Sahara scholars from contributing to the spread of knowledge as they moved along their way. Without a doubt, it was in their hands that higher education flourished:

There are no regulations among them [the Saharan scholars] to be followed for how the teacher presents a lesson; he teaches in various ways while walking quickly, sitting at home or in the masjid. Some of them, though, teach during their journey from one location to another, on foot or while riding [their camel], with the students walking beside them (Ibid).

The quotation clearly shows that knowledge could be delivered in different circumstances, according to the demands of the situation at the time. Teaching was integrated into the nomadic life and had to be flexible in terms of location and style of delivery.

A part of this disconnection from the institutions of the cities was that Saharan scholars benefited from no salaries, *awqaf* (religious endowments) or financial support from the government and also they did not charge the students who studied under them. Consequently, the learning process at this level became entirely dependent on cooperation between the scholar and his students. Students of the higher level are documented as providing practical support for their teachers, such as cooking for their guests, cleaning the place where they were staying, bringing firewood and making a fire, bringing water from the well, or caring for the cattle and milking them to serve guests. Scholars for their part made adequate provision for their students' needs. Single students would usually live and eat in the tents of their teachers, while married students are recorded as having been provided with a piece of land on which they could erect their tents and grow their food (al-Shinqiti, 1380/1961:519-20; El Hamel, 1999:65-6 and Lydon 2004:48-9).

In contrast with the facilities available to the sedentary society, where libraries were attached to *masjids* and *madrasas* to facilitate study, in the Sahara there were no such resources (El Hamel, 1999:69). The lack of access to books was hence another challenging aspect of this level of learning, where the library was replaced by the knowledge and wisdom of the scholar, or Shaykh, who imparted it through discussion and the oral transmission of texts in the way described above by al-Shinqiti. Students relied on their own handwritten notes and memory to retain the information. Therefore, to make a success of his education, a student would need to prepare himself thoroughly, and bring with him copies of key texts in his field of interest, whether original books or his own transcription, and of course, his own text of the Quran, and perhaps some texts that he had copied from his previous teachers. This was the only way to obtain knowledge, until the development of trade caravans during the 9th to 10th/15th to 16th centuries, when books could be ordered through the trans-Saharan trade (El Hamel, 1999:66 and Lydon 2004:50-1).

With such dependence on the personal commitment and mental skills of the student, as opposed to the structure provided by an established institution, it is not surprising that there was no fixed time-line for students undertaking this type of study. Instead, the high level was built around achieving great depth of learning, commentary and analysis and a profound revelation of hidden aspects of the Quran. A student could therefore stay with his teacher for perhaps ten or twenty years to satisfy his need to learn and some dedicated their whole lives to this pursuit. There was also no set study plan; rather, students worked at their own level and followed their own areas of interest. Following al-Shinqiti (1380/1961:519), for instance, a scholar might have taught the *Alfiyya*⁶⁷¹ of Ibn Malik (d. 179/ 795) to several students concurrently, each of whom was concentrating on a different part of the text. Individualised learning was provided for each student, with personal tutoring, and illustrations and examples matched to the student's abilities and knowledge. Although there was no uniform curriculum, and instruction was offered to students of all levels, this stage of education did appear to cover the same essential areas that were attended to in the eastern Muslim world: Arabic literature, language and history, Quranic studies, *fiqh*, *hadith*, Sufism and ethics. Characteristic of this programme of study was the possibility of specialisation and the profound analytical work undertaken. A student who completed this arduous stage was endowed with *iaza*, or a licence, which confirmed that he had qualified as a teacher of the same range of subjects for which his own teacher had been qualified. It is interesting to note that this license may have taken the form of either a document endorsed by the teacher, or a verbal confirmation that the student had now fulfilled the requirements of this stage of education. This encouraged specialisation, as knowledge was passed from teacher to student and schools developed their own particular areas of expertise. This is one important reason

⁶⁷¹ This is a versification of Arabic grammar, about which at least forty–three commentaries have been written. It includes a thousand verses on the laws of Arabic grammar. Studying *Alfiyya* would be to master the laws of Arabic grammar.

why students were prepared to travel great distances to study with a scholar who had the specialist knowledge they were seeking (El Hamel, 1999:72). A newly qualified student would then often return to his home village or city. Thus, the students added to the knowledge of their learning institutions with the specialist learning they had gained abroad.

