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IBN JAMĀ'AH'S EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT

Muhammad Said Husin

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
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ABSTRACT

Author : Muhammad Said Husin
Title : Ibn Jamāᶜah's Educational Thought
Department : Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University
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This thesis is an attempt to study Ibn Jamāᶜah's approach to educational reform as illustrated in his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ wa al-Mutakallim fī Ādāb al-ᶜĀlim wa al-Mutaᶜallim.* Ibn Jamāᶜah (639-733 A. H. / 1241-1333 A. D.) was a distinguished Shāfiᶜī Chief Judge and prominent scholar of Islamic studies during the Baḥrī Mamlūks' Sultanate in Egypt and Syria. Ibn Jamāᶜah's theory of education reflects an emphasis on the Qurᵓān and *ḥadīth* as primary sources of knowledge. Specifically, his suggestions for curriculum composition are designed to facilitate the evolution of a pious, religiously oriented generation of scholars. Ibn Jamāᶜah emphasizes the need for the teacher to foster motivation among his student body. Furthermore, he recommends that the teacher carefully gauge his students' abilities and limits. Another critical component of Ibn Jamāᶜah's educational program is the need for the teacher to realize the influence he has on his students ; consequently, he must carry himself in a respectable and pious manner. He also addresses the various duties needed for a student to excell in his studies. In his evaluation of the teacher and student relationship, one can detect his affiliation with the Sufi *khānqāh* tradition.

RESUME

AUTEUR : Muhammad Said Husin
TITRE : La pensée d'Ibn Jamāᶜah en matière d'éducation
DEPARTMENT : Institut des Etudes Islamiques, Université McGill
DIPLOME : Maîtrise ès Arts

Ce mémoire tente d'analyser l'approche réformiste d'Ibn Jamāᶜah concernant l'éducation telle qu'elle est décrite dans son *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ wa al-Mutakallim fī Ādāb al-ᶜĀlim wa al-Mutaᶜallim.* Ibn Jamāᶜah (639-733 H./ 1241-1333 J.C.) fut un Juge Suprême Shāfiᶜite distingué de même qu'un érudit fort versé dans les études Islamiques à l'époque du Sultanat des Mamlūks Baḥrīs en Egypte ainsi qu'en Syrie. La théorie de l'éducation d'Ibn Jamāᶜah repose sur le Qurʾān et les *ḥadīth* en tant que sources premières de référence. De façon plus spécifique, ses suggestions concernant le contenu d'un curriculum idéal sont conçues de façon à faciliter la formation d'une génération d'érudits orientés vers la religion. Ibn Jamāᶜah insiste aussi que l'enseignant doivent encourager la motivation personelle chez les étudiants. De plus, il recommande que l'enseignant évalue avec attention les capacités et les limites de ses élèves. Un autre élément majeur du programme éducatif d'Ibn Jamāᶜah est que le professeur doit réaliser l'importance de son influence auprès de ses étudiants. Par conséquant, l'enseignant doit se comporter d'une manière respectable et pieuse. L'auteur va aussi décrire les multiples qualités que doit posséder un élève afin d'exceller dans ses études. Enfin, dans l'évaluation d'Ibn Jamāᶜah de la relation existant entre l'enseignant et son élève, on peut détecter les liens d'Ibn Jamāᶜah avec la tradition Sufi du *khānqāh.*

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Montreal, April 27, 1995.

Muhammad Said Husin

TABLE OF CONTENT

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Throughout this study I endeavour to employ Arabic transliteration prepared by the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, for names, titles, and terms in Arabic.

Arabic	English
ء	ʾ
ب	b
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
ح	ḥ
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r
ز	z
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ṣ
ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	gh
ف	f

ق	q
ك	k
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
ه	h
و	w
ي	y
ة	ah/at

To indicate long vowels of آ، إى ، أو these are typed by using the bars above characters : ā, ī and ū.

INTRODUCTION

"The meaning of education in its totality in the context of Islam is inherent in the connotations of the terms *Tarbiyyah* [upbringing], *Taʿlīm* [instruction] and *Taʿdīb* [edification] taken together."[1] It is a continuing process relating to the individual, the society to which he or she belongs, and the entire content of reality, both material and spiritual, which plays a dominant role in determining the nature and destiny of man and society. According to Husain and Ashraf, education "is the best means of creating a new generation of young men and women who will not lose touch with their own tradition but who will not at the same time become intellectually retarded or educationally backward or unaware of developments in any branch of human knowledge."[2] In the Islamic context education is important in helping man cultivate his Muslim identity, in attaining his inner perfection, and in the full and balanced development of his total personality including both its physical and psychical dimensions. The inner perfection and the balanced development of these two aspects are the core of the aim of education. This kind of perfection and development can be achieved through instructing man in the ways of obtaining knowledge,[3] training his spirit, intellect, rational self, feelings, and bodily senses, which are the objects in the domain of education.

Islamic education, which has been concerned with all aspects of human life, constitutes the foundation of Muslim civilization. However, unlike other components of

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[1] S. Muḥammad al-Naquib al-Attas, ed., *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education* (King ʿAbdul ʿAzīz University-Jeddah : Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), 157. The words in brackets are my addition.

[2] Syed Sajjad Husain and Syed Ali Ashraf, *Crisis in Muslim Education* (King ʿAbdul ʿAzīz University - Jeddah : Hodder and Stoughton, 1978), 16.

[3] Tetsuya Ketaji, *Islamic versus Modern Western Education : Prospects for the Future* (Niigata-Ken : IMES, International University of Japan, 1990), 54-5.

the Islamic civilization which have been recorded in exhaustive works, Islamic education compared with other aspects of the same civilization was not studied sufficiently by Muslim educationists.[4] In other words, the field of the Muslim theory of education, as Malik maintains, deserves much further study than it has yet received. Furthermore, he says that one cannot remain satisfied with the little that has been done.[5] This is also the case with Ibn Jamāᶜah whose educational thought is studied in this work. Although several studies have been undertaken, his ideas on education have yet to receive sufficient attention.

Through descriptive and comparative analysis, the present study explores the ideas of education of Badr al-Dīn Abū ᶜAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Saᶜd Allāh Ibn Jamāᶜah Ibn Ḥāzm Ibn Ṣakhr al-Kinānī al-Ḥamawī al-Shāfiᶜī (639 - 733 A.H. / 1241 - 1333 A.D.), who was one of the famous figures in the history of the *ᶜUlamāʾ* of the Mamlūk empire. He was really the founder of the Banū Jamāᶜah line of Shāfiᶜī jurists.

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[4] Hasan Asari, *The Educational Thought of al-Ghazālī : Theory and Practice* (Unpublished MA. Thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal-Canada, 1993), 1. The author, in his introductory remarks, presents a complaint regarding the inadequacy of materials of the previous writers in the field of Islamic education. He, for instance, quotes Aḥmad Shalabī's complaint when he was writing his book *History of Muslim Education* in 1954. For more information about this matter see also Mohd. Abd Muᶜīd Khan in his article "The Muslim Theories of Education During the Middle Ages, "*Islamic Culture* Vol. XVIII Nos. 1-4 (1944) : 418-33 ; Muḥammad Aṭīya al-Ibrāshī, *Education in Islam*, Tr. by Ismāᶜīl Cashmiry (Cairo : The Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, 1967), 8-9 ; Fuad Said Haddad, "An Early Arab Theory of Instruction," *IJMES* Vol. V (1974) : 240-59 ; and Munawar Aḥmad Anees and Alia Nasreen Athar,"Educational Thought in Islam," *Hamdard Islamicus* Vol. III / 2 (1980) : 47-77.

[5] Rab Nawas Malik, *The Development of Muslim Educational Thought* (700-1900) { Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Education and Religion, University of Kansas, 1968 }, f.iii.

His educational theory is found mainly in his treatise, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ wa al-Mutakallim fī Ädāb al-ᶜĀlim wa al-Mutaᶜallim*[6] (A Memorandum for the Listener and the Speaker on the Etiquette of the Teacher and the Student) which contains the basics of his educational ideas and the way he viewed educational matters, as well as the fact that he was "closely associated with the teaching profession and was fully aware of the academic life and work of teachers and pupils in educational institutions."[7]

Ibn Jamāᶜah's work is considered to be an important medieval work in the field of education, because it contributes to Arabic pedagogical literature[8] both from the educational point of view, as well as that of cultural development.[9] Furthermore, it focuses mostly on the higher level of education and deals only briefly with the elementary stages, as observed by Rosenthal :

> It is a systematic recapitulation of the views on higher education in the religious sciences (meaning, principally, the Science of traditions), ... [and] does not deal at all with elementary education, except, perhaps, in some isolated instances such as the incidental admonitions for students to sit before their professors as children

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[6] I have used the version published in Hyderabad-Dekkan by Dāᵓirat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyyah, 1353 A.H. / 1933 A.D. N.A. Baloch observes that this treatise was completed by Ibn Jamāᶜah in the year 672 A.H / 1273 A.D. (when he was thirty-three years old) {*Great Books of Islamic Civilization* (Islamabad-Pakistan : Pakistan Hijra Council, 1409 A.H./1989 A.D.) }, 28. See also Mansoor A. Quraishi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Education* (Baroda : The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1970), 97.

[7] Baloch, *Books of Islamic Civilization*, 28.

[8] Khalil A. Totah, *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education* (New York : AMS Press, 1972), 71.

[9] Baloch, *Books of Islamic Civilization*, 31. Another view was presented by Franz Rosenthal who observes that the great interest of Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* lies in all the wise and pungent remarks on particular aspects of the learning process {*Knowledge Triumphant : The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1970), 297-8 }.

do before the teacher of the Qur'ān. By the time of Ibn Jamā'ah, higher education had long been fully institutionalized and was centered entirely in the *madrasah.* [10]

In addition, a number of scholars state that Ibn Jamā'ah's theory of education, as elaborated in his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmi'* "discussed intelligence tests and the classification of pupils on the basis of tested abilities,"[11] and is concerned with "the classification of education, subjects of studies [which he proposes to be mostly religious], and methods of teaching,"[12] the value of learning and the learned, the etiquette of the teacher with regard to his classes and his students, the etiquette of the student and his relations with his professor and fellow students, his attitude to books, and his manners while in residence at the *madrasah* [college].[13]

Ibn Jamā'ah was influenced by his environment. Centralized higher education in the college inspired him to write a particular section concerning the choice of the right college, as well as sections on college administration and college life. Furthermore, as a result of dependence on the written word at all levels of instruction, he had to develop another chapter on the publishing and handling of books.[14]

Ibn Jamā'ah can be described as an ethical educationist who emphasized the importance of *ḥusn al-ādāb* (good manners and behavior), which for him, was

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[10]Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant,* 296.

[11]Mehdi Nakosten, *History of Islamic Origins of Western Education A.D. 800-1350 With an Introduction to Medieval Muslim Education* (Boulder : University of Colorado Press, 1964), 103.

[12]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 419. The words in brackets are my addition.

[13]Totah, *Contribution of the Arabs,* 71. The words in brackets are my addition.

[14]Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant,* 296.

education in the widest sense. This notion exists in his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* which also contains separate chapters concerning etiquette. His ethical emphasis was also reflected in his guidance for both teachers and students when doing academic work. This emphasis was attached to his section on the special importance of the proper methods of teaching and studying.

As far as academic activities of Muslims are concerned, Ibn Jamāᶜah considered the motive, through which one acquires learning, to be an important factor and a basic component of education. For him this motive must be solely oriented for the sake of Allāh and all of the factors of education have to be aligned to the main purpose of learning, which is "drawing people nearer to God and [...] spreading and reviving divine law."[15]

Concerning the classification of knowledge, Ibn Jamāᶜah, influenced by his predecessors Imām al-Shāfiᶜī and al-Ghazālī, divided it into two major subjects ; *sharᶜī* (the religious) consisting of *farḍ ᶜayn* (the obligatory), *farḍ al-kifāyah* (the optional), *nafl* (the voluntary) ; and *ghair al-sharᶜī* (the non-religious) including *ḥarām* (the forbidden), *makrūh* (the disliked), and *mubāḥ* (the permissible).[16] Furthermore, his attitude towards knowledge seemed traditional and intuitive as he held to the commitment to Islam in using the Qurᵓān and *Ḥadīth* as the two chief sources of knowledge. This strong commitment as well as his personal experience as a student, caused him to

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[15]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 425.

[16]ᶜAlī Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs : al-Tarbawī wa al-Tawāṣulī fī Qiṭāᶜ al-Fiqhiyyāt Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ wa al-Mutakallim fī Ādāb al-ᶜĀlim wa al-Mutaᶜallim li Ibn Jamāᶜah* (Beirut : Muassisat ᶜIzz al-Dīn li al-Ṭibāᶜat wa al-Nashr, 1413 A.H. / 1993 A.D.), 300. See also Mochtar Afandi, *The Method of Muslim Learning as Illustrated in al-Zarnūjī's Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim Ṭarīq al-Taᶜallum* (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal-Canada, 1993), 11.

advocate a curriculum of learning comprised of mainly religious subjects. This is understandable since he emphasized that the aim of education was to build a devoted generation who would implement Islamic laws in their lives. In addition, the authority of the founder of a college was undeniably important in determining the course of study.

Beyond a systematically descriptive presentation of Ibn Jamāᶜah's ideas, this study also presents some other medieval Muslim scholars' opinions, such as those of Ḥujjat al-Islām Imām al-Ghazālī (450-505 A.H. / 1058-1111 A.D.), al-Zarnūjī (flourished circa 620 A.H. / 1223 A.D.), and Ibn Khaldūn (732-808 A.H. / 1333-1406 A.D.). By combining two approaches, i.e., a descriptive method and a comparative one, this work attempts to understand comprehensively the educational ideas of Ibn Jamāᶜah as illustrated in his treatise, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ wa al-Mutakallim fī Ādāb al-ᶜĀlim wa al-Mutaᶜallim.*

Structurally, this study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter offers a brief biography of Ibn Jamāᶜah with a special attention being given to his personality and career as professor in different institutions and as Shāfiᶜī *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* (Chief Judge), a position which he occupied three times in Egypt and twice in Damascus. Some of his works and his intellectual life as a scholar are also covered, particularly his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*. The second chapter deals with Ibn Jamāᶜah's concept of the merit of knowledge and of the learned people. This chapter also discusses his views on the classification of studies and the method of teaching and learning, from which his definition and aims of education are also elaborated. The third chapter concentrates on Ibn Jamāᶜah's views on the requirements of teachers and the duties of students, and their relationship in the learning process which is the reflection of the love of professors toward their students, and of students' respect toward their professors.

CHAPTER ONE

IBN JAMĀᶜAH'S BACKGROUND, CAREER, AND WORK

This present study is based on an abundant number of sources. However, as Baloch states, there is little detail concerning the biography of Ibn Jamāᶜah.[1] The most complete sources might be Ibn Jamāᶜah's three *Mashāyikh* (singular : *Mashyakhah*) which were written respectively by himself, by his student al-Birzālī, and by al-Maᶜsharānī. Unfortunately, only the second one[2] is available for analysis in this discussion. Besides this primary source, there are several works which will be frequently referred to , such as, the works of Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān Ramaḍān,[3] Jamāl al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm al-Asnawī,[4] Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb Ibn Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī,[5] Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī,[6] Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn,[7] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, [8] Muḥammad Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,[9] Ibn Kathīr,[10] and ᶜAbd

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[1] *Books of Islamic Civilization*, 28.

[2] *Mashyakhat Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Ibn Jamāᶜah*, Vol. I (Beirut : Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408 A.H. / 1988 A.D.).

[3] *al-Manhal al-Rawī fī Mukhtaṣar ᶜUlūm al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī li-Ibn Jamāᶜah.* Edited by Muḥyī al-Dīn ᶜ Abd al-Raḥmān Ramaḍān (Damascus : Dār al-Fikr, 1986). In taᶜṛīf al-Kitāb. pp. 8-15. This book is one of Ibn Jamāᶜah's works in the field of *Ḥadīth* (Prophetic Traditions).

[4] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah*, Vol. I. Edited by ᶜAbd Allāh al-Jubūrī (Baghdad : Maṭbaᶜat al-Irshād, 1391 A.H. / 1971 A.D.).

[5] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah al-Kubrā*, Vol. V (Cairo : al-Maṭbaᶜah al-Ḥusayniyyah al-Miṣriyyah, 1323 A.H. / 1905 A.D.).

[6] *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aᶜyān al-Miᵓah al-Thāminah*, Vol. III (Hyderabad : Dāᵓirat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyyah, 1349 A.H. / 1931 A.D.).

[7] *Quḍāt Dimashq*, Vol. VIII. Edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munjjid (Damascus : Maṭbaᶜat al-Taraqqī, 1956).

al-Amīr Shams al-Dīn, [11] all written in Arabic. Among modern English sources which have been used here include the works of Kamāl S. Ṣālībī[12] and Joseph H. Escovitz.[13]

A. Ibn Jamāᶜah's Background.

It is not my purpose to present a detailed biography of Ibn Jamāᶜah. My primary interest, in this chapter, lies in exploring a certain significant events of Ibn Jamāᶜah's life, particularly his scholarly and judicial activities.

Ibn Jamāᶜah was born on Rabīᶜ al-Akhir 4, 639 A.H. / 1241 A.D. in Ḥamā[14] which is located in northern Syria. From his name al-Kinānī, we can deduce that he was

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[8] *Nakt al-Himyān fī Nukat al-ᶜUmyān* (Cairo : 1404 A.H. / 1984 A.D.), and *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt*, Vol. II (Istanbul : Maṭbaᶜat Wazārat al-Maᶜārif, 1949).

[9] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah*, Vol. II. Edited by al-Ḥāfiẓ ᶜAbdul ᶜAleem Khān (Hyderabad : Maṭbaᶜat Majlis Dāᵓirat al-Maᶜārif al-ᶜUthmāniyyah, 1399 A.H. / 1979 A.D.).

[10] *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, Vol. XIV (Beirut : Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1307 A.H. / 1987 A.D.).

[11] *al-Madhhab al-Tarbawī ᶜind Ibn Jamāᶜah* (Beirut : Dār Iqraᵓ, 1984). This book is actually a copy of Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* with an additional summary by the editor in the first part of the book.

[12] "The Banū Jamāᶜa : A Dynasty of Shāfiᶜite Jurists in the Mamlūk Period," *Studia Islamica* XIX (1958) : 97 -109 ; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. III (Leiden : E.J. Brill, 1971), 748-9. This article is written based on the former publication about Ibn Jamāᶜah.

[13] *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Berlin : Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1984).

[14] al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 12, and Ramaḍān, ed., *al-Manhal al-Rawī*, 8.

a descendant of the Kināna tribe of northen Arabia.[15] Although we do not have any detailed descriptions of his childhood, he presumably grew up in his hometown of Ḥamā.

Ibn Jamāᶜah came from an educated and religious family who consistently adhered to the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* (school of law) which, at that time was the dominant school of law of the Baḥrī Mamlūks. His father, Burḥān al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Saᶜd Allāh (596-675 A.H. / 1200-1277 A.D.) gained a modest reputation for his comprehensive understanding of *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and *Ḥadīth* (Traditions). He was a lecturer, a great religious leader, a provincial jurist, a Traditionist, and a Sufi of little note.[16] Ibn Jamāᶜah had several brothers who had become *ᶜUlamāᵓ* (singular : *ᶜĀlim* , meaning a learned man, in particular one learned in Islamic legal and religious studies) and *Fuqahāᵓ* (singular : *Faqīh* , meaning an exponent of *fiqh*). Ibn Jamāᶜah was to become the most famous scholars of his family.[17] Not much is known about Ibn Jamāᶜah's mother.

