

Education in Islam: The Role of the Mosque

Author: Chief Editor: Editor: Production: Salah Zaimeche BA, MA, PhD Professor Salim Al-Hassani Professor Talip Alp Ahmed Salem BSc

Release Date: Publication ID: June 2002 4015

Copyright:

© FSTC Limited 2002, 2003

IMPORTANT NOTICE:

All rights, including copyright, in the content of this document are owned or controlled for these purposes by FSTC Limited. In accessing these web pages, you agree that you may only download the content for your own personal non-commercial use. You are not permitted to copy, broadcast, download, store (in any medium), transmit, show or play in public, adapt or change in any way the content of this document for any other purpose whatsoever without the prior written permission of FSTC Limited.

Material may not be copied, reproduced, republished, downloaded, posted, broadcast or transmitted in any way except for your own personal non-commercial home use. Any other use requires the prior written permission of FSTC Limited. You agree not to adapt, alter or create a derivative work from any of the material contained in this document or use if for any other purpose other than for your personal non-commercial use.

FSTC Limited has taken all reasonable care to ensure that pages published in this document and on the MuslimHeritage.com Web Site were accurate at the time of publication or last modification. Web sites are by nature experimental or constantly changing. Hence information published may be for test purposes only, may be out of date, or may be the personal opinion of the author. Readers should always verify information with the appropriate references before relying on it. The views of this document do not necessarily reflect the views of FSTC Limited.

FSTC Limited takes no responsibility for the consequences of error or for any loss or damage suffered by readers of any of the information published on any pages in this document, and such information does not form any basis of a contract with readers or users of it.

FSTC Limited

9 Conyngham Road, Victoria Park, Manchester, M14 5DX, United Kingdom Web: <u>http://www.fstc.co.uk</u> Email: <u>info@fstc.co.uk</u>



EDUCATION IN ISLAM: THE ROLE OF THE MOSQUE

The Quran recurrently urges the faithful to acquire knowledge, knowledge that would bring them closer to God and to His creation. Many verses of the sacred book command this act, for example:

Then `Say [unto them, O Muhammad]: Can those who know and those who do not know be deemed equal? But only those who are endowed with insight will keep this in mind.' (Quran 39: 9)

`And He has subjected to you, [as a gift] from Him, all that is in the heavens and on earth: behold, in that are messages indeed for people who think.' (Quran 45: 13)

The Quran uses repetition in order to imbed certain key concepts in the consciousness of its readers.¹ *Allah* (God) and *Rab* (the Sustainer) are repeated 2,800 and 950 times respectively in the sacred text; *IIm* (knowledge) comes third, with 750 repetitions.² Prophet (peace be upon him) commanded all Muslims to seek knowledge wherever and whenever they could.

In light of these Quranic verses and Prophetic traditions, Muslim rulers gave considerable support to education and its institutions, insisting that every Muslim child be given access to it. Thus, elementary education became almost universal among Muslims. Wilds says,

`It was this great liberality which they displayed in educating their people in the schools which was one of the most potent factors in the brilliant and rapid growth of their civilisation. Education was so universally diffused that it was said to be difficult to find a Muslim who could not read or write.'³

In Muslim Spain, there was not a village where `the blessings of education' could not be enjoyed by the children of the most indigent peasant, and in Cordoba were eight hundred public schools frequented by Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike.⁴ And in the great Muslim University of Cordoba, Jews and Christians attained to acknowledged distinction as professors.⁵ So high was the place of learning that both teachers and pupils were greatly respected by the mass of the population; and the large libraries collected by the wealthy landowners and merchants showed that learning — as in the Italian Renaissance (six hundred years later) — was one of the marks of a gentleman.⁶ Pedersen says that,

`In scarcely any other culture has the literary life played such a role as in Islam. Learning (ilm), by which is meant the whole world of the intellect, engaged the interest of Muslims more than anything... The life that evolved in the mosques spread outward to put its mark upon influential circles everywhere.'⁷

All public institutions, from the mosques and madrassas to the hospitals and observatories, were places of learning. Scholars also addressed gatherings of people in their own homes. Al-Ghazali, Al-Farabi, and Ibn Sina (Avicenna), among many others, after teaching in public schools, retired to their private libraries and studies, but continued to teach `those fortunate enough to be invited.¹⁸



This universality, thirst, and impetus for education, not even equalled today,⁹ was a distinguishing mark of that period, when Islam was at its zenith, both as a religion and as a civilisation. The role and place of knowledge in that era will be considered (God willing) in subsequent works. The role of the madrassa, another lengthy subject, will also be covered subsequently. Here, focus will be on the organisation of education, its aims, and the ways in which it was imparted, and above all the role of the mosque.