Invigorated by the travel and experience of these dedicated, specialist students, scholarly communities in the region grew and developed. Information available on the intellectual life of the West Africa indicates that there was a considerable population of scholars and teachers sufficiently well regarded to establish reputations even beyond their own region. They played a vital role in the development of the cultural life of their communities. With regard to this, Leo Africanus (1896, III, 825) reported that the area was full of scholars and Imams, who were treated with great respect and paid good salaries. Moreover, in his *Tarikh al-Sudan*, al-Saadi provided the names and biographies of more than two hundred and fifty scholars, among them teachers, those skilled in jurisprudence, Imams and judges of various parts of the Sub-Sahara.

Unfortunately, a considerable part of this intellectual heritage has vanished, owing chiefly to the political instability of the area that followed the Maghribi invasion of the Sunghay Empire in the end of the 10th/16th century and its subsequent collapse. Of that which survived, a large number of documents and manuscripts were either destroyed or transferred to European libraries and museums due to colonial occupation of the area. Nevertheless, the number of manuscripts and documents surviving today in Ahmad Baba Centre for Documentation and various local family libraries in Timbuktu, Gaw, Jenni and in Niger indicates that there had once been a great and vital culture in existence there. More recently, Hunwick gathered a large number of these works from different local as well as international archives and private libraries, which he published in two great volumes entitled *Arabic Literature of Africa 2003* and which contained documents belonging to different periods of the history of the region.

It is worth at this point addressing the question of the status of West African women and their role the development of the education. Al-Shinqiti (1380/1961:517) argues that the women of Saharan societies were educated and this is corroborated by El Hamel (1999:74-5). No such direct study of West African women's education has yet been made. Yet, one can argue that there were certainly some women who had received training in reading, particularly from the account of Imam Marhaba (FHM, Ms, f. 210), which tells that in the holy month of Ramadn, al-Shaykh al-Kabir al-Kunti, completed the recital of the book of Sahih al-Bukhari, for the men, while in the meantime, his wife 'Asha, performed the same service for the women. Putting this evidence together with Ibn Battuta's (1994, IV, 973) story of the well-educated slave girls that he found in Takeddda and Timbuktu, it is reasonable to suppose that women did indeed receive education, perhaps even to the same level as the men. Such examples are relatively few, however, since the Timbuktu chronicle,

for example, does not mention the subject of female education. In general, there has been a lack of study into the contribution made by Sub-Saharan women towards the culture and knowledge of their society through education and teaching. An in-depth analysis is unfortunately beyond the means of this current study, but it remains a significant potential area of further investigation.

To conclude, and on contrast with what has been reported in some orientalist writings that before the arrival of the Europeans in the late eighteenth century, the West African people have no advanced forms of learning at all, it is evident that Islamic education culture was at its peak of prosperity. Centres of learning were founded throughout the region and the teaching infrastructure progressed to ever greater strengths, as evidenced by the development of the three stages of schooling. Education was very well-organized, as can be seen in the school system which was established and the programme of daily study. The breadth of subjects covered as part of the education was also indicative of a flourishing education system and every branch of knowledge available at the time to either the eastern Muslim world or the communities of the Sub-Sahara was taught at the Sankore University of Timbuktu. Its place at the core of the region's commitment to learning is shown by the fact that students came from all over the West Africa seeking the knowledge provided by its celebrated scholars. Further, major scholars from North Africa and the Hijaz were drawn to visit Timbuktu, which allows one to argue that the city was not only the greatest centre of learning in the region, but also ranked as one of the most valued places for research in the entire Muslim world during medieval times. It was from the Sankore institution that the most famous scholars of Timbuktu graduated, including those who have become vital sources of information for this current study, such as al-Saadi and Kaat and most importantly the distinguished Ahmad Baba. A similar role in propagating knowledge was played by institutions of learning in Jenni and Gaw, which also provided the most respected scholars who later came to teach at the Sankore. That teaching and scholarship in this region were on the level of those who in the eastern Muslim world has been demonstrated by the advanced form of learning and with viewing the various institutions of learning, it is not contentious to argue that Islamic education in the West Africa during the 9th-10th/ 15th -16th century was at its peak and blossoming, achieving ever greater heights.