Ibn Jamāᶜah began his education in his hometown of Ḥamā where he first studied, most probably about the basic skill of how to read and to write, under Shaykh al-Shuyūkh al-Anṣārī.[18] In addition, al-Birzālī reports that "in 646 A.H.," at the age of

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[15]Ṣālībī, "The Banū Jamāᶜa," 98.

[16]Ibid., 99. See also his article "Ibn Djamāᶜa" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. III, 749. All the quotations of Ṣālībī pertaining to Ibn Jamāᶜah are from his article in *Studia Islamica*.

[17]al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 12.

[18]Ramaḍān, ed., *al-Manhal al-Rawī*, 8. His other teachers included Ibn Abī al-Yusr and al-Rashīd al-ᶜAṭṭār under whom he studied during the age of twelve. He received several academic licenses from different teachers. It was the chief characteristic of the medieval Islamic educational system that the teacher, after teaching a full course,

seven, his master "Ibn Jamāᶜah" "received recognition for memorizing the Qurᵓān under the supervision of his eminent master Aḥmad Ibn al-Mufarraj Ibn ᶜAlī Ibn al-Mufarraj (d. 650. A.H.)."[19]

From the very beginning, Ibn Jamāᶜah seemed to have a great interest in pursuing knowledge. It was largely due to the religious and educational atmospheres of his family. He was extremely intimate with Islamic religious teachings and, later after completing a comprehensive studies, succeeded in establishing himself as an eminent scholar in religious studies and jurisprudence.

Ibn Jamāᶜah's academic career assumed new characteristics when he started studying in several academies in his hometown of Ḥamā.[20] This city was one of the bases of Mamlūk authority in Syria after Aleppo and Damascus. All of these cities were the seats of political administration and of judicial and cultural activities of Mamlūk Sultanate which were supported by large number of famous *ᶜUlamāᵓ*. After finishing his studies in his hometown of Ḥamā (646 A.H. / 1248 A.D.), Ibn Jamāᶜah travelled to cities, such as Aleppo, Damascus, Alexandria and Jerusalem in the hope of learning

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personally gave an *ijāzah* (certificate) to the student, who would then be allowed to teach. This certificate, Fazlur Rahman observes, was given in an individual subject, such as *fiqh*. Occasionally it covered several subjects, or, conversely, the certificate documented the student's knowledge of specific book. See Rahman, *Islam*. Second Edition (Chicago and London : University of Chicago Press, 1979), 185. See also, for examples Aḥmad Shalabī's section on Certificates, 147-9, in *History of Muslim Education* (Beirut-Lebanon : Dar al-Kashshāf, 1954), George Makdisi's section on Origin of the Concept of the *Ijāza*, 140-5, in *The Rise of Colleges : Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh : Edinburgh University Press, 1981), Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo : A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton-New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1992), 31-33, and Charles Michael Stanton, *Higher Learning in Islam : The Classical Period, A.D. 700-1300* (Maryland : Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1990), 49-50.

[19]al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 12-3.

[20]Ibid., 13.

from certain distinguished *Shuyūkh* (singular : *Shaykh* or master).[21] The sources state that he was extremely satisfied with his teacher Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Razīn of Cairo.[22] Even though it was not clear which subjects were studied by Ibn Jamāᶜah, it is suggested that he concrentated on *Ḥadīth* (Traditions), *Tafsīr* (Interpretation of the Qurᵓān), *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), and *Uṣūl al-Tafsīr* (Principles of the Interpretation of the Qurᵓān). It is also known that he "studied grammar with ᶜAlī Ibn Mālik."[23] Another source mentioned that it was Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Mālik.[24]

After finishing his education and confident of his great talent and brilliant mind, Ibn Jamāᶜah succeeded in becoming an outstanding scholar who had a strong personality and dignity. Because of his comprehensive knowledge and objective attitude, Ibn Jamāᶜah succeeded in attracting many disciples who wished to study under his supervision. Fellow scholars and disciples alike admired his demeanor and scholarly capability. The

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[21]al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 13. It was not an uncommon feature of this period that an itinerant student, like Ibn Jamāᶜah, travelled over long distances, sometimes over the length and breadth of the Muslim world to listen to lectures (*al-Riḥlah li-ṭalab al-ᶜilm*) of various famous teachers. For more detailed information on these types of academic journeys, see for instances Rahman, *Islam*, 185, and Shalabī, *Muslim Education*, 181-5. Shalabī states that Ibn Khaldūn maintained that travelling to acquire knowledge and meet eminent scholars was an essential project for students. In addition, Ibn Khaldūn states that the ability of the student had to be vouched for by every single of his teachers, and thus, it was in the best interest of the student to come in contact with as many professors as possible. Shalabī, 181.

[22]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah* II, 369. This scholar was from the same town as Ibn Jamāᶜah and came to Egypt in the year of 658 A.H. during the invasion of the Mongols. He was one of the most remarkable jurists of the Shāfiᶜī *madhhab* and succeeded in occupying several honored posts in Egypt. For more detailed information, see Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt.*

[23]al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah* I, 387.

[24]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah* II, 369-70. See also Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 23.

sources describe Ibn Jamāᶜah[25] as a person with a strong personality, big heart, low voice, and great dignity. He was a man who mastered the Islamic sciences, who had an exceptional intellect and a beautiful attitude. Furthermore, Ibn Jamāᶜah was described as a scholar who possessed a bright intelligence which would attract a circle of scholars listening to his lecture in almost any academic place and he never entered a class without proper greetings. Ibn Jamāᶜah was considered a judicial authority in Cairo and Damascus and worthy of respect. Furthermore, he was described as forgiving and vigilant when defending the truth ; he did his best to approach a dispute objectively and was quick to acknowledge his own shortcomings.

B. Ibn Jamāᶜah's Career.

As discussed in the previous section, Ibn Jamāᶜah was able to master various Islamic sciences and became a distinguished medieval Muslim scholar, complete with a a number of students and followers, some of these disciples would later become great scholars in their own right.[26] Ibn Jamāᶜah, according to Ṣālībī, seemed to start working as a public servant in middle life, when he succeeded to distinguish himself as a scholar and a man of character and integrity.[27]

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[25]Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina* III, 282-3. See also al-Dhahabī, *Muᶜjam al-Shuyūkh*, 121 as quoted in al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 17-8 ; and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiᶜiyyah al-Kubrā* IX, 139 quoted in al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 18.

[26]These future scholars included Ibn ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Sinbāṭī, Ibn Jābir al-Hāshimī, Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī, etc. See also al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I , 12-3 for details.

[27]"The Banū Jamāᶜa," 99.

He succeeded in achieving several honored positions in the Baḥrī Mamlūk Empire both in Egypt and Syria. As an exponent of the Shāfiᶜite legal system, Ibn Jamāᶜah was able to attain the post of *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt* (Chief Judge). He was also named *Shaykh al-Islām*, a scholarly title that always given to the Chief Judge in an honorary gesture.[28] In addition to these positions, Ibn Jamāᶜah was also appointed as a professor in many famous institutions, as well as a *Khaṭīb* (preacher of the Friday sermon) and *Imām* (prayer leader) in the al-Aqṣā and Umayyad mosques. While attending to the many duties of his public career, Ibn jamāᶜah also continued his academic career. His numerous texts[29] have made a great contribution to Islamic scholarship and literature during the reign of the Baḥrī Mamlūk's Sultanate.[30] These works will be presented in the following section of this chapter.

Before discussing further Ibn Jamāᶜah's career as both scholar and Shāfiᶜī Chief Judge, it is important to examine some necessary features of the Islamic academic and judicial arenas. Being a professor, according to Escovitz, was hardly ever reached without competition with other *ᶜUlamāᵓ*; so far as the appointment was concerned, "neither their personal status nor that of their high office was any guarantee of a teaching appointment."[31] The combination of these two posts has been a subject of debate among scholars. Some suggest that the Chief Judge, although already busy with his political

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[28]See Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton - New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1981), 221.

[29]Ṣālibī,"The Banū Jamāᶜa," 100.

[30]Ibn Jamāᶜah's works include *Arbaᶜūn Ḥadīth, al-Tibyān fī Mubhamāt al-Qurᵓān, Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām, Tarājim al-Bukhārī*, etc. See al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 21-3 and Ramaḍān, ed., *al-Manhal al-Rawī*, 14-5.

[31]*The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 192.

office, was usually asked to teach in a college because the students wanted to study with him. In fact, whenever there was a visiting professor at a college, he was usually a Chief Judge. Contrasting this view, Escovitz offers the speculative assumption, with special reference to Cairo during the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, that a teaching position, particularly in the subject of Islamic law, was an important and prestigious occupation for a Chief Judge before and after his judicial career.[32] This may be one of the reasons why A.S. Tritton states "Ibn Jamāᶜah's case shows that it was not uncommon for a man to be both judge and teacher."[33] Needless to say, this occurs only when the judge is a master of Islamic sciences, particularly jurisprudence.

Ibn Jamāᶜah received academic appointments in several institutions both in Syria and Egypt, and kept them until he resigned from his judicial career. It is understood that his responsibilities as a professor were subordinate to his duties as Chief Judge. His careers were shared between the two cities of Damascus and Cairo, which is reflected in his extensive travelling between these cities and the unstable nature of socio-political situation in the Baḥrī Mamlūk elite. It seems his first academic nomination was to a college located in his birthplace, Ḥamā. Unfortunately, his biographers do not elucidate on this matter. Because of the scarcity of information, it makes it difficult to organize the chronicles of Ibn Jamāᶜah's teaching career.

So far as the institutions where Ibn Jamāᶜah was involved in teaching are concerned, al-Birzālī, one of his great disciples, presents a list which includes al-Madrasah al-Qaymariyyah and al-ᶜĀdiliyyah al-Kubrā. Also on this list are al-

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[32]Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 206.

[33]*Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages* (London : Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1957), 118.

Shāmiyyah al-Barrāniyyah, al-Nāṣiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyah, and al-Ghazzāliyyah which were located in Damascus. There were at least four Egyptian colleges and three mosques which he taught at, namely al-Madrasah al-Ṣāliḥiyyah, al-Nāṣiriyyah, al-Kāmiliyyah, Jāmiᶜ Ibn Ṭūlūn, al-Ḥākim, and al-ᶜAtīq for the Shāfiᶜite circle.[34] However, as has already been stated, al-Birzālī has not elaborated on which subjects were taught by Ibn Jamāᶜah in those institutions.

Considering the data on the above institutions, ᶜAbd al-Qādir Ibn Muḥammad al-Nuᶜaymī al-Dimashqī , quoting Ibn Kathīr, without giving the date of Ibn Jamāᶜah's teaching appointment at al-Nāṣiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyah in Damascus, says that in 676 A.H. he was deposed from this college. His position was then given to Zayn al-Dīn al-

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[34]al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 14-5. It is stated that Ibn Jamāᶜah's son ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāᶜah (694 - 1366 A.H. / 1294 - 1366 A.D.) was born in al-Madrasah al-ᶜĀdiliyyah al-Kubrā. This man later on became Chief Judge and professor and won an excellent reputation and exceptional respect from the Mamlūk authorities. He was the great successor of Ibn Jamāᶜah. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, Ibn Jamāᶜah was invited to teach in al-Madrasah al-Qaymariyyah and taught there in 693 A.H. See *Quḍāt Dimashq*, 80. While the date of Ibn Jamāᶜah's teaching career at these academies, is not indicated from Jonathan Berkey's writing, it can be inferred that Ibn Jamāᶜah taught Shāfiᶜi Jurisprudence at Ṣāliḥiyya, Nāṣiriyya (also known as Ṣalāḥiyya), Jāmiᶜ ᶜAmr in Fusṭaṭ, and Jāmiᶜ Ḥākim, as well as Prophetic Traditions at Manṣūriyya in Egypt. See Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 53-4, 106, 108. See also Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, 333, 341. Here Petry explicitly gives credit to the academic excellence of Ibn Jamāᶜah as the first chair in Shāfiᶜī Jurist who became one of the most eminent lecturers in Cairo during the fourteenth century in the Jāmiᶜ al-Ḥākim. In addition to Ibn Jamāᶜah's specialization in Prophetic Traditions and Mysticism, Petry states that Ibn Jamāᶜah was the first Preacher of the *khānqāh* at Siryāqūs which was founded by Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāᵓūn in 1414 A.H. outside Cairo. In addition to this position, he was also appointed as the specialist in Prophetic Traditions, and personally witnessed the recitation of twenty traditions by the Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's son. He became rector of the *khānqāh* and received the title of *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh* (Head of Sufi convents) , the only individual so honored other than the rector of Saᶜīd al-Suᶜadā and al-Azhar. The latter elucidation abrogates the assumption that his position as Head of Sufi convents only happened in Damascus. For more information concerning the proper usage of the title of Head of Sufi convents in Mamlūk time see also Annemarie Schimmel, "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the later Mamlūk Period," *Islamic Studies* Vol. IV / 4 (1965) : 352-392.

Fāriqī. However, Ibn Jamāᶜah continued his career as a professor at al-Nāṣiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyah when he replaced Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Shurayshī in the year of 701 A.H.,[35] which was one year before his second appointment as Chief Judge in Egypt. His professorship at this college was not as long as his second judicial career in Egypt which lasted until 710 A.H. After his tenure as professor in al-Nāṣiriyyah al-Jawwāniyyah, Ibn Jamāᶜah taught for nine years in al-Qaymariyyah al-Kubrā also located in Damascus. His nomination at this college coincided with the death of the great professor Muḥammad Ibn ᶜAlī Ibn Maḥmūd Abd Allāh al-Shahrazūrī al-Shāfiᶜī in 681 A.H. In 690 A.H., he had to leave this college and the position was occupied by ᶜAlāᶜ al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Qāḍī Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aᶜazz. This was due to his new nomination as Chief Judge in Egypt on replacing the former Chief Judge, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aᶜazz.[36] Escovitz asserts that during his first period as Chief Judge in Egypt in 690 A.H., Ibn Jamāᶜah, secured an honourable position as a professor in the al-Ṣāliḥiyyah of Egypt until his deposition from the court. He was compelled to leave this college for his second appointment as Chief Judge in Damascus which took place at the end of 693 A.H.[37]

On the other hand, his dismissal from his first judicial position in Egypt did not stop him from retaining his academic interests. He kept up his scholarly devotion in whichever college he was teaching at the time. During his stay at al-ᶜĀdiliyyah al-Kubrā, and al-Ghazzāliyyah, Ibn Jamāᶜah was given an opportunity to further develop his status

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[35]*al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, Vol. I (Beirut : Dār al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmiyyah, 1990), 352.

[36]Ibid., 337.

[37]*The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 195.

as a professor. He started teaching at these institutions in 693 .A.D. while holding his second judicial position as Chief Judge in Damascus.[38]

Once again the political situation in the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate affected Ibn Jamāᶜah's career. At the beginning of his third term as Chief Judge in 711 A.H., he regained his former position as professor in al-Ṣāliḥiyyah.[39] Ibn Ḥajar al-ᶜAsqalānī gives contrary information and claims that Ibn Jamāᶜah was involved in teaching in al-Ṣāliḥiyyah in 710 A.H., al-Nāṣiriyyah, al-Kāmiliyyah, and the Jāmiᶜ Ibn Ṭūlūn (this was during the second term of his judicial post in Egypt).[40] These institutions, according to al-Birzālī's accounts, were all located in Egypt.

Ibn Jamāᶜah's work with so many colleges suggests that he had a cautious educational approach and was careful when passing on his knowledge to the younger generation. Furthermore, such a long career, with so many institutions, indicates that a great number of students prospered from Ibn Jamāᶜah's teaching, including a great number of *ᶜUlamāᵓ* ; even the Wazīr Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Salᶜūs[41] studied under Ibn Jamāᶜah's instruction and guidance. Unfortunately, none of Ibn Jamāᶜah's biographers discusses which particular subjects he taught. According to Escovitz, "they usually say *darrasa* or some variant construction of this verb, which is a general term for teaching, with no special technical meaning."[42]

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[38]al-Nuᶜaymī, *Tārīkh al-Madāris* I, 321.

[39]Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 195.

[40]*al-Durar al-Kāminah* III, 281-2.

[41]al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi al-Wafayāt* II, 18. This Wazīr later on became Ibn Jamāᶜah's good friend and defender of his nomination as chief judge for the first time in Egypt. For more detail, see Escovitz, *The office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 69.

Despite having a great academic rank as professor in several outstanding institutions, Ibn Jamāᶜah, as has already been stated, had also reached the highest possible judicial post as Chief Judge (directly under the supervision of the Vizier). Scholars suggested several plausible reasons explaining the success of this judicial career. They include : merit, nepotism, patronage or nomination, and *nāʾib* succession. For a detailed explanation, see Escovitz's *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūk* and Petry's *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages.*

Some of the factors above also influenced Ibn Jamāᶜah's judicial career. Ibn Jamāᶜah's career as a Chief Judge was primarily on the basis of his scholarly reputations and might have been a result of positive relations with influencial people, among whom the most predominant were the Wazīr, Ibn al-Salᶜūs, and Judge Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Bınt al-Aᶜazz.[43] However, it should be kept in mind that the relation with executive authority only indirecty influenced and did not guarantee the successful upward mobility for the appointment of Chief Judge, since this executive authority was not empowered to make appointments, which were directly the prerogative of the Ṣulṭān. In other words, Ibn Jamāᶜah was appointed both due to his excellent reputations as a jurisprudent and a scholar and thanks to influential bureaucrats who nominated him. The nomination of the influencial bureaucrat dominated the patronage system in judicial appointments of the

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[42]*The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt,* 174. The works of Berkey and Petry are exceptions since they were not strict biographies.

[43]Ramaḍān, ed., *al-Manhal al-Rawī,* 12. Ibn Bint al-Aᶜazz was one of the famous Shāfiᶜī chief judges and the predecessor of Bint al-Aᶜazz occupied this position under the Baḥrī Mamlūk in Egypt. See Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt,* 63. In another version, Petry writes that the appointment of a chief judge depended on family background, scholarly reputation, political connection, or a combination of the three, particularly in the three minority schools of law ; it was, he says, impossible to achieve this office without family connection. See *The Civilian Elite,* 231.

Baḥrī Mamlūk. This patronage system was considered to be the primary means by which Shāfiᶜī Chief Judges were appointed. On the other hand, with a special reference to the heirs of Ibn Jamāᶜah, nepotism personifies the appointment of his son ᶜIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāᶜah and his grandson Burḥān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāᶜah.[44] This was due to Ibn Jamāᶜah's excellent prestige and his pre-eminent positions.

In 687 A.H., Ibn Jamāᶜah received his first judicial appointment as Chief Judge of Jerusalem, which was part of the Damascus territory. In 690 A.H., at the age of fifty-one, he was appointed Chief Judge in Cairo (Egypt) for three years and also became head of a Sufī *khānqāh*. His appointment as Chief Judge in this city was an indication that he was really a distinguished scholar. Because, as Petry asserts, "the shāfiᶜī chief judgeships of Cairo were dominated by individuals born in the city."[45] In 693 A.H., he served as Chief Judge in Damascus for a second time, after the death of Badr al-Dīn Baysarī.[46] However, Ṣālībī suggests another reason for the dismissal of Ibn Jamāᶜah from his Egyptian appointment. He claims this change was the result of a change in the Baḥrī Mamlūk regime following the murder of al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693 A.H / 1294 A.D.[47] After Ibn Jamāᶜah's dismissal, the office was reserved for Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aᶜazz for two years (693 - 695 A.H.) and Ibn Daqīq al-ᶜĪd until 702 A.H.[48] During his second tenure as Chief Judge in Damascus, Ibn Jamāᶜah was in charge of leading the

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[44]Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 75, 81.