The mosque played a major part in the spread of education in the Muslim World, and the association of the mosque with education remained one of its main characteristics throughout history¹⁰, and, the school became an indispensable appendage to the mosque.¹¹ From the earliest days of Islam, the mosque was the centre of the Muslim community, a place for prayer, meditation, religious instruction, political discussion, and a school. And anywhere Islam took hold, mosques were established, and basic religious and educational instruction began. Once established, mosques developed into well-known places of learning, often with hundreds, even thousands, of students, and frequently contained important libraries.¹²

The first school connected to a mosque was set up at Medina in 653, and by 900 nearly every mosque had an elementary school for the education of both boys and girls.¹³ Children usually started school at five; one of the first lessons was learning how to write the ninety-nine most beautiful names of God and simple verses from the Quran.¹⁴ After the rudiments of reading and writing were mastered, the Quran was then studied thoroughly, and arithmetic was introduced. For those who wanted to study further, the larger mosques, where education was more advanced, offered instruction in Arabic grammar and poetry, logic, algebra, biology, history, law, and theology.¹⁵ Although advanced teaching often took place in madrassas, hospitals, observatories, and the homes of scholars, in Spain, teaching took place mostly in the mosques, starting with the Cordoba mosque in the 8th century.¹⁶

The basic format in which education took place in the mosque was the study circle, better known in the Muslim World as "Halagat al-Ilm", or Halaga for short. A Halaga is literally defined as `a gathering of people seated in a circle' or `a gathering of students around a teacher'.¹⁷ Visiting scholars were allowed to sit beside the lecturer as a mark of respect, and in many Halaqas a special section was always reserved for visitors.¹⁸ Although the teachers were in charge of the Halaqas, the students were allowed - in fact, encouraged - to challenge and correct the teacher, often in heated exchanges.¹⁹ Disputations, unrestricted, in all fields of knowledge took place on Friday in the study circles held around the mosques,²⁰ and no holds were barred.²¹ Al-Bahluli (d.930) a magistrate from a town in Iraq went down to Baghdad, accompanied by his brother, to make a round of such study circles. The two of them came upon one where a scholar `aflame with intelligence' was taking on all comers in many different fields of knowledge²² Ibn Battuta recorded that more than five hundred students attended the Halagas of the Ummayad mosque.²³ The Mosque of Amr ibn Al-'Aas in Cairo had more than forty Halaqas at one point,²⁴ while in, the chief mosque of Cairo there were one hundred and twenty.²⁵ The traveller and geographer Al-Muqaddasi reports that between the two main evening prayers, as he and his friends sat talking in the Mosque of Amr ibn Al-'Aas, he heard a cry, `Turn your faces to the class!' and he realised he was sitting between two halaqas; the mosque was crowded with classes in law, the Quran, literature, philosophy, and ethics.²⁶.

In most of the larger mosques teaching and studying became fully-fledged professions and the mosque school took on the semblance of an academy or even became a university later on. In this way, important centres of higher education came into being. They became well renowned and attracted great numbers of students and scholars, including the most illustrious names of Muslim scholarship. In Basra in Iraq, Al-Khalil

ibn Ahmad was a lecturer in philosophy at a mosque and one of his students was Sibawaih, who later became one of the greatest Arabic grammarians of all time. The universities of Muslim Spain, particularly those of Granada, Seville and Cordoba, which evolved from mosques, were held in the highest estimation across the world. Among their graduates were Ibn Rushd (Averroes), Ibn Sayigh and Ibn Bajja. In the university of Cordoba in the ninth century, four thousand students were enrolled in the department of theology alone, and the total number of students in attendance at the University was almost eleven thousand.

Many of the Muslim centres of learning still exist today, and are considered to be the oldest universities in the world. Among them are Al-Qayrawwan and Al-Zaytuna in Tunisia, Al-Azhar in Egypt, and Al-Qarawiyyin in Fez, Morocco.