Appendix A

THE MOST IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS OF LEARNING IN WEST AFRICA

1. The Sankore Masjid of Timbuktu

Perhaps the oldest institution established in Timbuktu, for the purposes of both worship and schooling, and throughout the history of the Sub-Sahara, this *masjis* was regarded as its most significant cultural institution. From there the intellectual revolution was believed to have emerged, eventually affecting the entire region. The origin of the Sankore has been lost to local scholars, since while al-Saadi (1898:56) and Africanus (1896, III, 825), traced it to the first quarter of 7th/13th century, al-Arawan (SA, Ms, f. 19) confirmed that it have been active centuries before this time⁶⁷².

Despite the uncertainty over the Sankore's emergence, the finance behind the initial construction is more readily agreed, as both the sources above conclude that a wealthy Touareg woman called al-Ghalawya put up the funding. No further details of this woman are available. Sankore located on Timbuktu's south western side, which Saad (1983:35), proposes may once have been the most densely populated part of the city. The intense settlement in this area may indeed have been caused by the presence of the Sankore itself, since from the time that it developed as a small centre of learning run by Sanhajan learned men of Masufa on the left bank of the Niger Bend, people were drawn to it, either directly for teaching or study, or as part of the community which grew up around these activities (*ibid*). Thus, the flourishing of the Sankore was a part of, and a reflection of, the wider development taking place in Timbuktu, as people were drawn to the city's educational, cultural and economic opportunities. In fact, the success of Sankore may be connected to the emergence of Mali as the first Muslim kingdom in the Sub-Sahara, which integrated Timbuktu into its dominion by the first quarter of the 8th/14th century, and whose king, Mansa Musa, was very respectful and encouraging of scholars and their work, as demonstrated earlier. As Timbuktu grew through its increasing importance as a trading centre, so it also drew more intellectuals to its institutions of learning. Sankore reportedly attracted the majority of the scholars of the Saharan towns of Walata and Bir (Saad, 1983:36), demonstrating the rising status of Timbuktu in the region. It may be argued that during the 9th/15th century, Sankore became fully established, with its fame attaining its highest levels by the opening of the following century, when the Askiya dynasty rose to power in Sunghay, as the institution was at that time referred to as a

university (FHM, Ms, f.275). Thus, between the 9th-10th/15th-16th century, Sankore as have seen, had become a flourishing centre of learning on the same level as those who were in the eastern Muslim world and by the second half of the 10th/16th century, Sankore had attracted an excess of students as demonstrated above.

2. Al-Jamia al-Kabir of Timbuktu (the Great Mosque of Timbuktu)

This was another and equal establishment of Sankore in Timbuktu; know also as “Jinkiri Bir”⁶⁷³. Its origins are well documented by local as well as medieval Muslim and Arab writers, who suggest Jamia al-Kabir could be traced to the year 725/1324, and attributed to Mansa Musa, who ordered it and its minaret to be built in Timbuktu during his visit to the city. The project was undertaken by his guest the Andalusian architect, Abu Ishaq al-Sahili, who, as mentioned earlier, came with Mansa Musa from Mecca, perhaps for this express purpose (Ibn Battuta, 1994, IV, 969; Ibn Khaldun, 1959, VI, 201; al-Qalqashandi, 1968, V, 537 and al-Saadi, 1898:62).