[45]Petry, *The Civilian Elite*, 54.

[46]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq* VIII, 80.

[47]"The Banū Jamāᶜa," 99-100.

[48]Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 62.

sufi *khānqāh*, which included preaching in the mosque and teaching in al-Madrasah al-ᶜĀdiliyyah as well as other places.[49]

Due to his friendship with the Mamlūk *Umarāʾ*, particularly the Wazīr Ibn Al-Salᶜūs and his responsible performance of his job as Chief Judge, Ibn Jamāᶜah was reappointed as Chief Judge in Egypt in 702 A.H. After approximately eight years of serving as Chief Judge in this area, he was forced to resign from his post due to bad personal relations with the Ṣulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn. However, Ibn Jamāᶜah was reassigned to the same position in the following year and remained in his office until retiring in 727 A.H./ 1327 A.D. He died five years later in Cairo in 733 A.H./ 1333 A.D.[50]

Having served more than three decades in judicial and academic positions, Ibn Jamāᶜah succeeded in developing his scholarly abilities ; these were manifested in the compilation of several treatises encompassing the main fields of Islamic sciences such as, *ᶜIlm al-Ḥadīth* (The science of Traditions), *Tafsīr* (Interpretation of the Qurʾān), and *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence).

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[49]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah* XIV, 123.

[50]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq* VIII, 81 ; Ṣālībī, "The Banū Jamāᶜa," 100 ; and Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt*, 62. He was buried near the tomb of Imām al-Shāfiᶜī in Egypt, whose school of law he adhered to. See Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 97.

C. Ibn Jamāᶜah's Works.

The present section does not intend to elucidate every work of Ibn Jamāᶜah's, of which some have already been mentioned and do not need further attention. However, this discussion focuses on the observations of several scholars on his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* and how it represented the apex of his academic achievement in the field of education.

Concerning the sources which were used in *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, Ibn Jamāᶜah as a follower and an exponent of the Shāfiᶜī school, in contrast to al-Zarnūjī's *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, refers to many Shāfiᶜī authorities, including Muḥammad Ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiᶜī (the founder of the school), al-Ḥumaidī, al-Qāḍī Ḥusain Ibn Muḥammad al-Shāfiᶜī, and Ḥujjat al-Islām Imām al-Ghazālī.[51] These thinkers also influenced his other works on other Islamic sciences, such as *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *Ḥadīth* (Traditions), *Uṣūl* (Principles of Religion and Law),*Tārīkh* (History), and other books,[52] most of these were still in manuscript form. According to some sources, Ibn Jamāᶜah dealt with up to thirty-eight texts, including his three *Mashāyikh*.[53]

By examining the nature of Ibn Jamāᶜah's various texts, it can be inferred that he paid more intention to the subjects of jurisprudence and traditions. This is probably because he had a keener understanding of these areas. Take for example his *Tadhkirat al-*

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[51]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 419. Furthermore, Rosenthal observes that Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* was "undertaken in the spirit of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, and al-Ghazālī and using, it seems, largely their material." *Knowledge Triumphant*, 296.

[52]al-Birzālī, *Mashyakhat* I, 20. See also al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* II, 18 ; and Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 24-5.

[53]Ibid., 21-5. However, Ramaḍān only records eighteen in *al-Manhal al-Rawī*, 14-5. Zayᶜūr mentioned thirteen in his *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 24-5.

Sāmiᶜ. It was "written from the point of view of the sciences of jurisprudence and tradition."[54]

According to Ṣālībī, Ibn Jamāᶜah's book on constitutional law, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, was the most important one among others.[55] The significance and credibility of this work is understandable since he had devoted almost half of his life to judicial affairs. His dedication to law is reflected in his written treatises and participation in the ongoing political climate. This book was translated into German by H. Kofler in *Islamica* Vol. VI-VII (1934-1935) and in *Schlussheft* (1938).

In spite of the importance of this constitutional book, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām*, Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* is considered the most significant text in the domain of Islamic pedagogical studies ; this work reflects Ibn Jamāᶜah's overall thoughts on education. This treatise, Baloch asserts, "would indicate that he was closely associated with the teaching profession and was fully aware of academic life and work of teachers and pupils in educational institutions."[56]

In general terms, Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* deals in detail with practical subjects which were often relevant to the areas of jurisprudence and tradition. This practical perspective can be seen in examples of advice to teachers and students. According to Nakosten, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* "discusses intelligence tests and the

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[54]Franz Rosenthal, "The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship," *Analecta Orientalia* Vol. XXIV (1947), 7. This book was translated into Arabic by Anīs Furayḥah as *Manāḥij al-ᶜUlamāᵓ al-Muslimīn fī al-Baḥth al-ᶜIlmī* (Beirut-Lebanon : Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1980).

[55]"The Banū Jamāᶜa," 100.

[56]*Books of Islamic Civilization*, 28.

classification of pupils on the basis of tested abilities."[57] Likewise, according to Totah, this treatise also discusses "the value of learning and the learned, the etiquette of the teacher with regard to his classes and his students, the etiquette of the student and his relations with his professor and fellow students, his attitude to books, and his manner while in residence at the *madrasah*."[58]

Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* provides valuable instructions for a teacher. Key in Ibn Jamāᶜah's thesis is his explanation of the basic tenets of pedagogical methodology. The teacher is advised to motivate and develop, as much as possible, the intellectual capacities of his students and to reduce any weaknesses. Baloch asserts that Ibn Jamāᶜah recommended that class room discussion be a place where, the teacher encouraged students to ask questions and helped them to formulate proper questions. On the other hand, the students should observe etiquette and ask questions without giving offense to the teacher. Based on this recommendation, Baloch then names Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* as the initiator of the formulation of the Question and Answer method, which is essential in the teaching and learning process.[59]

Relevant subjects are classified in the following sequence : *Tafsīr, Ḥadīth, Uṣūl al-Dīn, Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Madhhab, Khilāf, Naḥw*, and *Jadal* [*Mujādalah.*][60] which can be

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[57]*Islamic Origins of Western Education*, 103.

[58]*Contribution of the Arabs*, 71.

[59]*Books of Islamic Civilization*, 29.

[60]Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 80. The words in brackets are mine. Similarly Tritton observes that Ibn Jamāᶜah classified the subjects of study as : Koran, Tradition, Interpretation of the Koran, Interpretation of Tradition, Principles of Religion, principles of Law, the special Schools of Law, and Language including poetry and prosody. (*Materials on Muslim Education*, 132).

categorized into *Sharʿī* (religious) and *Ghair al-Sharʿī* (non-religious) studies. Ibn Jamāʿah, however, does not deal with philosophy. This classification leads Mohd. ʿAbd Muʿīd Khan to conclude that "Ibn Jamāʿah disliked the course of philosophical theology which tries to discuss the problem of God by the way of rational thinking, instead of merely doctrinal."[61]

In addition to Qurʾānic and *Ḥadīth* studies, Ibn Jamāʿah stressed the necessity of learning Arabic. He said that "the Arabic language should be necessarily studied in companionship with the study of these two subjects. Only after going through these studies can the student intensively concentrate on other knowledge."[62]

Furthermore, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiʿ* offers guidance to students and teachers and helps them improve the quality of their academic life and work. This discussion is

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[61]Afandi, *Method of Muslim Learning*, 11. Like the two descriptions of Ibn Jamāʿah's classification of the subjects of study, Khan describes the similar sequence of the subjects of study of Ibn Jamāʿah. i.e., Qurʿānic studies, the study of Prophetic Traditions, Principles of Theology, Principles of Jurisprudence, the particular Schools of Jurisprudence, Legal Differences of the Jurists, Arabic Grammar, and Dialectics. See Muʿīd Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 430.

[62]*Tadhkirat al-Sāmiʿ*, 133. Quoted in Afandi, *Method of Muslim Learning*, 89. Similarly, Ibn Khaldūn, in his curriculum of studies, stressed the absolute necessity of studying the linguistic subjects. This was particularly important for the jurists because the articles of the laws are derived from the Qurʾān and *Sunnah*, which are in the Arabic language { *The Muqaddimah ; An Introdution to History*, Vol. III. Tr. by Franz Rosenthal (New York : Pantheon Books Inc., 1958), 319-20 }. Among the western scholars, George Sarton, as Bayard Dodge asserts, observes that the scientific study of language was considerably stimulated in medieval times by the religious necessity of interpreting sacred writings which were supposed to be infallible. These words very definitely apply to Arabic and the Qurʾān. See *Muslim Education in Medieval Times* (Washington, DC : The Middle East Institute, 1962), 32-3. One of the Modern Muslim scholars, Wan Daud, obligates the study of Arabic language in conjunction with the Qurʾān and Prophetic Traditions in his suggestion for the curriculum of Islamic education. For more detailed information, see Wan Mohd. Nor Wan Daud, *The Concept of Knowledge in Islam and its Implications for Education in a Developing Country* (London and New York : Mansell, 1989), 105.

divided into five chapters, further sub-divided into a number of sections each of which is inundated with detail.[63] The first chapter has brief and conventional introductory remarks and comments on the praise of knowledge and the exalted position of those who possess it. The second chapter is concerned with the qualifications of the teacher, i.e., how he should conduct himself and his classes, and how he should treat his students. The third chapter discusses the behaviour of the student, and his relationship with the teacher. The fourth chapter deals with one's duties and related obligations in the company of books. Finally, the *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* deliberates on the etiquette of living in collegial residence for both beginners and seniors.

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[63]Baloch, *Books of Islamic Civilization*, 29-31.

CHAPTER TWO

IBN JAMĀᶜAH'S CONCEPT OF KNOWLEDGE, STUDY, AND TEACHING

Islamic pedagogical literature comprehensively discusses theories of knowledge.[1] These theories can be divided into three interrelated subjects. They are : the merit of knowledge, the mastery of knowledge, and the classification of knowledge. In discussing these ideas, Muslim educationists operated on assumptions which influenced their understanding of aspects of learning. However, in order to grasp any Muslim author's theory of learning, we must understand his perception of knowledge.[2] Needless to say, in Islamic education, pursuing and transmitting knowledge was an Islamic obligation based on particular revelations in the Holy Qurᵓān interpreted by the Prophet in his traditions.[3] Likewise, works on theories of knowledge, be they classical or modern, also discussed the various classifications of knowledge. This was due to the extensive study and development of knowledge as a concept with its various branches. This systematic classification of knowledge was typical of Islamic civilization's emphasis on orderly

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[1] For a detailed information regarding this literature see Totah's section on Pedagogical Literature, 67-77, in *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education.* In this section Totah provides a detailed list of medieval Muslim scholars' works on education. The list is organized in a chronological order starting with *Kitāb al-Muᶜallimīn* (The Book of Teachers) by al-Jāḥiz (d. 258 A.H. / 869 A.D.). However, for a list of modern scholars, consult the work of Munawar Ahmad Anees and Alia N. Athar, "Studies on Islamic Education : An Interpretive Essay," *Islamic Quarterly* Vol. 20, 21, 22 No. 4 (1978) : 161-83. The authors survey the Islamic educational bibliography and divide this bibliography into several constituent elements including The Holy Qurᵓān and Knowledge, The Holy Prophet and Knowledge, and Islam and Knowledge.

[2] Afandi, *Method of Muslim Learning,* 20.

[3] Anees and Athar, "Studies on Islamic Education," 158-9. See also Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam* (London : George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1979), 53 ; Franz Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London : Routledge, 1992), 5 ; and Byron G. Massialas and Samir Ahmed Jarrar, *Education in the Arab World* (New York : Praeger, 1983), 8.

presentation of phenomena. Thus, knowledge occupied a prominent position and became a central issue in Islamic education and has had, according to Rosenthal, a "pervasive influence upon intellectual life in Islam."[4]

In addition to discussing abstract theories of knowledge, educational literature also included commentaries on practical aspects of knowledge, specifically how to attain and spread it. These practical characteristics inspired Muslim educationists to develop the concepts of learning and teaching ; they deliberated the definition, aim, and objectives of education. Some of them also addressed two major aspects of organizing education : the curriculum of studies and its component, the methodology of learning and teaching. Curriculum was an elaboration on the classification of knowledge while methodology was meant to supplement the discussion of curriculum to attain the aim of education.[5] With these concepts in hand, Islamic education emerged as an integral theory alongside other theories in Islamic thought.

Given that these components of Islamic education are illustrated in many works in this field, one must note their capacity to encompass whole aspects of human life, both material and spiritual. Considered to be a key concept in Islamic educational theory, knowledge is viewed as the most vital means to attain a harmonious life. At the same time, knowledge is insufficient without a practical learning infrastructure, such as proper strategy, management and organization. Once these elements of organization are applied

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[4] Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, 52.

[5] See for instance al-Ghazālī, *Fātiḥat al-ᶜUlūm* (Cairo : Maṭbaᶜat al-Ḥusayniyyah al-Miṣriyyah, 1322 A.H.) ; Burhān al-Dīn al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim Ṭarīq al-Taᶜallum* (Cairo : Maktabat al-Qurᵓān, 1986) ; Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* ; and Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah : An Introduction to History*. 3 Vols. Tr. by Franz Rosenthal (New York : Pantheon Books Inc., 1958). The latter, although not exactly a book of educational literature, comprehensively discusses educational matters in separate parts.

effectively, they become significant factors in attaining the purpose of human life, namely happiness in this world and the world to come.

A. The Merit of Knowledge, the Learned People, and the Classification of Knowledge.

Ibn Jamāᶜah, like the majority of his predecessors, prefaces his views of education by quoting several relevant Qurᵓānic verses and Prophetic traditions. These are supplemented by quotes from several prominent Muslim scholars on the excellence of knowledge and the need for one to pursue and attain it.[6] As an eminent scholar in religious studies, particularly jurisprudence and Prophetic traditions, his theory of epistemology is religious and intuitive. He used divine revelation and Prophetic traditions as the principal sources of knowledge. Nevertheless, he does not disregard man's capacity for reason as another potential source. However, Ibn Jamāᶜah, as can be seen from his conceptual structure of the curriculum of Islamic education, did not give any attention to the discipline of philosophy as an accredited source of knowledge. As observed by Muᶜīd Khan, Ibn Jamāᶜah"...disliked philosophical studies and dogmatic theology."[7] It was related to the attitude of Imām al-Shāfiᶜī to the strict method of a Prophetic tradition in which the supreme place was given to jurisprudence and the challenge of scholasticism. The latter brought about the new context in which philosophy was considered as a threat to Islamic theology and was not well treated in the reign of the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate after the assault of al-Ghazālī and thus influenced Ibn Jamāᶜah to propose a curriculum of studies which was more religious in orientation. Likewise, he

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[6] Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 5-14.

[7] Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 425.

was keen to promote a religious mental attitude in his students and stressed the danger of depending on their own logical capacities. His religious commitment to knowledge and his awareness mentioned above, motivated him to emphasize religious orientations in his theories of seeking knowledge. He also warned students not to acquire knowledge, particularly religious knowledge, for worldly interests. One should be motivated by God, not by arrogance or the need for attention from the community. In other words, Ibn Jamāᶜah particularly emphasized that proper motives were needed for success in the learning and teaching process.[8] In fact, this is indicative of the Islamic teaching that every deed is judged according to its motive.

Studying Ibn Jamāᶜah's theory of epistemology can be done in a twofold approach. The first is to study his perception of knowledge and the learned people as two pivotal issues in relation to learning and teaching. The second is to explore his views on the classification of knowledge from which his educational curriculum is derived.

1. Knowledge and the Learned People.

Before discussing Ibn Jamāᶜah's ideas of knowledge any further, it is necessary to survey various scholarly opinions regarding the concept of knowledge. This study adopts the Islamic perception of knowledge occupying a preeminent position in the pursuit of happiness. In fact, knowledge is considered to be a critical attribute of the responsible Muslim's duty.

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[8] Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 13. See also Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 175. With regard to the importance of motive in educational activities, Totah places Ibn Jamāᶜah on a similar position with ᶜAbd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Qurṭubī (d. 463 A.H. / 1095 A.D.), al-Ghazālī, and al-Zarnūjī. See Totah, *Contribution of the Arabs*, 86.

One of the most noted western Islamists, Franz Rosenthal, dedicated himself to producing a comprehensive text on this subject, entitled *Knowledge Triumphant : the Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam.* This opus details the veritable celebration of knowledge in Islam. Rosenthal regards knowledge as the significant factor in the development of human civilization ; this development is facilitated by a good relationship between knowledge and education. Using an extensive and comprehensive analysis, Rosenthal argues that Islam exalts knowledge as a cause of religious merit and, consequently, scholars have been given noble praise. Moreover, Rosenthal recognizes that the Islamic concept of knowledge enjoyed an important status which has not been found in other civilizations and cultures.[9] Similarly, knowledge represents a viable path to happiness in this world and the afterlife. Rosenthal's opinion is supported by Qur'ānic Scripture, a source which extols the virtue of knowledge. We can easily find a number of references with regard to the nature of knowledge in the Holy Qur'ān, the Prophetic traditions, and the sayings of distinguished Muslim scholars. With special attention to the Prophetic traditions, Berkey observes that generally "the traditions that sing the praises of learning and of scholars do suggest the extraordinary emphasis that Muslim religion and civilization placed upon knowledge, specially religious knowledge, and the power inherent in the process and object of instruction."[10] However, it is not necessary to represent them in this part.

In line with these scholars, one of the modern Muslim scholars, al-Attas, regards knowledge more elaborately. Specifically, al-Attas equalizes knowledge with Islam itself. Knowledge was viewed as synonymous with belief and faith, for it had a function that was critical to the social and spiritual life of the community. Knowledge became a key

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[9] Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 251.

[10] Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 5.

characteristic for a human being and was also considered a valuable feature in political leadership. al-Attas elaborates :

> There have been many expositions on the nature of knowledge in Islam, more than in any other religion, culture, and civilization, and this is no doubt due to the preeminent position and paramount role accorded to *al-ʿIlm* (knowledge) by God in the Holy Qurʾān. These expositions, though apparently varying in substance, encompass the nature of knowledge in its totality....The priority of knowledge is over justice....For Islam, knowledge includes faith and belief. The purpose for seeking it is to inculcate goodness or justice in man as man and individu itself, and not merely in man as citizen or integral part of society. It is man's value as real man, as the dweller in his self's city...etc.[11]

The social function of knowledge, in Islam, is unquestionable since it was a means for preserving life and establishing the self. This high estimation of the excellence of knowledge created a resplendent equilibrium in the social and educational standards of the Muslim community, for there was no gap in seeking knowledge between the poor and the rich. Every one received an equal opportunity and treatment in academic life. However, since man's cognitive capacity is multi-dimensional, everyone has a different degree and level of knowledge.[12] Here, knowledge is ultimately associated with the various intellectual capacities of mankind.

To a large extent, as has been stated in the previous discussion, the urgency and the need for acquiring knowledge in Islam were founded on the first revelation of the Qurʾān. These verses invite people, particularly Muslims, to attain knowledge in their quest to seek Allāh. Through knowledge, a human being can actualize "his essential

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[11]al-Attas, "Preliminary Thoughts on the Nature of Knowledge and the Definition and Aims of Education," in *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*. Ed. by S. Muḥammad al-Naquib al-Attas, 29, 35, 39.

[12]Hadi Sharifi, "Ibn Khaldūn's Thoughts in the Context of the Sociology of Education," *Muslim Educational Quarterly* Vol. II / 3 (1985), 10.

nature (*fiṭrah*) which is the innate predisposition to believe in and worship God."[13] Of course, this kind of knowledge should be symmetric with the foundations of human *fiṭrah*. This *fiṭrah* allows the Muslim to appreciate the twin relationships, namely the relationship with society as a horizontal line and the vertical relationship with God. This binary point of view contends that knowledge has both divine and social purposes. According to Qadir, it allows a person to live successfully and effectively by understanding human nature, which in turn, motivates an individual to implement the practical merits of knowledge in his society.[14] Again the definition of a successful life is based on the goal of appreciating Allāh. Muslim capacity for knowledge, however, has to be credited to God. By acknowledging God's intervention, a Muslim is compelled to utilize knowledge for himself and the community. On the other hand, this view does not mean to confine religious knowledge to a narrow sense only. Muslim scholars also recognize human experience as a potential sources of knowledge.[15] However, this source of knowledge should also force human beings to acknowledge their status as individuals, as members of their community, and, most importantly, as a creation of Allāh.

In addition to the fact that Muslim scholars argued that knowledge, particularly religious knowledge, is an important instrument for creating a balanced human life, they also applauded the person who sought to attain knowledge. These confessions raised the

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[13]Yasien Mohamed, "Knowledge in Islam and the Crisis in Muslim Education," *Muslim Educational Quarterly* Vol. VIII / 4 (1991), 15.

[14]C. A. Qadir, *Philosophy and Science in the Muslim World* (New York : Croom Helm, 1988), 15.

[15]For the recognition of human experience as a source of knowledge consult Mohammad Sharif Khan's *Education , Religion , and the Modern Age* (New Delhi : Ashish Publishing House, 1990), p. 3. See also Qadir, *Philosophy and Science*, 5.

status of the educated religious elite in Muslim society.[16] There is nothing more powerful than knowledge. According to Berkey, "Muslim sensibilities, at least as refracted through the writings of the educated elite themselves, placed scholars of the religious and legal sciences at the pinnacle of society and at the vanguard of the forces it marshaled to defend itself against enemies and to bring order and meaning to its members." [17]Moreover, with a special reference to the Mamlūk Sultanate in Cairo, Berkey illustrates the position of learned men as follows :

> Given the central position of knowledge and learning in Islam, it is not surprising that education and the educated elite have figured prominently in many of the most important works on the social and cultural history of Islamic societies....The educated elite, perhaps more than any other segment of the population, has received the systematic attention of medievalists...[who] have illuminated the significant if difficult-to-define role of the ulama (*ʿulamāʾ*) in the social and political life of Islamic cities in different times and places.... On the one hand, the ulama--as those involved in the transmission of religious knowledge--possessed a self-conscious identity that marked them as a distinctive group, and in Mamluk Cairo that identity was as sharply defined as in any other medieval Islamic society. On the other hand, the ulama never constituted an exclusive group, and the same emphasis on knowledge and its transmission that imparted significance

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[16]See the modern works of Joan Elizabeth Gilbert, *The ʿUlamāʾ of Medieval Damascus and the International World of Islamic Scholarship* (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1977). The author, with a special reference to Damascus, remarks that the *ʿUlamāʾ* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries became a professional class of religious scholars by virtue of religious training and international connections. They were one of the segments of society who became an integrated elite which provided community leaders. The status of the *ʿUlamāʾ* during these centuries can be seen in their political and social roles. See also Abdul Ghafour Ismail Rozi, *The Social Role of Scholars* (*ʿUlamāʾ*) *in Islamic Spain : A Study of Medieval Biographical Dictionaries* (*Tarajim*) [Ph. D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1983]. In this work, the author focuses on analyzing the scholar class of *fuqahāʾ*. He observes that this class had a multiple role as intellectuals, guardians of society's religious life, lawyers, and frequently, merchants and artisans as well. However, he emphasizes the important status of this class as intermediators between the tribal elites and the common people. This status, according to Rozi, is mostly due to their religious and legal activities ; Petry, *The Civilian Elite* ; Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge* ; and al-Ibrāshī, *Education in Islam*, 15-28.

[17]*The Transmission of Knowledge*, 4.

> to the educated elite also ensured its capacity to absorb, in some limited but meaningful way, large elements of the population from widely different walks of life.[18]

This quote illustrates how learned people not only had great roles in social activities, but were involved in political pursuits ; apparently, many held important posts in the political arena. Through knowledge the learned people reached a desirable status and had the potential for domination in society, because they themselves were not strangers anywhere, contrary to the ignorant people.

Besides the positive social and political implications of being a scholar, the learned person also enjoyed a heightened status in the religious field. Referring to the Prophetic traditions, Muslim scholars seemed to agree on giving the utmost sanction to learned men among the common people both in this present life and the life to come. Ṭībāwī, with particular attention to the next world, quotes the tradition which says that the position of the learned men in the next world will be closed to the Prophets.[19] However, it should be noted that this refers to those who master religious knowledge, particularly divine revelation. On the other hand, these scholars did not disallow any room for those who mastered non-religious sciences ; however, these pursuits did not guarantee nearly as privileged a status as that of religious scholars. According to al-Ibrāshī, learned men are considered as both modest and noble even though they may be of humble origin. This is based on how Islam highlights knowledge as a noble reflection of a pious life.[20] By attaining an excellent and comprehensive understanding of

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[18]Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 13-4.

[19]A. L. Ṭībāwī, *Islamic Education : its Traditions and Modernization into the Arab Worlds National System* (New York : Crane, Russak & Co., 1972), 72.

[20]al-Ibrāshī, *Education in Islam*, 22.

knowledge, a scholar can also live successfully. His social and economic means are improved through propagating and transmitting his knowledge.

Given these understandings of knowledge and the roles of scholars in society, the question of Ibn Jamāᶜah's views still remain. By comparing Ibn Jamāᶜah's outlook with the three prominent views of al-Ghazālī, al-Zarnūjī, and Ibn Khaldūn, we can come to understand Ibn Jamāᶜah's contribution to the development of education as both a concept and a practice.

It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* deals briefly and conventionally with the virtue of knowledge and its master. Theoretically, Ibn Jamāᶜah is of the opinion that education is a life-long pursuit. He does not depart from the Islamic point of view regarding the importance of acquiring knowledge as an incumbent duty for every Muslim from an early life.

Briefly, Ibn Jamāᶜah's premises regarding the merit of knowledge and the respect of the learned can be categorized into three aspects : religious, socio-economic, and political. These three aspects were key practical outlooks for the contemporary medieval Muslim. Religiously, Ibn Jamāᶜah believes that the acquisition of knowledge is more important than doing a great deal of the optional of religious duties. In addition, he elaborates how knowledge is something which is necessary and provides beneficial rewards for one's status. This argument is automatically followed by describing how the religious status of the learned is among the most honoured in the eyes of Allāh in the world to come.[21] This esteemed position is based on the recognition of the Qurᵓān which reveals the superiority of one person over another based primarily on the virtue of knowledge, and the common idea among Muslims that knowledge is viewed as an

[21]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 6, 9, 12-3.

essential means of faith.[22] His logical argument is also based on the Prophetic traditions and the teachings of previous Muslim scholars as well as the historical facts of the Islamic intellectual tradition.

The conservative view of Ibn Jamāᶜah above was preceded by his great predecessor Imām al-Ghazālī. In general, there was no principal difference between Ibn Jamāᶜah and other Muslim scholars including al-Ghazālī, al-Zarnūjī, and Ibn Khaldūn concerning the merit of knowledge. Unlike Ibn Jamāᶜah, al-Ghazālī deals comprehensively with epistemology in the first book of his masterpiece *Iḥyā' ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* and in his *Fātiḥāt al-ᶜUlūm.* al-Ghazālī also considers knowledge as a means to attain happiness in this world and the hereafter. However, al-Ghazālī emphasizes that knowledge is not an ultimate goal for every Muslim since it has no meaning without implementation.[23] Therefore, knowledge is useless without application.

Unlike Ibn Jamāᶜah and al-Ghazālī, al-Zarnūjī does not cite many Qur'ānic verses and Prophetic traditions ; he rather stresses more logical arguments to prove the merit of knowledge.[24] This distinguishes his categorization of knowledge from al-Ghazālī and Ibn Jamāᶜah. Likewise, al-Zarnūjī, offers similar reasons for the Muslim pursuit of knowledge in the quest for improving oneself and the community, also emphasizes the relationship between knowledge and action. He considers the necessity of reason in knowledge for building creative thought among his students. As a result, al-Zarnūjī emphasizes the importance of studying philosophy and other logical sciences in his suggestions for an Islamic educational curriculum.

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[22]A. Arasteh, "Islamic Contributions to Educational Method, " *Educational Theory* Vol. VII / 1 (1957), 28.

[23]Asari, *The Educational Thought of al-Ghazālī*, 58-60.

[24]Afandi, *Method of Muslim Learning*, 30-3.

In line with Ibn Jamāᶜah, Ibn Khaldūn also sees the necessity for every Muslim to seek knowledge that is considered as a critical instrument in achieving a better life. However, Ibn Khaldūn can be considered unique in his psychological approach to understanding the role of reflection in producing knowledge. It is this faculty of reflection which distinguishes human beings from animals. Stressing the heterogeneous nature of intellectual capacity and its relationship with knowledge, Ibn Khaldūn uses the hierarchy of human perception to categorize the different levels of social status and function in human society.[25]

Ibn Jamāᶜah's section on the religious virtue of knowledge is followed by a description of its social and political impact. Ibn Jamāᶜah believes that knowledge allows the owner of it to have a better life in both his social and political activities. In fact, Ibn Jamāᶜah places the scholar over the secular ruler.[26] This is due to the fact that Muslims appreciate scholars as noble persons and "teaching is described as the most noble profession, the most profitable trade ; its interaction is most effective and is excellence beyond compare. The authority of the teacher is obeyed, respect for him is wide spread and his subjects are obedient. He rules like a prince, he controls like a minister of state ; his decisions are those of a man of might, he is like a mighty king."[27] Ibn Jamāᶜah also states that by possessing an excellent knowledge, one can achieve recognition from

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[25]For information regarding Ibn Khaldūn's views on the different level of human intelligence see S. M. Ziauddin Alavi, *Muslim Educational Thought in the Middle Ages* (New Delhi : Atlantic Publishers and Distributors, 1988), 50. See also Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 124 ; Aliah Schleifer, "Ibn Khaldūn's Theories of Perception, Logic, and Knowledge," *The Islamic Quarterly* Vol. XXXIV / 2 (1990), 93-8 ; Malik, *Development of Muslim Educational Thought*, 70-1 ; and Sharifi, " Ibn Khaldūn's Thoughts," 10-1.

[26]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 10.

[27]A. S. Tritton, "Muslim Education in the Middle Ages (circa 600-800 A.H.)," *The Muslim World* Vol. 43 (1953), 86.

society and be considered as a very useful person. Ibn Jamāᶜah contends that the scholar becomes a source of advice and guidance for the other members of the community. Here, Ibn Jamāᶜah supports his ideas by employing an analogy of how a scholar is like stars in the sky ; as the stars brighten the midnight sky, a learned man can brighten the lives of the population.[28] The scholars were considered to be the repository of the tenets of the Islamic belief because of their ability to strengthen the believers by the rightness of their dissemination and attitude. By doing sc, the scholars became the true religious and spiritual leaders who secured the community through their knowledge and intellectual ability. This implies that every scholar should do his utmost to enlighten his environment. Together, the rulers and the *ᶜUlamāᵓ* can cooperate, through their own approaches, in order to preserve the stability of a community.[29] This meaningful position provided the learned with social and political mobility giving them great honour in their community as well as power and influence with secular rulers.

The last aspect of Ibn Jamāᶜah's categorization of knowledge is economic. Ibn Jamāᶜah argues implicitly that he who has a comprehensive knowledge and knows how to use it in an appropriate situation achieves a decent standard of living.[30] This is reasonable since his knowledge, according to Tritton, saved the scholar from being ill treated.[31] Ibn Jamāᶜah elaborates the notion of economic opportunities more by pointing out the position of a scholar,

> Tutors, doubtless, enjoyed the wealth and prosperity of the exalted class they served. An appointment to a tutorship usually ensured a man immediate and

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[28]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 10.

[29]Gilbert, *ᶜUlamāᵓ of Medieval Damascus*, 136.

[30]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 10-1.

[31]Tritton, "Muslim Education," 82.

> considerable material promotion, and the settlement of any pecuniary difficulties he might have. Hisham bin ʿAbd al-Malik, although very miserly, is reported to have paid a debt of 700 dīnārs on behalf of al-Zuhrī who had just been chosen tutor to Hisham's son.[32]

In addition, Ibn Jamāʿah describes the respect the rulers accorded to scholars in supporting them financially. He recounts the tale of how "when al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī came to Egypt, he was cordially received by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam who gave him 1000 dīnārs. Three rich friends of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam initiated him and gave al-Shāfiʿī 2000 dīnārs more."[33] Thus, whenever a scholar has a chance to demonstrate his knowledge for the benefit of his community, he can easily earn revenue. Some of the learned earned enough to survive on by teaching, copying manuscripts, and taking part in commercial enterprises. Likewise, the rapid development of religious institutions in the Muslim world produced better prospects for the learned men in which they generally propagated their knowledge. Historically, a large number of them enjoyed held positions as judicial authorities, tutors, and administrative officials. In addition, many of them were hired by the founders to manage the endowments of the institutions which affected their economic lives. For this respect, Gilbert observes that most rulers appointed the *ʿUlamāʾ* to manage the endowments of religious buildings, including mosques and colleges. This was because they relied on the *ʿUlamāʾ* in order to fulfill their religious piety. By doing so, the relationship between the two lightened, and the *ʿUlamāʾ* were able to increase their income.[34] Through these available institutions, a large number of learned men were involved in teaching, studying, writing and publishing numerous scholarly texts.

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[32]Ibn Jamāʿah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiʿ*, 17 as quoted in Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 135.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Gilbert, *ʿUlamāʾ of Medieval Damascus*, 136-7.

Ibn Jamāᶜah's respect for knowledge and learning is evident in his stress on the necessity of competent men in education. It is from this premise that he introduces a special section on how students should go about choosing a proper teacher who can guide them to success. In fact, in Islamic scholarship's tradition, a parameter which was used to measure the success of a student was his instructor's character, intellectual quality, and reputation. More often, it was due to the reputation of his teacher that a student built a successful career.

Based on the above explanations, it can be summed up that those scholars agree that knowledge in Islam, particularly religious knowledge, is an important vehicle for happiness. For example, al-Fārābī (d. 950 A.D.) maintains that knowledge is the highest good which man can acquire because it promotes happiness, and happiness is the desire of all men.[35] These scholars also claim that those who master knowledge are able to occupy high status in the community. However, since Islam does not divorce knowledge from practice, happiness and high status only occur if such knowledge is exercised in an adequate manner. As Malik asserts, "learning had no other function than to be used, while a learned man who did not put to use his knowledge was a despicable creature."[36]

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[35]R. Hammond, *The Philosophy of al-Farabi* (New York : Hobson Press, 1947), 35.

[36]Malik, *Development of Muslim Educational Thought*, 68. See also Totah, *Contribution of the Arabs*, 90.

2. The Classification of Knowledge.

There was a difference between the rationalists and the traditionalists in the Muslim world regarding the classification of knowledge. This resulted from their perceptions and the ongoing flourishing of knowledge in their community. The rationalists' classification of knowledge was mostly influenced by an emphasis on social, philosophical, and educational circumstances, which in turn allowed more attention to the philosophical sciences. Consequently, the rationalists implemented a classification of knowledge which encompassed mostly sciences. This classification was ultimately founded on the firm belief that man's most significant skill was his capacity for reason. On the other hand, the traditionalists strictly based their views of knowledge on traditional Islamic life and excluded the philosophical sciences. The purpose of this rigidity was to help man acquire, retain, and strengthen his faith in God. They regarded revelation as the most significant source of knowledge. Before presenting Ibn Jamāᶜah's and other scholars' classification of knowledge, the following section demonstrates the different sources of knowledge by which one offers a classification of knowledge.

One aspect of epistemology is the instrument of knowledge. The various sources of knowledge can be categorized into at least five kinds, which, in turn, reflect five kinds of theories in the field of education. The classification of knowledge by Muslim scholars into both religious and non-religious covers all five sources of science : revelation, intuition, reason, sense-perceptual experience or experiment, and authorization. Donald Butler explains the methods by which we can categorize knowledge. He divides knowledge into three types : a *posteriori* knowledge which is based upon experience and observation ; experimental knowledge, which necessitates an implementation of one's

experience to further understand something ; and a *priori* knowledge of self-evidence which does not need proof through observation, experience, or experiment.[37] In discussing the level of knowledge, Butler details the functions of the instrument of knowledge. In empiricism, reason subordinates the sense-perceptual experience the primary instrument of knowledge. However, rationalism also includes sense perception as the secondary instrument after reason. Yet, there are rationalists who combine reason and authority as instruments of knowledge, such as Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas. On the other hand, for intuitionism truth is known by insight or immediate awareness. As for authoritarianism, much knowledge is characterized by the use of an indisputable authority. And finally, revelation's source of knowledge is God.[38] In line with Butler, Kneller defines each knowledge by its instrument as follow :

> Revealed Knowledge... may be described as knowledge that God has disclosed to man. In His omniscience God inspired certain men to write down truths that He revealed to them, so that these truths might be known thereafter by all mankind. For Christians and Jews the word of God is contained in the Bible, for Muslims in the Koran, for Hindus in the Bhagavad-Gita and the Upanishads. Because it is the word of God, it is true forever.... Intuitive Knowledge... is knowledge that a person finds within himself is a moment of insight. Insight or intuition is the sudden eruption into consciousness of an idea or conclusion produced by a long process of unconscious work.... It is knowledge that is proposed, and accepted, on the strength of the imaginative vision or private experience of the person proposing it.... It is knowledge that we have picked up from our experience of others and our experience of ourselves.... It is a knowledge or awareness that we deepen, broaden, and correct in the course of our experience. Rational knowledge... is knowledge that we obtain by the exercise of reason alone unaccompanied by observation of actual states of affairs.... The principles of rational knowledge may be applied to sense experience, but they are not deduced from it. Unlike the truths of intuitive knowledge, they are valid regardless of our feelings about them and they are valid universally. [This kind of knowledge] is fundamentally abstract and formal... [and] deals with logical rational and impersonal meanings and disregards emotional needs and actual states of

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[37]J. Donald Butler, *Four Philosophies and Their Practice in Education and Religion.* Third Edition (New York : Harper & Row Publishers, 1968), 23-4.

[38]Butler, *Philosophies and Their Practice*, 24.

> affairs.... Empirical Knowledge... is confirmed by the evidence of the senses. By seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling, and tasting, we form our conception of the world around us... [It] is composed of ideas formed in accordance with observed-or sensed-facts.... Scientific hypotheses are tested by observation or by experiments to find which hypotheses accounts most satisfactorily for a certain set of phenomena. Nevertheless, a hypothesis is never proved or disproved absolutely.... Authoritative Knowledge. [The truth of this knowledge is] vouched for by authorities in the field.[39]

Concerning revelatory knowledge, Kneller emphasizes the singularity of God as the only source of knowledge for truth. However, the other four sources depend primarily on the ability of humans to gain knowledge through a long process of imagination, rational exercises, observation, and consultation with several authorized persons. However, religious knowledge dictates the infallibility of revelation and its mandatory incorporation as an eternal source of knowledge.