Thus, al-Jamia al-Kabir was the first Friday congregational *masjid* in the history of the West Africa, which situated in the northern part of Timbuktu. It was, and is to this day, the main *masjid* in Timbuktu, where all the people of the town gather to perform the Friday prayer and celebrate religious as well as social occasions and events. Its minaret had five galleries and a cemetery was attached to al-Jamia al-Kabir from the north and the west, since it was a custom among the Sub-Sahara people to bury their dead in the *masjid's* courtyard or on its periphery (SA, Ms 2742, f. 18; al-Saadi, 1898:56; Saad, 1983:113 and Hunwick, 1999:81). It would appear that during the reign of the Askiya Dawud, al-Jamia al-Kabir could no longer accommodate the size of the congregation and the learning activity which was conducted there. Therefore, al-Aqib b. Mahmud, the *qadi* of Timbuktu during the era of the Askiya Muhammad I, mentioned earliest, had the original building razed, rebuilt and expanded, and encircled with a cemetery on every side. Four thousand pieces of wood are recorded as having been given as a contribution to the rebuilding, by the Askiya Dawud, the king of Sunghay. This gift apparently allowed the *qadi* al-Aqib to finish its renewal within a year (al-Arawani, SA, Ms 2742, ff. 18 and al-Saadi, 1898:62). Oral tradition, supported by al-Arawani's writings, tells that al-Jamia al-Kabir occupied a special place for the people of Timbuktu, since they believed that the thriving of Timbuktu was linked to its minaret, and there are many myths and legends woven around the minaret. Eleven Imams succeeded to the Imamate position in this Jamaa, the most important of whom was said to have been the Imam Katib Musa, who occupied this position for forty years. During this time, in addition to its main role of worship, al-Jamia al-Kabir was very active in encouraging Islamic learning; the

⁶⁷³ In the Sunghay tongue, meaning the Great Mosque.

Quran was recited there day and night as argued by al-Arawani (SA, Ms 2742, ff. 68, 109-14; al-Saadi, 1898, 30, 59-60; Saad, 1983:114-7 and Hunwick, 1999:81-90).

3. Masjid Sidi Yahya (the Mosque of Sidi Yahya)

This is a further, important institution of worship and learning in Timbuktu worthy of mention. Oral tradition surviving today, supported by al-Arawani (SA, Ms 2742, f. 19), tells that this *masjid* was perhaps the oldest built in Timbuktu, since its origins can be traced back to the 5th/11th century. It was built over the tomb of the Maghribi Shaykh or *wali salih* (spiritual man), known as Sidi Yahya, after whom the *masjid* was named. In the year 868/1463, Muhammad Nad, who took over the position of the Timbuktu's *qadi*, expanded the *masjid* and later renovated and expanded it at his own expense. Several scholarly names are recorded as having risen to the position of Imam of this *masjid*, which indicates that the institution must have flourished and endured for a long time (SA, Ms 2742, *ibid* and Saad, 1983:110).

4. The Great Masjid of Jenni

Similar to the Sankore of Timbuktu, there was the Great Masjid of Jenni, known also as the First Friday Masjid of Jenni. It is one of the most wondrous *masjids*, not only in the West Africa but in the whole African continent. Oral tradition surviving today, together with written documents, agrees that this *masjid* was established some time in the early 6th/12th century, following the conversion of the king of Jenni, Kanbir (JH, Ms, f. 10; DJ, Ms 2033, ff. 3-4; Dubois, 1897:154-59 and al-Saadi, 1898:12-3). The Great Masjid of Jenni is certainly recorded as having supplied the Sankore in Timbuktu with a number of teachers and learned men. Indeed, it has been suggested that the elite scholars of Timbuktu were themselves graduates of this *masjid* (Prussin, 1986:150). This connection illustrates the central role the institution played in the educational development of the medieval West Africa, as well as the interconnection that characterised the development and sophistication of scholarship in the region. The Great Masjid of Jenni was one of the highest centres of Islamic learning, according to oral tradition surviving among the people of Timbuktu, and it remains to this day a place of teaching, where the Quraan and its associated subjects are studied. According to DJ (Ms 2033, f. 6) much of the study at this *masjid* was said to take place after dark, to accommodate the busy lives of Jenni's inhabitants, continuing until the time for Morning Prayer.

5. Masjid Askiya Muhammad

Further around the bend of the eastern part of the Niger River, another influential centre of worship and learning was established and named after Askiya Muhammad. It was built in the year 905/1499, shortly after the king of that name had returned from the *hajj* (al-Saadi, 1898:76). It was built on the Maghribi model, incorporating

local traditional features, with walls of adobe and a wooden roof layered with protective mud or painted. Its minaret was erected separately from the main body of the *masjid* and the hall of prayer is not round, as was the case with the other *masjids* discussed above. Its length is approximately a hundred metres, and its width four metres; it has no windows. According to Mawlay Ali, a local scholar of the city to whom I spoke, the tomb of the Great Askiya is inside its minaret. Prussin (1986:123) posits that, architecturally, Masjid Askiya Muhammad is considered one of the great wonders of the late medieval West Africa and it still survives today⁶⁷⁴. The tomb itself is very imposing, and is a testimony to the power and wealth of Askiya Muhammad. These few examples of the famous *masjids* of the West Africa serve to illustrate that in addition to fulfilling their roles in the worship and prayer of the community, these institutions developed into vital centres of higher learning and research. Through their very visible presence in society and the undoubtedly large number of students who gained their education within them, these *masjids* were potent agents in the development of learning in the region. It might also be noted that these *masjids* are always surrounded by public markets.

⁶⁷⁴ My husband and I performed our prayer there when we spent time in Gaw during my visited to the city in 2003. The *masjid* was crowded with worshippers, so that many of them had to pray outside .

Appendix B

EXAMPLES OF FAMOUS SCHOLARS IN THE WEST AFRICA

- Judge Katib Musa was the first Sub-Saharan scholar to be sent to Fes at the request of the great king of Mali, Mansa Musa, in order to study the Islamic *fiqh*. Having become qualified, he then returned to Timbuktu and held the post of Imam of the Sankore *masjid*, which passed to him after the death of its first Imam⁶⁷⁵. It is said that he held this position for almost forty years, during which he was never late for prayers (al-Saadi, 1898:56 and Hunwick, 1999:83).
- Judge Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Bakr b. al-Hajj of Mali lived during the era of Mansa Sulayman. Ibn Battuta (1994, IV, 956) met him while he was in Mali, and commented that he was an indigenous scholar with noble qualities. Abd al-Rahman was perhaps the first West African scholar to organise the recitation of the Quraan for learning purposes in the Sankore *masjid* during morning, afternoon and evening worship. This meant that the Quran would be recited in its entirety over the course of one month. Abd al-Rahman's date of death is not certain; however, according to al-Saadi (1898:27-8) and Hunwick (1999:38), his tomb is in Bangu, one of Timbuktu's regions.
- Abu aAbd Allah And-Ag-Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Uthman b. Muhammad b. Nuh belonged to a family which produced famous scholars in the Sub-Sahara and many of them occupied the positions of *qadi* and Imam in Timbuktu. Abu Abd Allah had studied under Judge Muadab Muhammad al-Kaburi and became one of the most celebrated Takrur jurists and *qadis*; he was righteous and virtuous and a fountain of knowledge. It is said that from Abu Abd Allah are descended large numbers of learned men, along both the paternal and maternal lines. Al-Saadi, citing Ahmad Baba, explained that he was the grandfather of Ahmad Baba, through his mother, and that he was the first teacher in his family. He held the position of *qadi* in Timbuktu until he died inside the Sankore *masjid* (FHM, Ms, f. 349; al-Saadi, 1898:28 and Hunwick, 1999:40).
- Al-Mukhtar al-Nahawi was the son of Abu Abd Allah, who, it is said, was conversant with all branches of knowledge and specialized in grammar (*nahw*). It was for this reason that he became known as *al-nahawi* (the grammarian). He was among those scholars who left Timbuktu during the era of Sunni Ali and who settled in Walata. Later, during the era of Askiya Muhammad, al-Nahawi returned to Timbuktu and held the post of Sankore Imam until he died in the year of

⁶⁷⁵ The name of the first Imam of the Sankore *masjid* is not certain; however, according to al-Saadi (1898:56), he was a local scholar.

922/1516 inside the mosque, as described by al-Saadi (1898:29) and Hunwick (1999:41).