The division of knowledge into categories is often found with Islamic philosophers and theologians. The Qur'ān speaks about two different sources of human knowledge : revelation and experience. Malik describes how the first source is reserved for a precious few, namely the prophets. Experience, however, is accessible to all. The evidence of the Qur'ān for experience as a source of knowledge was elaborated by Iqbal. Iqbal says in his *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* that experience, in a broad sense, includes interaction with physical and social phenomena which includes history. He postulates history as a source of human knowledge based on arguments from the Qur'ān.[40]

On the other hand, centuries ago, in the golden age of Islam, which was an epoch of intellectual flourishing, al-Fārābī classified knowledge into levels of practicality

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[39]George F. Kneller, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Education.* Second Edition (New York : John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1971), 19-22.

[40]Malik, *Development of Muslim Educational Thought,* 44.

and theory. Practical knowledge encompassed daily activities, whereas theory helped the soul to attain perfection.[41] However, al-Fārābī claimed that knowledge provided by revelation was insufficient without the assistance of reason. This view is understandable since he subordinates philosophy to religion, as attested by Ashraf, "al-Fārābī goes a step further and openly asserts that philosophy is prior to religion in time, religion is an imitation of philosophy."[42]

Beyond the theoretical and practical levels of knowledge of al-Fārābī, al-Ghazālī hypothesizes that there are three levels of knowledge : common-sense knowledge, scientific knowledge, and intuitive knowledge. For scientific knowledge, al-Ghazālī implements various concepts, including how stimulation is produced in searching for knowledge, the application of scientific arts and their advancement.[43] However, al-Ghazālī emphasizes the superiority of revelation as a source of knowledge over sensual perception and intellectual reason. In another place, al-Ghazālī also emphasizes knowledge based on direct experience and through religious devotion as underpinnings for Sufism. From various religious practices, a Sufi can gain knowledge of God. This latter source of knowledge is also founded in Ibn Bājah's concept of knowledge besides his restriction on knowledge based on physical proof. Based on this explanation, Hossain classifies knowledge into *ʿilm al-yaqīn* (knowledge gained by inference),

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[41]S. M. Hossain, "A Plea for a Modern Islamic University : Resolution of The Dichotomy, " in *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education.* Ed. by S. Muḥammad al-Naquib al-Attas, 95.

[42]Syed Ali Ashraf, *New Horizons in Muslim Education, With a foreword by* Seyyed Hossein Nasr (Cambridge : Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), 31.

[43]Nakosten, *Islamic Origins of Western Education,* 41.

ᶜain al-yaqīn (knowledge gained by perception), and *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* (knowledge gained by personal experience or intuition).[44]

In spite of the popularity of these authors' classifications, Muslim scholars also sketch other versions of the classifications of sciences. These categorizations are considered key to developing the curriculum of studies. From the Islamic perspective, revealed knowledge is believed to be infallible and eternal. The two main sources, the Qurʾān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet, provide knowledge which cannot be doubted. This perspective is also applied to the *Sharīᶜah*, considered indispensable to living prosperously in this world and the world to come. Besides *Sharīᶜah*, there is also spiritual knowledge which is obtained through a long, continued practice of piety and righteousness which Muslims call *al-ᶜilm al-lāduni*.[45] To obtain such knowledge, one needs to continually devote himself religiously and follow all religious teachings. Besides revealed knowledge, there is unrevealed knowledge or scientific knowledge. This knowledge is acquired through experience, observation, and research. According to Qadir, unrevealed knowledge, "is discursive and is obtained through deductive or inductive reasoning or both. It is problematic, transitory, and changing. Had scientific knowledge been certain and perfect like the revealed knowledge, there would have been no progress in human knowledge and no new adjustment to the changing conditions of life."[46] Scientific knowledge can supplement a person's capacity to understand revelation and how to apply God's message in daily life. According to al-Attas classifying knowledge into revealed knowledge and worldly knowledge

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[44]Hossain, " A Plea for a Modern Islamic University, "94-5.

[45]Qadir, *Philosophy and Science*, 10.

[46]Ibid., 11.

(scientific sciences) is a procedure by which a possessor of knowledge can excel himself.[47]

The attempts to classify knowledge in Islam began as early as the third century A.H. (the ninth century A.D.). Among Muslim scholars concerned with this classification is al-Kindī (d. 870 A.D.). As a Muslim Aristotelian philosopher, al-Kindī based his division on Aristotle's division of sciences. He divides knowledge into theoretical, practical, and productive, and adds Islamic disciplines to ancient sciences like physical and metaphysical sciences.[48] However, while it attracted the attention of Muslim scholars, this classification did not stop them from formulating other types of classification. The first Muslim scholar and philosopher who provided a systematic, detailed classification of knowledge, thus laying down the foundations of knowledge, was al-Fārābī. While adopting an Aristotelian perspective and following the footsteps of al-Kindī, al-Fārābī classifies knowledge into five groups. His classification of knowledge is found in his book, *Iḥṣā' al-ʿUlūm* (The Enumeration of the Sciences) ; his classification, which influenced many later Muslim scholars, earned al-Fārābī the title of second teacher (*al-Muʿallim al-Thānī*) after Aristotle.[49] His classification of knowledge can be summarized as the sciences of language and its branches ; the logical science and its branches ; the propaedentic sciences and their branches ; the natural and metaphysical sciences and their branches, the sciences of society which include

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[47]al-Attas, "Preliminary Thoughts on the Nature of Knowledge," 32.

[48]Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Science and Civilization in Islam* (Cambridge-Massachusetts : Harvard University Press, 1968), 60.

[49]Ibid., 47.

jurisprudence and theology.[50] Most philosophers and educationists adopted al-Fārābī's classification with occasional additions of their own. For example, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210 A. D.) in his *Jāmiᶜ al-ᶜUlūm* classifies knowledge in a very similar fashion to al-Fārābī. However, al-Rāzī's scope of traditional knowledge also includes comparative religion, inheritance, Qurᵓānic commentary, and reading of the Qurᵓān and the traditions.[51] These branches of traditional knowledge were not elaborated in *Iḥṣāᵓ al-ᶜUlūm* of al-Fārābī whose main interest lay in ancient sciences which had become some of the major fields of research in the Muslim empire particularly after the time of the Arabic translation of Greek philosophy and science.

Interestingly, these classifications deliberately seem to ignore Islamic disciplines as major sciences. Most of these works offer the philosophical sciences as the highest level of classification. Likewise, it is characteristic in the intellectual arena that one scholar explores other works responding to previous works. al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn describe and rank the Islamic sciences in their classifications ; while al-Ghazālī introduces and emphasizes the importance of mystical science as the most important science, Ibn Khaldūn puts special emphasis on historical and sociological sciences. These theses are illustrated in al-Ghazālī's masterpiece, *Iḥyāᵓ ᶜUlūm al-Dīn*, and in *Fātiḥāt al-ᶜUlūm*, as well as in Ibn Khaldūn's monumental work, *al-Muqaddimah*. However, their ideas are presented in comparison with Ibn Jamāᶜah's.

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[50]For a detailed description see Anees and Athar, "Educational Thought in Islam," 67-8, and Nasr, *Science and Civilization*, 60-2 also his book *Islamic Science : An Illustrated Study* (London : World of Festival Publishing Co. Ltd., 1976).

[51]For a detailed description of al-Rāzī's classification of sciences see his *Jāmiᶜ al-ᶜUlūm*. Vol. I (Tehran : Āᶜīn-i Mihr, n.d), 651, as quoted in Hossain, "A Plea for Modern Islamic University," 96-7.

While lauding Imam al-Shāfiᶜī specifically in a general account of his classification of knowledge, in his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, Ibn Jamāᶜah's system of classification, to a small degree, is also tied with al-Ghazālī's system. However, as mentioned earlier, Ibn Jamāᶜah's approach is more conventional than comprehensive and elegant. Moreover, his strict traditional adherence to Islam influences his perception of knowledge and its classification. Ibn Jamāᶜah divides knowledge into two main broad areas : *sharᶜī* (religious) and *ghair sharᶜī* (non-religious) sciences.[52] Furthermore, he further divides these two classifications into sub-divisions. In terms of religious science, Ibn Jamāᶜah follows al-Ghazālī and employs three categories : *farḍ ᶜayn* (obligatory) sciences which are an obligation for every Muslim individual, *farḍ kifāyah* (optional) sciences which are obligatory only until a sufficient number of Muslims perform them in the context of social need, and *nafl* (supplementary) sciences which are strictly voluntary as supplementals to *farḍ kifāyah*.[53] His categorization of sciences into the areas of *farḍ ᶜayn*, *farḍ kifāyah*, or *nafl* is reflected in his suggestions for a religious curriculum of studies. On the other hand, following his predecessors (Abū Ḥanīfah, Abū Yūsuf, and Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan al-Shaibānī), al-Zarnūjī classifies knowledge into *farḍ ᶜayn* (compulsory) and *farḍ kifāyah* (optional) sciences. *ᶜIlm al-tawḥīd* (theology), jurisprudence, and Islamic ethics are among the compulsory subjects. Optional sciences include topics like medicine and astronomy.[54] al-Zarnūjī contends that the Qurᵓān and the Prophetic traditions are critical in *farḍ ᶜayn*

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[52]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 300.

[53]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 428.

[54]al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, 5. Quoted in Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 427-8.

obligations.[55] Only after understanding these two main sources of Islam can one grasp the broad meaning of Islam as can be seen from his curriculum.

On the other hand, al-Ghazālī's presentation of classification of knowledge is more comprehensive. Styling himself as a Muslim theologian, a Sufi, and a Philosopher, al-Ghazālī dedicated himself completely to systematizing Islamic knowledge from which his educational curriculum is derived. Unlike Ibn Jamāᶜah, theoretically, al-Ghazālī formulates a detail classification by dividing knowledge into two main broad branches : *ᶜIlm al-Muᶜāmalah* (practical sciences) and *ᶜIlm al-Mukāshafah* (spiritual sciences). The latter, which addresses transcendental mysteries such as the meaning of prophecy, the Day of Resurrection, angelic beings, God's attributes, etc., is only accessible to prophets and those close to God. For this reason, al-Ghazālī does not elaborate on *ᶜIlm al-Mukāshafah* in his *Iḥyāʾ ᶜUlūm al-Dīn*. However, he does elaborate on *ᶜIlm al-Muᶜāmalah* by dividing it into three categories. The first is further subdivided into *farḍ ᶜayn* and *farḍ kifāyah*. The *farḍ ᶜayn* variety stipulates that there is a personal prerequisite of knowledge for everyone. The second, *farḍ kifāyah*, is a variety of knowledge needed for the maintenance of society, such as engineering and medicine. The second category incorporates *ᶜUlūm al-Sharīᶜah* (religious sciences), including jurisprudence and Arabic language and *al-ᶜUlūm ghair al-Sharᶜiyyah* or *al-ᶜUlūm al-ᶜAqliyyah* (non-religious sciences or intellectual sciences), which includes philosophy. The third category examines non-religious sciences by dividing them into two subcategories : praiseworthy and blameworthy. Praiseworthy sciences, according to al-Ghazālī, include medicine and arithmetic, whereas astrology and magic are included in the blameworthy categories.[56] In spite of this system, he also divides knowledge into

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[55]al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, 35.

[56]Ashraf, *New Horizans*, 32-3.

four main branches based on his investigation of the conventional teaching practice of his time. The four branches are: scholastic theology (*kalām*), philosophy, Ismāʿīlism (*al-Bāṭinīyah*), and Sufism. Each branch has its own arguments in order to vindicate its own importance.[57] Although familiar with the traditional Aristotelian systems, al-Ghazālī revolutionized the categorization of knowledge by introducing an external criterion for understanding the role of morality in the acquisition of knowledge. Furthermore, he "does so against the broad background of the whole complex of sciences which he describes, noting the religious values of its branches and classifying them into juristic categories."[58] Due to al-Ghazālī's extensive classification of knowledge and his comprehensive works on education, Ṭībāwī considers him as a great thinker and educationist who left a complete and rich guide for later Muslim literature on education.[59] However, we should remember that his position as a jurist and a Sufi influenced his approach while systematizing knowledge. He considers spiritual knowledge as the highest available form of knowledge, a method which combines intuition and persistent religious worship. This emphasis on spiritual knowledge is a reflection of his religious experience and is mostly applicable to Sufism.

Compare to Ibn Khaldūn's classification of knowledge, Ibn Jamāʿah's system of classification of knowledge into religious and non-religious sciences is less comprehensive since Ibn Khaldūn presented a classification which was completed with its branch in accordance with its source. Ibn Khaldūn classifies knowledge into two

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[57]For a detailed study see Asari, *The Educational Thought of al-Ghazālī*, 62-3.

[58]Avner Giladi, "Islamic Educational Theories in the Middle Ages : Some Methodological Notes with Special Reference to al-Ghazālī," *BRISMES* Vol. XIV / 1 (1987), 7.

[59]A. L. Ṭībāwī, "Philosophy of Muslim Education," *The Islamic Quarterly* Vol. IV / 1 (1957), 86.

major kinds : *naqliyyah* (transmitted and traditional sciences) and *ʿaqliyyah* (philosophical and intellectual sciences). The *naqliyyah* variety of sciences is transmitted from God, while the *ʿaqliyyah* can be grasped by the intellectual ability of human beings. Sharifi describes Ibn Khaldūn's approach as follows :

> I. Comprises philosophical and intellectual sciences which can be learned and investigated by man through his innate and natural ability of thinking. This kind of science is invented, acquired, refined, and developed by virtue of man's rational capacity. II. Comprises traditional sciences which are not the outcome of man's ability of thinking, for they are revealed knowledge.[60]

These two sciences are elaborated on by Ibn Khaldūn with the various affiliated branches. In the *naqliyyah* sciences, Ibn Khaldūn includes Qurʾānic studies, Prophetic traditions, principles of jurisprudence, jurisprudence, speculative theology, Sufism, and the science of dream interpretation. Ibn Khaldūn also considers Arabic philology (grammar, lexicography, syntax, style, and rhetoric) as auxiliary and instrumental sciences of the *naqliyyah* variety. On the other hand, the *ʿaqliyyah* sciences comprise logic, physics encompassing medicine and agriculture, mathematical sciences including geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy, and astrology. Metaphysical sciences of the *ʿaqliyyah* kind include sorcery, philosophy, and the science of alchemy.[61] This classification is quite in line with Shāh Walī Allāh's (d. 1176 A. H. / 1762 A. D) division of sciences : *al-ʿulūm al-ʿarabiyyah* (Arabic linguistic sciences), *al-ʿulūm al-sharʿiyyah* (religious or legal sciences), *al-ʿulūm al-ḥikamiyyah* (philosophical or theosophical sciences), and *al-ʿulūm al-muḥāḍarah* (applied sciences).[62]

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[60]Sharifi, "Ibn Khaldūn's Thoughts," 13.

[61]Ibid., 14.

[62]For a detailed information about Shah Walī Allāh's Theory of Knowledge see Hafiz A. Ghaffar Khan, "Shāh Walī Allāh : On the Nature, Origin, Definition, and Classification of Knowledge," *Journal of Islamic Studies* Vol. III / 2 (1992) : 203-13.

Building up the faith of Muslims is an important aspect of Ibn Jamāᶜah's educational program. Since Ibn Jamāᶜah necessitated bodily exercise and relaxation for the learners, it can be deduced that he included in his curriculum physical activities inside and outside the institution as an integral part of the educational program. This program is reflected in his special attention to the learner's attitude toward himself.[63] However, he classifies the curriculum in the following sequence : Qurᵓānic studies, the study of Prophetic traditions, principles of theology, principles of *fiqh*, the particular school of *fiqh*, legal differences among the jurists, Arabic grammar, and dialectics.[64] On the other hand, al-Zarnūjī, does not neglect the merit of studying religious sciences in implementing the regulations of God's word in this world, emphasizes the primary role of theology,[65] followed by jurisprudence, in his curriculum.[66] Both subjects are considered as basic needs to every Muslim. After these sciences, al-Zarnūjī lists Arabic grammar, calligraphy, and dialectics in order of importance.[67] As a matter of fact, he does not elaborate on the necessity of these additional subjects. Arabic is highlighted as a needed tool to study Islam comprehensively, particularly the Qurᵓān and Prophetic traditions.

Yet, Ibn Khaldūn, affirms that "knowledge comes only from Allāh, the Strong, the Wise,"[68] relies on the Qurᵓān and the *Sunnah* as primary sources which are reflected

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[63]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 80.

[64]See Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 80 ; Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education*, 132 ; and Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 430.

[65]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 430.

[66]Theodora M. Abel and G. E. Von Grunebaum, "A Contribution of a Medieval Arab Scholar to the Problem of Learning," *Journal of Personality* Vol. XV / 1 (1946), 61.

[67]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 430.

[68]Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah* III, 481 as quoted in Schleifer, "Ibn Khaldūn's Theories of Perception," 93.

in his sequence of educational program. His sequence of educational program is similar to Ibn Jamāᶜah. As Khan observes, Ibn Khaldūn, "referring to the branches of religious education in order of precedence, gives first place to Qurʾānology, which is followed by *Ḥadīth*, principles of *Fiqh*, *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), scholastic theology (*kalām*), and Arabic literature."[69]

From these descriptions, Ibn Jamāʾah, al-Zarnūjī, and Ibn Khaldūn, principally design their curriculum in a logical sequence from the simplest topics to the most difficult and detailed.[70] Influencing factors in this ranking include the students' capacity as well as the integral importance of the subjects at hand.[71] Based on the assumption, Ibn Jamāᶜah realized the psychological aspects of students for the successful of an educational program including the readiness of the students, their interest, and their motivation to learn. In order to avoid the confusion of the students, Ibn Jamāᶜah arranged his educational program for only one subject of study at a time. He emphasized the vital role of learning in this process by stating that pupil must grasp the subject at hand before moving to the next. However, in exceptional cases, Ibn Jamāᶜah did make allowances for students displaying an ability for studying more than one subject at a time.[72] This feature of Islamic educational program accorded with the psychological state of the learner in order to lead him to follow and to grasp the lesson presented by his teacher. As an educationist, he endeavored to stress the effectiveness and flexibility of a learning and teaching process. His suggested curriculum stresses the importance of religious

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[69]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 430.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 55, 57, 113.

[72]Ibid., 57, 116-7.

teaching in Islamic education. However, it should be noted that his educational program was meant for higher levels and not the elementary stage.