- Ahmad b. Umar b. Muhammad Aqit b. Umar b. aAli b. Yahya b. al-Gudali al-Sanhaji, al-Timbukti, the grandfather of Ahmad Baba. He was the oldest of three brothers who were renowned for their religious devotion and learning. Judge Ahmad is said to have been the most famous Takrur scholar and teacher and was religious, faithful, decent, honest and virtuous. He had studied with his grandfather, Anda-Muhammad and his uncle, al-Mukhtar Al-Nahawi. He was said to be a distinguished jurist in his time and expert in the fields of grammar, lexicography and prose. al-Hajj Ahmad, set off on pilgrimage to Mecca in 890/1485. While in Egypt, he met with the famous Egyptian scholar's al-Suyuti and al-Azhari, known as the Imam of grammar, from whom he set out to learn (SA, Ms, f. 2 and Hunwick, 1999, 52, fn. 4). By the time al-Hajj Ahmad returned to Timbuktu, it had been conquered by Sunni Ali, so he decided to go to Kanem, in central of the West Africa, There he settled and spent the rest of his life teaching (al-Bartali, 1981:31 and Hunwick, 1999:52).
- Mahmud b. Umar b. Muhammad Aqit b. Umar b. Ali b. Yahya, the brother of Ahmad Mahmud, proved an unrivalled scholar and Imam, renowned for his pious asceticism and virtue. He rose to the post of judge of Timbuktu in the year 904/1498-9, and was very firm in his legal judgements, being unbending in his pursuit of the truth and threatening those who paid no attention to it. He had a formidable reputation among kings and his peers, as well as among the common people, who all stood in awe of him. They followed his orders and sought out his home in order to get his blessing (*baraka*). He would ignore them, but the people would carry on sending presents and gifts to him (al-Saadi, 1898:38-9; Ahmad Baba, 2000, II, 607-8; Ahmad Baba, 1989: 245-6 and Hunwick, 1999:54). It would appear that the *qadi* Mahmud specialised in the science of jurisprudence. He committed himself to it and taught it at Sankore University. He revived the study of jurisprudence in his own land, and this is reflected in the fact that the number of jurisprudence students in his time increased, perhaps because he was making the lessons wonderfully clear and without pretension. It was due to his teaching efforts that the *Mukhtasar Khalil*, *al-Mudawana* and *al-Risala* spread in the Sub-Sahara and became one of the main sources for those who were studying Islamic law. According to al-Saadi (1898:39), a number of his students were said to be exceptional and later became well-known in their own right. One of them “put together a commentary in two volumes, based on notes taken from his teacher.” In 915/1505-10, the *qadi* Mahmud performed his *hajj* and met with some significant Egyptian scholars from whom he set out to learn. He then returned

home and continued to teach until he died on Friday 16th Ramadan 955/1463 (al-Saadi (1898:38-9; Ahmad Baba, 1989:607; Ahmad Baba, 2000, II, 246 and Hunwick, 1999:55).

- Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Umar b. Muhammad Aqit b. Umar b. Ali b. Yahy a, the father of Ahmad Baba. He was a scholar of great intellect and dignity, with expertise in a wide range of subjects, including theology, logic and rhetoric. His standing was very high, equally among kings and commoners, and the influence this permitted him was employed judiciously. Even the most powerful became humble in his presence and submitted to his judgment, which was always righteous. He gained the respect of Askiya Dawud through his knowledge and independence of mind, such that the king came to visit him many times during a period of illness (Ahmad Baba, 1989:141; Dubois, 1897:281 and al-Bartali, 1981:27-8). The grandeur of his own library was well-known, for he often allowed others to access the texts. Among the collection were many hundreds of his own compositions. Ahmad b. Ahmad was part of a great scholarly family, and had studied with his uncle Muhammad, mentioned above, fathering, in his turn, the scholar Sidi Ahmad Baba Ahmad b. Ahmad had undertaken the *hajj* in 956/ 1549-50, where he a studied under a number of great scholars on his journey. He died in the midst of reciting the Sahih Muslim⁶⁷⁶ in Sankore *masjid* in 991/1581 (al-Arawani, SA, Ms, f. 25-7; al-Saadi, 1898:40-2; Kaat, 1964: 37, 115 and Ahmad Baba, 1989:142).
- Sidi Abu l-Qasim al-Tuwati was the most celebrated Imam of the Sankore *masjid*, and known as an ascetic. He established the first Quranic *madrassa*, mentioned earlier, and replaced the old cemetery with one surrounded by a wall, which survives today (al-Saadi, 1898:58 and Hunwick, 1999:83). Al-Tuwati was also the first Sub-Saharan scholar to institute the recitation of the entire Quran in the Sankore *masjid* after every Friday prayer. Later, a chest, which included sixty parts (*hizb*) of the holy Quran, was also donated to the Sankore *masjid* by the Great Askiya Muhammad for this purpose. The use of both of these, it is asserted, continued to the end of the year 1020/1611-12, when they were replaced by another sixty parts endowed by the jurisperit Ali b. Salim b. 'Ubayda al-Misrati⁶⁷⁷. Al-Tuwati held the Imamate of the Sankore *masjid* during the reign of Askiya Muhammad, and was revered by the King (al-Saadi, 1898:58 and al-Bartali, 1981:69). Al-Tuwati was known for his love and respect for people who praised the Prophet. The praise took place near his home, so as soon as the singers started to praise the Prophet he brought hot drinks and food on his head for them. He embodied the qualities of divine grace and blessing (*baraka*), and died in the

⁶⁷⁶ This is one of the most authentic books of *hadith* and includes 7, 563 *hadith*. Muslim scholars regard all the *haith* in Sahih Muslim to be authentic.

⁶⁷⁷ He is from the city of Misrata, some 200 km to the west of Tripoli, the capital of Libya.

year 935/1528, the same year which witnessed the deposing of the Great King of Sunghay. He was buried in the new cemetery together with many renowned scholars, and most of the great men in Timbuktu walked at his funeral. A measure of the high esteem in which al-Tuwati was held is seen in the fact that some of them had not been able to walk for two years (al-Saadi, 1898:57-9; al-Bartali, 1981:69-70 and Hunwick, 1999:83-4).

- Ahmad Baba b. Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Umar b. Aqit (d. 1036/1627) was born in 963/1556, to the very learned and renowned family of Aqit, some of whose members have been already discussed. Ahmad Baba grew up in Timbuktu, where he studied and spent his entire life. As a small child, he received his basic education from his father, and, as he grew older, he studied under his uncle Abi Bakr b. Ahmad b. Aqit, from whom he learnt the science of grammar and syntax. Having mastered this, he became a student of the most celebrated scholar of Timbuktu, Aqib b. Muhammad, mentioned previously, who granted him his written licence (*ijaza*) Ahmad Baba, 1989:142-3 and 2000, II, 138). His teacher was Muhammad b. Mahmud Bghigh, also called Bghighu, a celebrated Maliki scholar from whom Ahmad Baba learnt Quranic interpretation (*al-tifsir*), *hadith*, *fiqh* and Sufism (*al-tasawwuf*), in which he later specialised. Ahmad Baba also received a licence (*ijaza*) from his contemporary, the Libyan scholar, Yahya b. al-Hatab, who most likely met him in Hijaz during the *hajj* (al-Saadi, 1898:35-6; Ahmad Baba, 1989:151 and 2000, II, 281-5 and al- Bartali, 1981:31, 52-5).
- Ahmad Baba was the leading expert of his era; scholars revered him and called him the standard-bearer of standard-bearers (Hunwick, 2006:32-3). He possessed a library of over 1,700 books and had an encyclopaedic knowledge of theology, rhetoric, prosody, history and astrology (Cissoko, 1964:84). He composed many works on Islamic law, as well as a biographical dictionary of Muslim scholars. Davidson (2003:152-3) argues that at least thirteen of his works are still referenced by Sub-Saharan scholars. His bravery and independence were also much respected. In the year 1002/1594, following the Moroccan invasion of the West Africa and their occupation of Timbuktu, Ahmad Baba and some other scholars from the Aqit family were captured by the leader of the Maghribi army, Muhammad Zarqun, and deported to Marrakesh, accused of inciting the people of Timbuktu against the Maghribi army. There, they were all imprisoned for two years, after which, the other Aqit scholars were freed and returned to Timbuktu, while Ahmad Baba was forced to remain in prison, because he continued to protest against the Marrakesh invasion of his land, and the subjugation of his people. It was not until the death of the Maghribi sultan, Ahmad al-Mansur, that Ahmad Baba was able to return home after twelve years of exile, during which he had

written most of his works. Two years after his return to Timbuktu, Ahmad Baba died. While he was in Marrakesh, he had taught and issued *fatwas* (legal advice) in the Masjid al-Shurafa (al-Saadi, 1898:35-6; al-Bartali, 1981:31-3 and Hunwick, 2006, 4).

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