As far as Ibn Jamāᶜah's curriculum is concerned, non-religious sciences are presented as minor subjects. Ibn Jamāᶜah divides non-religious sciences into three categories : *mubāḥ* (permissible), *makrūh* (disliked), and *ḥarām* (forbidden) sciences.[73] However, he does not clearly determine which sciences belong to these three categories. However, it may be understood from Muᶜīd Khan's assertion that Ibn Jamāᶜah, presumably slotted sorcery, astrology, philosophy, and all that was likely to stimulate doubt in the minds of the believers as forbidden sciences. In addition, we can infer that he relegated every non-Islamic science as non-religious. These would include all sciences whose fundamental principles are not the Qurʾān and the Prophetic traditions. Building on this consideration, Ibn Jamāᶜah recognized different instruments of human knowledge besides the two chief ones that is the Qurʾān and Prophetic traditions. Since he promoted the learning and teaching process as a means of transmitting knowledge which was mostly demonstrated through the transfer from teachers to students, Ibn Jamāᶜah considered the use of authoritative works available as instruments of knowledge. He often advised students to use books as an intellectual resource.[74] With special reference to non-religious sciences, Ibn Jamāᶜah acknowledged the importance of intellect, experience, and sensual perceptions regarding the accumulation of knowledge. In summary, the central feature of Ibn Jamāᶜah's ideas of knowledge is the priority in using the Qurʾān and Prophetic traditions as the two main sources of pedagogy, and the motivation to study all knowledge stemming from these two sources.

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[73]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 428.

[74]Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 115. See also Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 24, 26.

Based on the above discussion, it can be deduced that these scholars share a similar methodology of dividing knowledge into religious and non-religious sciences. However, the sub-divisions of these two main categories vary from scholar to scholar, which, according to Makdisi mostly depended on the biographical experiences of professors either as former students or during their careers as professors. Moreover, Makdisi argues that these discrepancies were "in part due to the fact that the founder of an institution of learning had freedom of choice in the organization of his foundation, including the choice of courses taught."[75] In the case of the *ʿUlamāʾ*, the bulk of *ʿulamāʾ*-sponsored institutions relied on religious sciences in their curriculum. According to Stanton, their own beliefs (*ʿUlamāʾ*) took root in religious conservatism and a fundamental faith in revelation as the core of all knowledge. Following the rejection of Greek--inspired philosophic movement--particularly after the time of al-Ghazālī--the curriculum in mosques--colleges and madrasahs patterned itself after the study of the *Jāmiʿ*.[76] As a result, the religious sciences were given particular attention while secular topics were often ignored, particularly in the view of Ibn Jamāʿah. This has led Dodge to assert that the curriculum at that time "was devoted to studies explaining the revelation of the Qurʾān and their application to every day life."[77] This was in turn, necessary for becoming a pious Muslim. Likewise, anything beyond the realm of Islamic sciences was considered superfluous and dangerous. Therefore, the Islamic educational curriculum had to rely mainly on religious sciences.[78] The religious sciences

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[75]Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 80.

[76]Stanton, *Higher Learning in Islam*, 42.

[77]Dodge, *Muslim Education*, 30.

[78]Ethel W. Putney, "Moslem Philosophy of Education," *The Moslem World* Vol. VI (1916), 190.

became the criteria by which other sciences were evaluated when establishing an educationalcurriculum.

B. The Methodology of Learning and Teaching.

The present section discusses one of the most important factors in Islamic education : the learning and teaching process. This process is addressed in a two-fold manner : transmitting knowledge and receiving it. However, this section is preceded by a brief commentary on Ibn Jamāᶜah's theoretical aspects of education from which his methodology of instruction is derived.

Ibn Jamāᶜah, representing Muslim traditionalists, in the widest sense, equates education with good manners, proper behaviour, and adequate methods of learning and teaching.[79] In this context, Ibn Jamāᶜah strongly emphasizes the importance of these three elements in his educational thought which have to be reflected in the practical activities. The essence of these components is reflected in his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* ; this text contains separate chapters addressing etiquette in an attempt to provide guidelines for both instructor and pupil. Likewise, the educational goal includes imparting moral values and improving both individual and social behaviour. For Ibn Jamāᶜah, all factors of education have to be organized in order to attain the main aim of education which is "drawing people nearer to God and [...] spreading and reviving divine law."[80] It can be inferred

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[79]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 1f as quoted in Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 296.

[80]Ibid., 47.

that Ibn Jamāᶜah strongly advocated a combination of education and ethics. This moral dimension of education blends well with Islam's emphasis on religious sciences.[81]

Furthermore, Ibn Jamāᶜah's religious motives are apparent in his systemization of education in that he stresses that a pupil should be devoid of worldly interests. Ibn Jamāᶜah contends that anyone involved in the learning and teaching process should be motivated by God alone.[82]

On the other hand, al-Ghazālī, while presenting similar ideas of how the chief aim of education is to achieve right conduct, believes that the aims of education are related to the fundamental "principle of theological and practical teachings of Islam, proper performance of religious duties, and avoidance of things prohibited."[83] With a clear descriptive quality, he divides the objectives of education according to the levels of religious and non-religious subjects. He claims that religious subjects, such as *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, and *fiqh*, should not be learned only for scholarly purposes. Non-religious subjects are permitted for study if they serve the security of the community.[84] This implies that al-Ghazālī subordinated secular aims to religious ones. However, al-Ghazālī does make allowances for religious scholars excelling politically and socially as a result of their duties ; he does qualify this view by stating that one's motives should be sacred and not worldly.

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[81]Shaharir Bin Mohamad Zain, "Malaysian Experience in Islamization of Sciences," *Muslim Educational Quarterly* Vol. VIII / 2 (1991), 17.

[82]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 13.

[83]Asari, *The Educational Thought of al-Ghazālī*, 121.

[84]al-Ghazālī, *Fātiḥat al-ᶜUlūm*, 9, 15. See also Asari, *The Educational Thought of al-Ghazālī*, 121.

Following the ideas of Abū Ḥanīfah, al-Zarnūjī, likewise, regards knowledge (education) as a means to achieve *taqwā* (pious or right conduct) in a comprehensive manner.[85] By examining al-Zarnūjī's commentary on the motives of education, we can find a few discrepancies with Ibn Jamāᶜah's text. As Khan states, Muslim educational theories strove to "understand the relation of man with God as revealed in the Holy Qurᵓān."[86] Khan, however, does make note of a slight difference between al-Zarnūjī and Ibn Jamāᶜah. While al-Zarnūjī highlights the motivation of proper conduct,[87] Ibn Jamāᶜah emphasizes education as a means of reviving and spreading the word of God.[88] Furthermore, Khan theorizes that al-Zarnūjī is more amenable to the role of reason in education. This conclusion does not mean that *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* does not recognize the importance of intellectual power in acquiring knowledge.

In addition to al-Zarnūjī and Ibn Jamāᶜah, Ibn Khaldūn also provided a significant contribution to the development of Islamic education. While dividing the aims of education into two kinds, that is, to promote clear thinking and to produce a useful man of the world,[89] Ibn Khaldūn uses social and historical approaches to define education as a product of society. He reveals educational dimensions in every aspect of social life. As a result of this comprehensive perspective, Ibn Khaldūn equates individual and collective philosophy with the phenomenon of education. After dividing society into two components (traditional and secular), Ibn Khaldūn contends that education is a

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[85]al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, 3. Quoted in Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 421.

[86]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 421.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid., 425.

[89]Malik, *Development of Muslim Educational Thought*, 71.

secular product of a series of intricate factors in society while philosophy is more holistic and comprehensive.[90] Not only does Ibn Khaldūn's agenda for the educational curriculum differ, the great Muslim sociologist also sees educational characteristics from a variety of perspectives : social, cultural, economic, political, and moral.

Having discussed the theoretical aspects of why an educational curriculum is implemented and what its potential implications are, we can now address the practical steps of an educational program. A successful curriculum requires a specific sequence of three major stages. Firstly, the appropriate subjects need to be determined and these subjects have to be ranked in accordance with the goals of the program of education. Secondly, the curriculum needs to use a methodology which reflects its objectives. Lastly, the stage of evaluating the teaching process is necessary if the instructor is to be able to assess the success of his curriculum. However, in the evaluation, we should also consider some factors that occur while the process of learning and teaching takes place. For it is not my concern to deal with the whole process in this thesis. This section will rather focus on one of the major aspects of education only, namely the techniques of learning and teaching which Ibn Jamāᶜah has discussed systematically.

In his approach to the techniques of learning and teaching, Ibn Jamāᶜah considers several important factors which influence the effectiveness and the success of the process. He pays more attention to the religious and psychological dimensions of the students and teachers ; furthermore, the methodology of education should consider the needs, interests, aptitude and inclination of the pupils. Most of all, the methodology should allow for the most intellectual process possible for the pupil. Likewise, it should give a chance

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[90]Sharifi, "Ibn Khaldūn's Thoughts," 20.

for the progress of the intellectual power of students.[91] Ibn Jamāᶜah introduces his methodology by indicating the values of learning and teaching activities, especially from a religious perspective. Appreciating the merit of proper religious motives, the teacher should arrange his curriculum to reflect the methodology at hand.[92] Ibn Jamāᶜah also calls attention to the stability of the relationship between the teacher and the student. Instability will only hinder the process of learning. As Quraishi says,

> Ibn Jamāᶜah systematically elaborated the methods which are used in learning and teaching both for students and teachers. The delivery of a lesson for a Muslim teacher was as sanctimonious as the performance of religious rite, and, therefore, he prepared for it very scrupulously. Before going to a class, there are some activities which should be done by a teacher in order to maintain his dignity of *ᶜilm*, and to indicate the sacredness and holiness of the job he works for[93].... The teacher was forbidden to give lessons when he was (not emotionally well enough or was not able to avoid unbalanced emotion) hungry, and thirsty, angry, sad or weary, nor were the lessons to be delivered when it was excessively hot or cold (in a certain condition). It was feared that under such conditions the work would not be done well and incorrect information might be given to the pupils.[94]

Concerning preparation before class, al-Ghazālī had earlier presented a similar interest. He argues that this preparation is important to developing the lesson in advance[95] so as to allow the teacher to assess the ability of his students concerning the previous lesson and to find the relation of the new subject with knowledge already possessed by his pupils. Ibn Jamāᶜah adds to this idea by including the need to perform one's religious

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[91]Alavi, *Muslim Educational Thought*, 72-3.

[92]Ashraf, *New Horizons*, 82.

[93]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 31 as quoted in Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 49.

[94]Ibid., 33 as quoted in Quraishi, Ibid., 50.

[95]Alavi, *Muslim Educational Thought*, 47. See also Khan, *Education, Religion, and the Modern Age*, 74.

duties prior to the class, as Berkey asserts, "a scholar must cleanse himself of ritual impurities and wickedness ; only in this way would he achieve the glorification of knowledge and the veneration of the holy law."[96] Berkey contends that these spiritual rites are characteristic of knowledge transmission in medieval Islam. Discussing and understanding motive in educational activities has been already stated in previous pages and does not need repetition here. In this respect, Ibn Jamāᶜah, also discusses at length the effects of the institutional atmosphere on education. These effects not only include external environments like weather and the location of the institution, but also the relationship between students and teachers.

The methodology of teaching, specifically the style of lecture, in the middle ages is described by Nakosteen,

> The following methods of instruction prevailed in "medieval" Islam, though adaptations were made to meet the needs of different levels of instruction : Formal delivery of lecture with the lecturer squatting on a platform against a pillar and one or two circles (a circle within a circle) of students seated before him, was the prevailing method in higher levels of instruction. The teacher read from a prepared manuscript or from a text, explaining the material, and allowed questions and discussion to follow the lecture. Students were encouraged to question the teacher's statements and even to differ with him provided they brought evidence to support their position.... Students took complete notes on each lecture, for the lecture had to substitute for a text which was, for lack of printing, scarce.[97]

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[96]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 30-1. Quoted in Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 55-6.

[97]Nakosten, *Islamic Origins of Western Education*, 57-8. See also Totah, *Contribution of the Arabs*, 58-9. In another version, al-ᶜAbdarī as quoted by Totah, gives systematic steps which are generally adopted by a teacher in his lecture as follow : 1. The lecture is to begin by the formula, *lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata*, etc (there is no power and no might save in God). 2. He is to pray to the Almighty against slips of the tongue. 3. Then he is to present his material. 4. He should give reference to the work of other scholars. 5. He should state his proposition and support it. 6. It is proper to give the listener an apportunity to discuss. 7. Under no circumstances is he to lose his poise when being heckled. Totah, ibid., 60.

Ibn Jamāᶜah follows this basic method with several variations and additions which are described in this section. The method of teaching is very important for Ibn Jamāᶜah, evident in his strict guidelines. He encourages the teacher to adopt suitable techniques which are relevant to the teaching materials and the students' ability. As for the latter, Ibn Jamāᶜah emphasizes that a teacher should "speak according to their students' ability."[98] In the learning and teaching process, this consideration is important in order to build a better understanding in the students' minds because the teacher can communicate his knowledge and keep the attention of his students. After improving the students' capacity to understand more advanced problems, through presenting knowledge at a suitable level of the students' age, cognition and comprehension, the teacher can adjust his methodology and subject matter to a higher level. His statement quotated above also implies that Ibn Jamāᶜah considered the language level of students to be very important in the instructional process. Because language level is a basic element in education, this means that it affects the cognitive domain of students.

In a separate section, Ibn Jamāᶜah elaborates his ideas regarding the role of the learner in the strategy of teaching. From a psychological point of view, Ibn Jamāᶜah states that the students' ability and convenience influence the success of class activities. In order to create a decent learning environment and avoid incomprehension and an inconvenient attitude within students' minds, Ibn Jamāᶜah encourages a teacher to find out the best and easiest way and to start his lesson from simple to difficult.[99] Such approach which take into consideration the level compatible with the students' thinking, understanding, and language maturity and avoids using complicated explanations and

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[98]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 52. Quoted in Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 99. See also, Baloch's section on *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 30, in *Great Books of Islamic Civilization*.

[99]Ibid.

difficult concepts, Ibn Jamāᶜah believes that the goal of the instructional program can be effectively and efficiently attained. This idea was more elaborately expressed by Ibn Khaldūn ; his approach corresponds to the Gestalt theory of psychology which divides a lesson gradually into at least three different steps with different purposes which he considers to be the best method of instruction as observed by Malik :

> A subject should be studied by stages, at least three in number. The first stage in a particular subject should deal only with important issues and general explanations. The purpose of this first stage is to expose the student to the whole field. Having thus obtained a general outline, the time comes for the student to take the second course (or stage) in the same subject. This time the instructions are at a higher level. Mere generalities are avoided, issues are discussed in greater detail and depth, and differences in interpretation or opinion are taken fully into account. The third time around, the student should be guided to achieve mastery of the subject. Nothing is to be omitted, all obscurities and matters of controversy are treated exhaustively ; little remains unexplained.[100]

In addition, Ibn Jamāᶜah believes that blessing and rewarding competent learning is one of the key motivations for the student.[101] Ibn Jamāᶜah also applauds the students who come earlier to class to start reading the lesson's text. Still in a psychological approach, Ibn Jamāᶜah also argues that individual attention to students is necessary in the learning process.[102] A teacher can explore and examine the mental and intellectual development of his students, particularly for any shy and awkward student. Often teachers can do great work through such attention. The crux of this approach is understanding and working with the recipient of the learning process. In other words, it is an essential means to solve the doubt and difficulties within audiences beyond the lecture

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[100]Rosenthal, *the Muqaddimah* III, 292. Quoted in Malik, *Development of Muslim Educational Thought*, 73. See also Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 128 ; and al-Ibrāshī, *Education in Islam*, 76-7.

[101]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 64.

[102]Ibid.

room.[103] This individual approach is the same as the indirect method of Ibn Khaldūn who extols intimacy, informal conversation and companionship between teacher and pupil.[104] In this context, through informal and occasional ways, both teacher and student will benefit in their future activities. However, it should be remembered that the teacher is obliged to maintain his dignity and not become too familiar with his students.

Beyond this perspective, Ibn Jamāᶜah, with focused observation and extensive experiments in classroom activities, prefers accuracy, memorizing, lecturing, questioning, and discussion as the suitable strategies of the learning and teaching process. These techniques are elaborated in separate sections of his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*. His preference for accuracy is described as having a prompt student explain the previous lesson and recite Qurᵓānic verses.[105] Actually, repetition was recommended in the Muslim intellectual tradition of the Middle Ages and the practice of reading aloud was one of the best tools for the process of memorization. Ibn Jamāᶜah adopts a similar approach, and emphasizes that repetition is the way to memorization. In this respect, Makdisi observes that "repetition was favoured as the best way to commit text to memory ...{ and } was essential to the system that the master-jurisconsult of a college of law usually had a *muᶜīd*, literally a repetitor."[106] Thus, as far as memorization was concerned, repetition was a respected method. In this sense, before committing a text to memory, Ibn Jamāᶜah, according to Khan, believes that a student should perfect his

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[103]S. Khuda Bukhsh, "The Educational System of the Muslims in the Middle Ages," *Islamic Culture* Vol. I / 3 (1927), 458.

[104]Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah* III, 291 as quoted in Malik, *Development of Muslim Educational Thought*, 73.

[105]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 60.

[106]Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 102-3.

accuracy with repeated readings and corrections by the teacher.[107] These activities are considered as the pre-test step of a lesson.

After memorizing the text at hand, the teaching process then went to the next stage : a comprehensive lecture or lesson given by the teacher. Ibn Jamāᶜah says that students should memorize what they have learnt and listen attentively to the lesson given by their teacher.[108] Only after memorizing a certain text did students move on to the next because memorization plays a critical role in the way of mastering any knowledge, particularly the science of Prophetic traditions. The emphasis on memorization was not strange in Islamic educational history. It was the central feature of the Islamic educational tradition in classical and medieval times. There have been several reliable studies regarding the importance of memorization in Islamic empires of the Middle Ages discussed by scholars.[109] However, according to Berkey, "the generally conservative Muslim attitude to knowledge and learning, which could only have been reinforced by emphasis on memory, should in no way be taken as an indication that scholarship was sterile and static."[110] Following these activities, very often the teacher, according to Ibn Jamāᶜah, employs the dictation method specifically for the scarcity materials. However, Ibn Jamāᶜah also combines several techniques in order to clarify the lesson and build understanding among the students. Firstly, a teacher would read several passages and explain the meaning of any unclear points in order to facilitate students'

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[107]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 432.

[108]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 112. See also Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 39.

[109]See for example, Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, 99-102. See also, Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 28-30.

[110]Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 30.

understanding.[111] With an explanation provided, the student would then transcribe the text accurately. If for any reason, the students were still unclear on certain points, the teacher redoubled his efforts to explain. This method of explaining a passage was mostly applicable to all subjects, particularly the Prophetic traditions.

While recognizing the value of repetition and memorizing, al-Ẓarnūjī's methodology was founded more on teacher-student interaction in discussion.[112] Since al-Zarnūjī preferred comprehension to memorizing, he encouraged students to pose questions which would allow the teacher to gauge their understanding of the topic.[113] Likewise, realizing that many problems in the educational activities cannot be learned through raw memorization, Ibn Jamāᶜah also acknowledged the use of questions to evaluate students' understanding while teaching. The question was often, according to Quraishi, "directly asked and a prompt answer was expected. If the question was difficult a week was given to the · student to prepare its answer."[114] Realizing that awkward answers occasionally stemmed from overly difficult questions, teachers were obliged to modify their questions. In addition to using direct questions, a teacher was also encouraged to use indirect ones which would be useful to test students' subconscious understanding and analysis of the subject.[115] Therefore, the whole process of questioning students during a lesson had a two-fold effect. Firstly, it allowed the instructor to evaluate his students. Secondly, it provided an opportunity for the teacher to modify his lesson.

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[111]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 42.

[112]Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education," 432.

[113]Abel and Grunebaum, "Problem of Learning," 66.

[114]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 53 as quoted in Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 53.

[115]Ibid.

On this point, the question-and-answer method is also important to avoid domination by a teacher because by using this kind of method he can stimulate his students to formulate questions from which a discussion is spontaneously created. However, in this case, Ibn Jamāᶜah emphasizes that the students' questions be relevant and not tangential.[116] By practising questioning and answering, the habits of formulating critical analysis and logical thinking can blossom. The teacher should be satisfied only after the students display a competent awareness of the subject. Based on these facts, Ibn Jamāᶜah prefers comparative methods in his teaching process with an emphasis on quality rather than quantity.

Ibn Jamāᶜah's methodology is also founded on the need to have a follow-up session for the lesson at hand. However, Ibn Jamāᶜah employs the religious approach. He states that before closing his class, a teacher should do several activities which indicate the end of the class.[117] He recommends that a lesson should be ended with some pious admonitions. He should close his book while whispering a prayer in the proper manner with upturned eyes and hands held before the eyes as though he were reading something on both palms. Ibn Jamāᶜah suggests that a teacher should remain behind in case there is any student who, for reasons of shyness or incomprehension, needs individual attention.[118] It is also incumbent on a teacher to raise students' self-esteem. In Ibn Jamāᶜah's opinion, a bashful student will never excel as a scholar.[119] In other words, Ibn Jamāᶜah says that it is a teacher's duty to overcome students' bashfulness and test their progress continually.

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[116]Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 297.

[117]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 44.

[118]Ibid., 45.

[119]Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 102.

Psychologically, Ibn Jamāᶜah argues that the best age for the learning process is a young age. A student at such an age, with a strong motivation and no distractions, can be expected to devote all his energy to studying. In separate sections of *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, Ibn Jamāᶜah argues that a student's entire daily schedule should be oriented around his studies. He suggests dividing one's schedule into four regularly scheduled activities. The morning should be dedicated to studying ; specifically, day break is seen as the optimum time for memorization. His attention to the capacity of a student's memory is reflected in his guide to learners to consume healthy and nutritious food and avoid consuming food which can lessen the ability of memory, which includes sour apples.[120] Yet, writing and composition skills should be concentrated on during the afternoon. This activity needs constant correction and revision and Ibn Jamāᶜah suggested it be done in a class setting. Reading and group discussions should be conducted at night.[121] This suggested schedule would promote self-discipline, a skill which would have beneficial effects outside the class.

Thus, Ibn Jamāᶜah greatly contributed to the methodology of teaching and learning in the Muslim educational thought of the Middle Ages. The bulk of his recommendations revolved around the teaching and learning process itself. Baloch considers him as the initiator of the formulation of the discussion method which is clear in his emphasis on the value of questioning and answering during class hours.[122]

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[120]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 77.

[121]Ibid., 72-3. For a comparison concerning the suitable time for study see al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, 39-40, and Abel and Grunebaum, "Problem of Learning," 64-5.

[122]Baloch, *Books of Islamic Civilization*, 31.

CHAPTER THREE

IBN JAMĀᶜAH'S VIEWS ON THE TEACHER AND THE STUDENT

This chapter addresses aspects of Ibn Jamāᶜah's ideas of Islamic education regarding teachers and students, including their relationship. Muslim educationists agree that one important aspect in shaping the characteristics of Islamic education is the positive appreciation given by the community to a teacher. The teacher is considered as the cornerstone of the Islamic educational process. In contrast, western perceptions of the role of a teacher in society is somewhat more limited. This contrast is supplemented by a marked difference in the relationship between student and teacher. Western approaches to education stipulate a formal, distant relationship, devoid of any moral or religious values.[1] However, in classical and medieval Muslim education, theorists argued that there was an additional bond of spirituality between a teacher and his students, much along the lines of a Sufi master and his disciples. Furthermore, the teacher plays a critical role in shaping a student's moral character and determining his future career.[2] This discussion, consequently, examines the two-way relationship between student and teacher. While highlighting the necessary traits and attitudes necessary for a responsible teacher, we will also explore what Muslim educational theorists believe is critical for a student to be successful. Since these scholars consider the student as one of the most important elements in an educational program, they implement several particular rules which

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[1] Consult for example M. A. Zaki Badawi's article, "Traditional Islamic Education-Its Aims and Purposes in the Present Day," in *Aims and Objectives of Islamic Education*. Ed. by S. Muḥammad al-Naquib al-Attas, 104-111.

[2] See for example the modern work of Dale F. Eickelmann, "The Art of Memory : Islamic Education and its Social Reproduction," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. XX (1978), 496. The emphasis on the belief that the prospect of a student's career is founded on his teacher's esteem and reputation is also discussed by Tritton in his *Materials on Muslim Education*, 32 ; Sharif Khan's *Education, Religion, and the Modern Age*, 109 ; and Berkey's *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 22.

supplement three necessary overall duties : duties towards themselves, duties towards their teachers, and duties towards their lessons. Ibn Jamāᶜah added two more duties : the duty of the students towards their fellow-students and the duties towards their books.

This pivotal issue of Islamic education was discussed at length by many great Muslim scholars and educationists, such as Ibn al-Muqaffaᶜ (d. 756. A. D.), Imām al-Ghazālī, al-Zarnūjī, and Ibn Jamāᶜah.[3]

In *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, Ibn Jamāᶜah examines this relationship by suggesting the appropriate manners and duties for both the teacher and the student. He insisted that true knowledge could only be attained from learned men involved in education who guided the students to the correct upright path.[4] The ideal learned person was one who had mastered various sciences while still exhibiting a humble, moralist attitude. These two criteria represent the standards by which students went about selecting their future teacher. Ibn Jamāᶜah warned that students should not be too hasty in this selection process. He argued that students must carefully research the teacher's background, his social circles, and his reputation.[5] However, Ibn Jamāᶜah stressed that a teacher need not be a famous scholar since there were quite adequate useful teachers without a prestigious career.[6] This reflects his concern regarding the need for qualified men who shape the future generation of scholars who, in turn, improve the surrounding community.

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[3] Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 125 and Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 61.

[4] Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 20, 123.

[5] Ibid., 85, 87, as quoted in Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 23, and Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 116.

[6] Ibid., 85-6.

In a broader sense, Ibn Jamāᶜah's understanding of the role of the instructor reflects the explicit goal of Islamic education : evolving a person holistically. Given that the teacher is a critical component for accomplishing this goal, he, too, must be more than simply a transmitter of knowledge. He must have sterling values and be strong in his convictions. This character is a beneficial means to bring students into a contextual circumstance with the eternal life. al-Aroosi reflects this in his remark that one cannot measure the success of a teacher by simply gauging his ability to transmit knowledge. However, he advocates the standard measurement that a teacher must be evaluated on the basis of his ability to imbue his students with correct and sincere beliefs.[7] This implies the essential element of the highest goal of Islamic education to create a good student whose character is built on the basis of Islamic ethics.

Ibn Jamāᶜah believes that the best means of measuring a teacher's success in this regard is to note any behavioural changes being exhibited by his students. These include student responses to their lessons, their fellow students, and society as a whole. Indeed, the behavioural change is one of the main concerns of Ibn Jamāᶜah's concept of education. This is in line with the modern view regarding the main concern of education, which is to fashion the attitude of the learners to learning rather than merely to instill new information into students' mind. The previous chapter's discussion of how Ibn Jamāᶜah suggested evaluating a student's progress in a particular lesson is related to this concept. Hence, Ibn Jamāᶜah's approach to education goes beyond the practical details of learning ; it also incorporates the implementation of decent religious and societal values.

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[7] M. al-Aroosi, "Islamic Curriculum and the Teacher," in *Curriculum and Teacher Education.* Ed. by M. H. al-Afendi and N. A. Baloch (King ᶜAbdul ᶜAzīz University-Jeddah : Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 125.

Seeing that qualified teachers are necessary in the educational process to create a good generation of students, the following sections systematically explore Ibn Jamāᶜah's views regarding two central elements of an educational program : the requirements of an ideal teacher and the duties of the student. These two features are followed by a discussion on the dynamics of the teacher and student relationship.

A. The Requirements of an Ideal Teacher.

Aḥmad Tafsīr comments that traditional Islamic literature on education often tackles the qualities and duties of teachers in an unsystematic manner, hence complicating the issue significantly.[8] As a result, this thesis will differ in its approach by presenting these qualities and duties in an organized and a systematic manner. This particular section focuses on Ibn Jamāᶜah's concept of the ideal teacher ; it does not necessarily discuss the teacher's duties since all of the following requirements are deduced from Ibn Jamāᶜah's ideas of teacher's duties.

The first requirement is that a teacher should be pious in his sayings and deeds, thus reflecting his general religious attitudes.[9] This particular feature should reflect the instructor's positive personality, a point that Ibn Jamāᶜah repeatedly stresses. It is imperative that a teacher keep himself close to God by adhering to the tenets prescribed by the Qurʾān and Prophetic traditions. A teacher has to be of a low profile and should avoid worldly matters for fear he will exploit knowledge for material gain, which may damage his dignity. In addition, a teacher has to cleanse his body and soul from bad

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[8] *Ilmu Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Islam [The Science of Education in an Islamic Perspective]* (Bandung-Indonesia : PT. Remaja Rosda Karya, 1992), 79, 82.

[9] Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 15.

manners and avoid hypocritical statements to his students. In doing so, Ibn Jamāᶜah argued that a teacher must request the assistance of Allāh before and after performing his teaching duties.[10] This was understandable since he realized the function of a teacher as a perfect figure to be emulated by his students and thus influencing their mind and character. In a modern view, Nasr reflects this in an article by emphasizing the importance of selecting a teacher. He warns parents and students to be careful in choosing a teacher, particularly when students are of young age, because at this stage a teacher has as great an influence on the character of his students as on their minds. In this context, Nasr agrees with Ibn Jamāᶜah concerning piety as the chief requirement of a teacher.[11]

The second requirement is that a teacher must sincerely believe in his vocation and must act within his academic capacity.[12] Ibn Jamāᶜah recommended the necessity of this requirement to create a purely religious circumstance in the teaching process. With such convictions, the teacher will not manipulate his students by teaching something which is beyond his capacity and specialty. This requirement will facilitate the insistence that the Islamic educational arena be free from any potentially damaging contaminants. Realizing the importance of the teacher's academic capacity and the development of science, Ibn Jamāᶜah encouraged the teacher to carry on learning from all sources, even from the young and those of low status.[13]

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[10]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 43, 59, 71.

[11]Nasr, "The Islamic Philosophers' View on Education, "*Muslim Educational Quarterly* Vol. II / 4 (1985), 8. See also Husain and Ashraf, *Crisis in Muslim Education*, 104.

[12]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 69.

[13]Ibid., 55.

The third requirement for a responsible teacher is not only that he should be a man of learning but also a person who appreciates the role of stimulation in a class environment.[14] This feature transcends many ethnic and cultural boundaries and can be found in Islamic and non-Islamic educational programs. Ibn Jamāᶜah stressed that it is essential for a teacher to motivate himself and his students to study, because this factor was influential in the teaching and learning process, for any teaching process would be unsuccessful if the teacher does not recognize the value of stimulating his students. The stimulation often works best when the lesson is presented as a challenge, as Adams and Garret commend, "many students are eager to display their creative ability and will do so if properly challenged."[15] In addition, a prospective teacher will reflect his stimulation when he himself is eager to expand his own knowledge and proves he is serious in conducting his job. He should prompt his students to advance their learning and respect other students' prestige. Furthermore, Ibn Jamāᶜah encourages the teacher to look for different kinds of potential in his students. If he disvovers that one student displays an affinity for a certain subject, that talent should be nurtured. Ibn Jamāᶜah realized that many students were motivated by the need to gain prestige ; consequently, he urged teachers to use this source of motivation in their educational program. Insofar as the stimulation and motivation are dominant in this requirement, this concept is quite in line with the modern theory of motivation in an educational program, whether it is intrinsic

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[14]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 49, 53-55, 73, 77-8, 80. The necessity of stimulation is due to the teaching process itself which, from a psychological point of view, according to Thorndike, implies the art of giving stimuli. See Edward L. Thorndike, "The Principles of Teaching," in *Learning : Theory and Practice*, edited by Paul E. Johnson (New York : Thomas Y. Crowell Company Inc., 1971), 16.

[15]Sam Adams and John L. Garret JR, *To Be A Teacher : An Introduction to Education* (Englewood Cliffs-New Jersey : Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), 231.

coming from inside of student or extrinsic coming from outside him, such as from his teacher and environment.[16]

The fourth requirement is that a teacher must have good instructional skills in a class setting so that the students can easily follow him.[17] Since teaching is fundamentally human social interaction, the teacher must know how to interact with other people. The need of an experienced person is due to the comprehensive activity of teaching itself which can be performed only by a person who is experienced in classroom activities. Ibn Jamāᶜah elaborated this requirement by stating that a teacher must be expert about instructional strategy by which he can keep his class dynamic and active while ensuring that the students can follow the lesson at hand. A good teacher, in the modern view, has to find ways of teaching that serve the purpose and will easily move anytime from one to another method contextually.[18] A good teacher should be the intermediary between the student's mind and the subject matter. However, he must keep his class away from noise and jokes so that this circumstance will benefit his students. A large part of planning a

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[16]Hal R. Arkes and John P. Garske, *Psychological Theories of Motivation.* Second Edition. (Monterey-California : Brooks / Cole Publishing Company, 1982), 333. For a comparative study regarding the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation see J. W. Atkinson. *An Introduction to Motivation.* (New York : Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1964) : R. W. White, "Motivation Reconsidered : The Concept of Competence," *Psychological Review* (1959), 297-333 · and N. L. Gage and David C. Berliner's section on Motivation, 365-434 in his *Educational Psychology.* Second Edition (Boston : Houghton Mifflin Co., 1979). The emphasis on environmental stimuli in the determination of student bahaviour was discussed at length by Psychological Behaviorists such as John B. Watson and Clark L. Hull. See Arkes and Garske, *Theories of Motivation,* 228.

[17]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs,* 65-6, 68.

[18]Arthhur W. Combs et al., *The Professional Education of Teachers : A Humanistic Approach to Teacher Preparation.* Second Edition (Boston : Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1974), 120. See also Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education,* 169. In this book, Shalabī emphasizes that a teacher should not teach students generically ; rather, he should gauge each class differently.

lesson, Ibn Jamāᶜah continues, is gauging the class's capacity including the psychological state of the students. al-Zarnūjī agrees on this point and suggests that problem-solving exercises should also be accommodated to the students' ability.[19] From these considerations then the teacher could communicate his knowledge and teach in an adequate situation and condition in agreement with al-Ghazālī who said that such a teacher would follow the Prophetic tradition : "He who advises people using a higher style that their standard makes his talk misleading to some of them."[20]

The fifth requirement is that a teacher should be skilled in counselling and supervision. Ibn Jamāᶜah believed that a teacher's responsibility transcended the classroom.[21] He should keep careful track of a student's progress and if, for any reason, problems arose, it was incumbent on the teacher to investigate. The teacher, at this point, could provide the appropriate counselling. This requirement is indicative of Ibn Jamāᶜah's belief that the teacher should strive to build a bond between himself and his students. He also felt that such a relationship would motivate the student to work harder. This implies an unseparated activity between teaching and counselling on the one hand, and learning on the other. In matters of discipline, a teacher should not blindly punish but, rather, he should take pains to understand what the problem is. Initially, the student should be approached individually and gently rebuked.[22] If the problem persists, the teacher should then interview the student's parents. If a particular student was having difficulties with the

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[19]al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, 22 quoted in Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 146.

[20]al-Ghazālī, *Iljām al-ᶜAwāmm ᶜan ᶜIlm al-Kalām*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Muᶜtaṣim Billāh al-Baghdādī (Beirut-Lebanon : Dār al-Kitāb al-ᶜArabī, 1406 A. H. / 1985 A. D.), 24.

[21]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 73, 77.

[22]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*. 23. 50.

lessons, the teacher should use his counselling skills to find the nature of the problem ; if need be, he could advise the student to join a lower-level class. [23] Counselling activity is also seen by al-Zarnūjī as an important aspect in the educational program ; particularly, a teacher "counsels students not to depend upon themselves in choosing the subject for their study as this matter must be entirely left to the professor whose experience would be of great help in their ignorance."[24]

A teacher's sixth requirement is the need to be fully versed in the subject he is instructing and fully invoived in developing scholarly work in order to advance his own skill and comprehension.[25] As a matter of fact, extensive, comprehensive and true understanding of a subject matter for which a teacher is responsible is strongly needed to avoid a case in which a teacher does not accommodate information to his students as it is hoped in an educational program. An unsatisfactory teacher in this regard will only damage a future generation of scholars. Realizing this danger, Ibn Jamāᶜah implored teachers to memorize and understand sciences, with all regulations, principles, and branches.[26] Having mastered science in a such way will facilitate the teacher's determination regarding how a subject should be taught. Meanwhile, if a teacher does not have well prepared materials and is not assisted by some important infrastructures such

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[23]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 57 and Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 168.

[24]al-Zarnūjī, *Taᶜlīm al-Mutaᶜallim*, 13 quoted in Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 168.

[25]There is a difference between modern western education and Ibn Jamāᶜah and Islamic education concerning the necessity of a teacher's capacity in a subject. While modern western education sees this requirement as crucial, Ibn Jamāᶜah stresses religious behaviour and knowledge as the main prerequisites of an ideal teacher. For detailed information about modern western perception, see Combs et al., *Professional Education of Teachers*, 22, 44. For Ibn Jamāᶜah see the above discussion.

[26]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 69.

as mastering the strategy of learning and teaching process, he cannot successfully transmit his capacity of information to his students. Likewise, Ibn Jamāᶜah viewed that engagement in discussion with other scholars and doing research for publishing scholarly materials are also important for the teachers with the purpose of improving skill and comprehension.[27]

All six of these requirements are interrelated ; generally, they work best for a physically and psychologically well-adjusted teacher. Ibn Jamāᶜah implies that a person sound in mind and body is the best candidate. While it is possible for a teacher to be physically impaired and still perform his duties, Ibn Jamāᶜah contends that this will reflect itself in his teaching success. Furthermore, an instructor's personal demeanour also affects his ability to teach. That is why Ibn Jamāᶜah strongly stresses the need for a teacher to cleanse his heart and mind from bad manners. Above all, Ibn Jamāᶜah emphasizes that a teacher should recognize the role of piety in the teaching process ; thus, he should praise God before and after teaching.

B. The Duties of the Student.

Ibn Jamāᶜah addresses this issue in the last three chapters of his *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*. However, it is not my intention to explore all of them ; rather, this section is concerned with his views on the duties of a student towards himself, his teacher, and his class. Needless to say that the prime duty of a student is to study ; however, Ibn Jamāᶜah and others elaborate on other duties. The following points reflect Ibn Jamāᶜah's goal of promoting a successful learning process and producing a future generation of religiously-

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[27]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 56.

minded scholars. Before discussing these duties, it is first important to clarify how Ibn Jamāᶜah defined a student addressed in *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*. A student is not a young child at the stage of the *kuttāb* ; rather, a student is a person who has reached a certain level of maturity in age and mind (*balagha darajatan min al-rushd wa al-waᶜy*).[28] Thus, Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* is designed for the higher levels of learning.

With regards to a student's personal duties, Ibn Jamāᶜah stressed that he must cleanse himself of all distasteful traits, including cheating, malice, and envy.[29] His emphasis on this duty was founded on his belief that learning was the worship of the soul ; without a purified heart, a student could not grasp the essence of knowledge : happiness in the Hereafter. This is just like ablution without which physical prayer cannot be performed.[30] The need for purity of heart in any endeavour is a common feature in Islam because it was a central organ of human spirituality and has a strong potentiality within which faith is built. Take for example, *sūrah* 49 : 14, God says that "The desert Arabs say, We believe. Say, Ye have no faith ; but ye (only) say, We have submitted Our wills to God, For not yet has Faith Entered your hearts. But if ye obey God and His Apostle, He Will not belittle aught Of your deeds ; for God is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful."[31] In general, Ibn Jamāᶜah's requirement for students exhibits the underlying need for them to recognize the duty of being pious and virtuous.

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[28]Shams al-Dīn, ed., *al-Madhhab al-Tarbawī*, 27.

[29]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 231 in Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 89).

[30]Shams al-Dīn, ed., *al-Madhhab al-Tarbawī*, 111 and al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ᶜUlūm al-Dīn* I, 55.

[31]*The Holy Qurʾān*. Translated and Commentary by A. Yusuf Ali (Brentwood-Maryland : Amana Corp., 1983), 1407.

The second duty of a student is that he must be motivated by religious intention. This duty can only be accomplished when the first duty recommended by Ibn Jamāᶜah above is realized. The importance of this requirement in the learning process is attested to by the general belief that *niyyah* (intention) is the highest foundation and aim of every good Islamic deed.[32] A student should be motivated to learn by religious interest ; in no case, should he be attracted by worldly motives. If it is necessary he should leave his home and family and must seek knowledge only for religious interests such as to benefit his community and revive religious knowledge. This implies that the cause knowledge will benefit only when its master has a good motive and intention and when he is not acting for the sake of material gain and fame or dignity.

The third duty is that a student should be studious and applied.[33] A student's dedication to learning should be reflected by hard work and tenacity. Furthermore, a student should realize that he will accomplish success only if he applies himself whole-heartedly. Realizing the importance of this matter, Ibn Jamāᶜah argued that a student should not oversleep but rather should rest sufficiently for his need, because in every minute of his life he is to devote himself to learning and concentrate on studying as many branches of religious knowledge as he can. To support this duty, Ibn Jamāᶜah quoted al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī : *al-ᶜIlmu shayʾun lā yuᶜṭīka baᶜḍahu ḥattā tuᶜṭiyahu kullaka* (Knowledge is something that will not give part of itself to you until you give your all to it).[34]

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[32]Shams al-Dīn, ed., *al-Madhhab al-Tarbawī*, 29 and Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 89

[33]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 71 as quoted in Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 100-1. See also Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 90, 93-4.

[34]Ibid., 71. However Rosenthal in *Knowledge Triumphant*, p. iii, observes that this quote is incomplete and presents a revised version *al-ᶜIlmu shayʾun lā yuᶜṭīka baᶜḍahu ḥattā tuᶜṭiyahu kullaka fa idhā aᶜṭaytahū kullaka fa anta min iᶜṭāʾih laka l-baᶜḍa*

The fourth duty is to maintain an orderly lifestyle.[35] A successful student is one who organizes his timetable to include studying, memorization, and drills which have been presented in the previous chapter. Furthermore, this duty will help a student build a sense of self-discipline which will be useful later on for activity in the future.

The fifth duty is that he should content himself with little food. Contentment is one of the qualities of ascetic behaviour and is considered to be an essential exercise in the learning process. Going without food is considered to be a noble act showing a student's commitment to learning. As Imām Mālik stated, "None can scale the heights of learning without tasting the pangs of starvation."[36] It seems that Ibn Jamāᶜah was influenced to some degree by his Sufistic way of life. He believed that eating less was a vehicle by which one could improve one's understanding. Ibn Jamāᶜah saw gluttony as a metaphor for pursuing knowledge for material gain ; as a result, he advocated an ascetic approach to learning.

The sixth obligation calls for general pious behaviour.[37] Ibn Jamāᶜah's mystic influences are also reflected in how he insists that his students should adopt a simple life of meditation and piety. The student was advised to follow the identical requirements of an ideal teacher : piety and devotion. This duty also involves a student being motivated to perform good in the world. The character of *taqwā* (piety) among students was

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ᶜalā khaṭarin (Knowledge is something that will not give part of itself to you until you give your all to it, and when you give your all to it, then you stand a chance but you cannot be sure that it will give you that part).

[35]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 72-3 as quoted in Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 101. See also Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 91-2).

[36]Ibid., 71 as quoted in Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education*, 80-1. See also *Zayᶜūr, al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 91-3.

[37]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 93.

important because whatever knowledge they pursue will only be of high value if they have good deeds and beautiful manners which were the reflection of *taqwā*. Moved by proper faith, a student should implement his knowledge to better the community. Besides Ibn Jamāᶜah, al-Ghazālī and al-ᶜAbdarī also agree on the importance of good deeds and behaviour while learning since "a student of bad behaviour will never benefit any knowledge he may possibly acquire."[38]

The seventh duty is that he should associate with responsible friends.[39] If a student interacted with the proper company, he would continue to be committed to his studies. Much of a student's extracurricular activity is dominated by his friendships ; normally a student will interact with peers of the same level of capability. Friendship develops rapidly and students should carefully choose their friends because they will largely influence their academic activities. Therefore, it was a must for a student to choose the right company. Ibn Jamāᶜah stressed that a student's acquaintances should be pious and well versed in religious lore.[40]

Concerning the second category, a student's responsibilities to his teacher, Ibn Jamāᶜah insisted that a student should choose a good and suitable teacher.[41] This selection is important to Ibn Jamāᶜah, and is evident in his advice that a prospective student should interview the learned men of the community, as well as seek God's guidance. The choice was deemed so important that al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274 A. D.) stated that "a student arriving in a new city or country was urged to take as long as two months in

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[38]Shalabī, *History of Muslim Education*, 175.

[39]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 94.

[40]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 82.

[41]Ibid., 85.

choosing the proper teacher."[42] By interviewing scholars and researching possible candidates, not only does a student save himself from future disappointment and resentment, he also becomes familiar with a professor's scholarly and religious background. Ibn Jamāᶜah's criteria for an ideal professor were discussed in the previous section of this chapter. However, a student must first examine the notability of a professor in religious knowledge and his intellectual background, including his masters and experience, for from this he can evaluate his competence.[43]

The second duty is obeying and respecting his teacher in every respect.[44] In addition to obedience and respect, a student should also be reverent of his master since there is no obedience without glory. These three features are the underpinnings of the student-teacher relationship. A teacher was considered by Ibn Jamāᶜah as one who knew everything beneficial for his student. In other words, a student should fully believe and trust his teacher much like a patient behaves towards his physician. This view once again reflects Ibn Jamāᶜah's mystical analogy of the relationship between a *shaykh* and a *murīd.*

Thirdly, a student has to express his gratitude ; furthermore, he must do his utmost to preserve a healthy discourse.[45] This particular duty is elaborated in the ensuing section.

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[42]Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 22.

[43]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 99.

[44]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 112 as quoted in Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 297. Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 100-1, 115-6

[45]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 101-2, 116.

The fourth duty is to observe the proper protocol and etiquette of the relationship between student and teacher.[46] Ibn Jamāᶜah applied ethical and religious rules to a student who wanted to meet and follow his teacher's class. A student must perform ritual activities before going to his teacher. For example, he must pray to Allāh for the safety, forgiveness, and life of his teacher. Likewise, certain activities are also applied, particularly when the teacher was giving a lecture or sitting in a circle joined by the public. In this regard, Ibn Jamāᶜah advised a student to conduct himself in an upright and proper manner such as by knocking at the door in an adequate way while waiting for his teacher's permission. If he was permitted to enter, he should greet all the people in the circle, specifically his teacher. These activities were implemented in any situation when a student wished to see his teacher. But it should be kept in mind that in doing so, a student must be sure that his teacher was not disturbed by his action.

The fifth obligation addressed a student's behaviour in the classroom. Absenteeism was abhorred since it only reflected disrespect and an unwillingness to learn. During a lecture, the teacher should never be interrupted ; a student must wait for the appropriate moment to ask questions. Furthermore, if there is a difference of opinion, a student can politely present his case but should avoid open confrontations.[47]

Lastly, a student must act as a personal attendant for his teacher.[48] In true Sufi fashion, Ibn Jamāᶜah stated that the student must follow his teacher everywhere. This was suggested for two reasons. Firstly, such companionship was done for security purposes. In this regard, Ibn Jamāᶜah advised a student to walk behind his teacher in the day and in

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[46]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 102-3.

[47]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 109. See also Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 37. Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 103-6.

[48]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 107-8.

front of him in the dark. If in any case, there were two students who accompanied the teacher, the oldest should take the right side of the teacher. However, a student should never walk beside his teacher in order to keep his teacher's dignity. Secondly, by always being in attendance of his teacher, a student might indirectly gain additional knowledge outside the class because a teacher was like a palm tree under which the student waited for something to drop which he would pick up.

The last category, a student's obligations towards his studies, is introduced by discussing the initial duty of studying one subject at a time. Ibn Jamāᶜah argued that (a) the subject at hand should be mastered by the student before continuing to another and (b) he should avoid controversial issues, particularly for if he is a beginner. Such issues, including *samᶜiyyāt* and *ᶜaqliyyāt* affairs will only distract students and warp their judgment. Furthermore, a student should rely on a single authoritative source and avoid consulting other texts.[49] However, in special circumstances, a student could approach the teacher and ask his permission to use more than one source. If the subject matter was deemed appropriate, a teacher would work hand in hand with the student on his project. Yet, a student should never take ideas which contradict his teacher's. Traditionally, in Islamic education, this is one of the ways to express respect for the teacher.

The second duty of this category involves scholarly commitment and perseverance. A student should work hard[50] and always develop his knowledge by keep on studying.[51] While traditional Islamic education stipulated that a teacher must

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[49]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 112.

[50]Ibid., 142-5 as quoted in Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 27. Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 112-3, 115-6.

[51]Ibid. Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 113-4, and Shams al-Dīn, ed., *al-Madhhab al-Tarbawī*, 137.

supervise his students, practical circumstances indicated otherwise, because it is impossible for a student to study at all times under the direct control and supervision of his teacher. Thus, Ibn Jamāᶜah outlined several methods by which a student could guide himself to increase his understanding. Some of these included : staying after class to study, meeting with his fellow students to discuss the current lesson, and studying while at home. Concerned that sporadic study patterns would only harm a prospective scholar, Ibn Jamāᶜah stated that a student must always study and have access to textual sources. As Ibn Jamāᶜah said, "He who kept no book in his sleeve, it was said, could have little wisdom in his heart."[52]

The third responsibility addressed the role of *ḥadīth* in a student's curriculum. A student should listen to *ḥadīth.*[53] For this is the second major source of Islam after the Qurᵓān. Ibn Jamāᶜah's *al-Manhal al-rawī* explains *ḥadīth* as a critical component of religious knowledge. He quoted Sufyān al-Thawrī's statement that there is no action as reputable as studying *ḥadīth* for the sake of Allāh.[54] Any student seeking knowledge, particularly religious knowledge, should not neglect to study *ḥadīth* and its ancillary sciences. Classical and medieval Islamic thought has always lauded the study of *ḥadīth* in relation to education, even if it took a long journey and a long period of time. Islamic history recorded so many marvelous tales of scholars and their eagerness to seek *ḥadīth.* Given Ibn Jamāᶜah's strong position on the value of religious lore in a student's studies, it is not surprising to see this emphasis on *ḥadīth*, which is second only to Qurᵓānic studies.

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[52]Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 25.

[53]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs*, 113.

[54]Ramaḍān, ed., *al-Manhal al-Rawī*, 108.

Lastly, while a student should be humble and modest, he should also be straightforward and confident in his studies. A student should never be shy.[55] Furthermore, he should never feel so intimidated by his teacher that he cannot approach him. This is especially critical if the student feels he is not fully grasping the lesson at hand.

While these duties have been separated into three categories, Ibn Jamāᶜah believes they all unify in promoting a sound and responsible student. These duties, if instilled at an early age, will guide the student through his later studies ; furthermore, they will continue to influence the student long after he becomes a scholar in the field. However, Ibn Jamāᶜah's model for student behaviour might be construed as overly rigid. Specifically, the student is presented as a receptacle in which the teacher simply transfers his ideas and opinions. Although Ibn Jamāᶜah did allow for independent thought, his emphasis on the need for a student's respect partially explains this rigidity. However, this is understandable since Ibn Jamāᶜah emphasized the importance of respecting the teacher who would give real benefit to the student.

C. Teacher and Student Relationship.

As already discussed in the introductory remarks of this chapter, the teacher and student relationship is a key feature in Islamic traditional education. The value of close relationships in education, Berkey comments, is especially evident in the sciences of Prophetic traditions and jurisprudence.[56] Ibn Jamāᶜah's approach to this relationship is

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[55]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 116. Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim education*, 102.

[56]Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 34.

partially evident from his discussion of teacher and student attributes, as well as his recommendations for the teaching and learning process.

During the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, the standard relationship in education was modeled on the idea of a student's intensive study under his *shaykh.* Much in the same vein, Ibn Jamāᶜah based his main ideas on the respect of the student towards his teacher and the love of the teacher for his student. Essentially, we can see the teacher as the spiritual father and the student as the reverent son, the relationship being built on the absolute authority of the teacher.[57]

Ibn Jamāᶜah realized the difficulty of the teacher's task. It superseded the responsibilities of the parents who were obliged to provide physical and material nurture. Teachers, Ibn Jamāᶜah argued, were responsible for creating an entire generation of future scholars. Furthermore, the student must acknowledge the implications of this relationship ; the kind of relation which must have a lasting impression that will not end by the death of the teacher. Consequently, he should revere his teacher well after his death by paying homage to his tomb and visiting his relatives.[58] In essence, Ibn Jamāᶜah sees the teacher as the intermediary between the student and the knowledge of God.

To bring across his argument, Ibn Jamāᶜah uses two analogies. Firstly, he compares the teacher and student to the physical relationship between doctor and patient respectively. The patient must place his health in the hands of his doctor ; meanwhile, the doctor's sworn oath is to preserve the health of his patients. Secondly, Ibn Jamāᶜah argues that the teacher attends to the spiritual needs of his student, much like a father would do for his son.

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[57]Zayᶜūr, *al-Tarbawiyyāt wa ᶜIlm al-Nafs,* 142-3.

[58]Ibid., 101.

However, Ibn Jamāᶜah contends that one of the most important characteristics of this relationship was the student's acknowledgment of the teacher's private space. A student must never, he warned, have any physical contact with his teacher. Moreover, during a lecture, a teacher must maintain his distance from students by sitting on a dais or raised platform.[59] Respecting the prerogatives of the teacher should be indicative of the relationship of master and disciple. Nonetheless, Ibn Jamāᶜah stressed that this respect should be supplemented by an adoring love. An excellent example of this adoration, Ibn Jamāᶜah suggests, is for a student to defend his master should he be physically or verbally attacked.[60]

The teacher, however, was also expected to display affection and love for his student body. A teacher expressed his concern by modifying the student's conduct, his personal habits, and, most importantly, his religious duties. Furthermore, a teacher's fatherly obligations included inquiring about the student's health, especially if he has missed classes.[61]

In a fashion similar to Sufi practices, Ibn Jamāᶜah advocated that the teacher must present himself as the perfect model. In doing so, a student would be motivated to emulate his teacher. Realizing his master's commitment to scholarship and keep on learning even from younger people and those of a lower status,[62] a student would, in turn, apply himself in studying in hoping to attain a similar status. These aspirations,

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[59]Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 109.

[60]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 90-93ff, 110, 153-6 quoted in Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge*, 36.

[61]Khan, *Education, Religion, and the Modern Age*, 117.

[62]Ibn Jamāᶜah, *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*, 29 quoted in Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, 297.

however, should always be tempered by love and respect. Consequently, Ibn Jamāᶜah's model of the relationship between instructor and student is founded on the larger objective of promoting a future generation of scholars whose primary features include love, respect, and commitment.

CONCLUSION

Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* is one of the most important medieval instructional manuals on Islamic educational methodology. Ibn Jamāᶜah is a good example of the overall scholarly reformation of the Baḥrī Mamlūk period of Egypt and Syria. Under the sponsorship of the Mamlūk Sultanate, Ibn Jamāᶜah prospered in a number of academic capacities as student, professor, and author. His affiliation with the Shāfiᶜite school and his good relationship with the Baḥrī Mamlūk bureaucrats are evident in his appointment as Shāfiᶜī Chief Judge in Syria and Egypt.

Without a doubt, Ibn Jamāᶜah's presentation of educational theory is essentially religious in orientation. His emphasis on piety is detectable in his various strategies of teaching and learning. However, the salient characteristic of Ibn Jamāᶜah's approach is his redefinition of the concept of knowledge. Accumulating knowledge, if done in a proper, cohesive manner, is reflective of serving the will of God. Interestingly, his composition of the curriculum is similar to modern educational approaches, for he postulated his curriculum should move from the easiest and important subject to the difficult and less important ones. Furthermore, modern educational emphasis on psychologically appraising a student's ability is also found in Ibn Jamāᶜah's *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ*. Consequently, Ibn Jamāᶜah's teaching strategy revolved around ensuring that the teacher accommodated his lesson plan to the needs and capacities of his students. This was due to his deep experience in the classroom.

The importance of *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* was also founded on the ideas of motivation, which was one of the key concepts of Ibn Jamāᶜah's understanding of classroom procedure. This was primarily done by a series of questions between the

student and the teacher. He cautioned that the question must be carefully crafted to guarantee student comprehension. These questions also allowed the teacher to gauge his student's ability and progress and to adjust his level of instruction accordingly.

Ibn Jamāᶜah advocated the use of incentives and of class competition to bolster student's motivation. Additionally, a teacher could facilitate student response by individually approaching his students. Personal interview serve two purposes : firstly, a teacher could evaluate a student's progress ; secondly, the student could use such an interview to have problematic lessons explained to him. This is generally representative of Ibn Jamāᶜa's stressing of the value of teacher counselling.

The practical side of Ibn Jamāᶜah's education can also be approached from his identification of the teacher and the student attributes. These attributes ensure the success of the teaching and learning process. Ibn Jamāᶜah's concept of the ideal teacher is still a valuable archetype to be implemented by the modern Islamic educational theorists. However, his overly stringent presentation of a student's duties can be construed as too limiting and with little respect for the creative element. This is particularly evident in Ibn Jamāᶜah denying students access to sources which might contradict a teacher's position. One can note the mystical influence in Ibn Jamᶜah's analysis of the teacher-student relationship which reflects his educational practice. The prominent roles of obedience and reverence is reflective of Ibn Jamāᶜah's belief that the teacher-student relationship was analogous to that of the Sufi relationship between *shaykh* and *murīd*. The function of this bond, while ostensibly based on education, was also founded on spiritual love and mutual respect. Ibn Jamāᶜah's model of the teacher-student relationship is critical to his ultimate goal of producing a pious, well-educated Muslim community.

Ibn Jamāᶜah's contribution to educational reform was undoubtedly significant. Contemporaries and later scholars have all acknowledged Ibn Jamāᶜah *Tadhkirat al-Sāmiᶜ* as a major influence in Islamic educational thought.[1]

[1] See for example Totah, *Contribution of the Arabs*, 71. See also, Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education* ; Nakosten, *Islamic Origins of Western Education* ; Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant* ; Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge* ; Quraishi, *Aspects of Muslim Education* ; Khan, *Education, Religion, and the Modern Age* ; and Khan, "Muslim Theories of Education."

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