The 'glory' of Al-Qarawiyyin, which was established in the 12th century, was its body of scholars, the *ulema*. Among the scholars who studied and taught there were Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Al-Khatib, Al-Bitruji, Ibn Harazim, Ibn Maymoun, and Ibn Wazzan, and possibly even Gerbert of Aurillac (d.1003), who later became Pope Sylvester II, and who introduced Arabic numerals into Europe. Al-Qarawiyyin attracted great numbers of students from all over North Africa, Spain, and the Sahara. In general, they were housed by the successive Moroccan dynasties and the ordinary people of Fez. The scholars of Al-Azhar, which is probably the most famous Islamic university today, included Ibn Al-Haytham, who lived there for a long period; Al-Baghdadi, who taught medicine there in the late 12th century; and Ibn Khaldun, who taught there towards the end of the 14th century, after moving from Al-Qarawiyyin. On the eve of the British occupation of Egypt in 1881, there were 7600 students and 230 professors in Al-Azhar. In the early days of Islam, the mosques taught one or more of the Islamic sciences, but after the mid-9th century, became increasingly devoted to legal subjects²⁷ Scientific subjects were also taught, including astronomy, engineering, and medicine at Al-Azhar.²⁸ The latter was also taught at the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Egypt.²⁹ In Iraq, pharmacology, engineering, astronomy and other subjects were taught in the mosques of Baghdad, and students came from Syria, Persia and India to learn these sciences.³⁰ While at the Qarawiyyin Mosque, there were courses on grammar, rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and astronomy,³¹ and possibly history, geography and chemistry.³² At Qayrawwan and Zaytuna in Tunisia, grammar, mathematics, astronomy and medicine were taught alongside the Quran and Islamic jurisprudence.³³ In Qayrawwan, Ziad delivered classes in medicine. Ibn Khalfun, Ishak Ibn Imran and Ishak Ibn Sulayman,³⁴ whose works were subsequently, translated by Constantine The African in the 11th century, were taught in Salerno, in the South of Italy, which became the first institute of higher education in Latin Europe.

The mosques gradually took on more functions, in addition to learning. Tracing this evolution, Makdisi states that in the tenth century there was a flourishing of a new type of college, combining the mosque with a khan – an inn to lodge law students from out of town. The great patron of this stage in the development of the college was Badr ibn Hasanawaih (d. 1014/1015), governor of several provinces under the Buyids, and to whose name the construction of 3,000 mosque-khan complexes was credited over the thirty-year period of his governorship.³⁵ The reason for the mosque-khan complex, was that the student of law had to pursue his studies over a long period, usually four years for undergraduate studies alone, and an indeterminate period for graduate studies, often as many as twenty years, during which he assisted his master in teaching. The mosque itself could not be used for lodging, except under special circumstances; the khan thus became the lodging place of the staff and students and was found nearby. The madrassa, which will be considered at a further stage, was, according to Makdisi, the final stage in the development of

the Muslim college, combining the teaching function of the masjid with the lodging function of the khan.³⁶ This follows a tradition long established by the Prophet (pbuh), whose mosque was connected to a building which served as a school and as a hostel for poor students and those from abroad.³⁷

Assistance for students in the mosques was substantial. In Qarawiyyin, for instance, students were not only exempt from paying fees but were also given monetary allowances periodically.³⁸ Dodge states that, the students lived in residential quadrangles, which contained two and three story buildings of varying sizes, each accommodating 60-150 students, who all received a minimal assistance for food and accommodation.³⁹ The number of students at Al-Azhar was always high, Al-Maqrizi mentioning 750 foreign students from lands as distant as Morocco and Persia residing in the mosque at one time,⁴⁰ in addition to students from all over Egypt. Those students who did not have homes in Cairowere assigned to a residential unit, which was endowed to care for them. Generally, the units gave their residents free bread, which supplemented food given to them by their families, while better off students could afford to live in lodgings near the mosque. Every unit also included a library, a kitchen, a lavatory, and some space for furniture.⁴¹ On his visit to Damascus, the traveller Ibn Jubair reported the high number and varied facilities for foreign students and visitors at the Umayyad Mosque,⁴² prompting him to declare that `Anyone in the West who seeks success, let him come to this city to study, because assistance here is abundant. The main thing is that the student here is relieved of all worry about food and lodging, which is a great help.⁴³

The rulers played a major part in the endowment of mosques for educational purposes. At the Qarawiyyin Mosque, the were three separate libraries, the most prestigious of which was the Abu Inan Library,⁴⁴ founded by the Merinid Sultan, Al-Mutawakkil Abu Inan. An avid reader and collector, the Sultan deposited books on subjects such as included religion, science, intellect, and language in his new library, and also appointed a librarian to take charge of its affairs.⁴⁵ In Tunisia, when the Spaniards occupied Tunis between 1534 and 1574, they ransacked its mosques and libraries, and removed many of the precious books and manuscripts.⁴⁶ The Ottoman Sultan subsequently expelled the Spaniards, and restored and expanded the Zaytuna mosque, its libraries and madrassa, and made it again a centre of high Islamic culture.⁴⁷ In Cairo, in 1365, the Mameluke prince, Yalbagha Al-Umari, ordered that each student at the mosque of Ibn Tulun be given forty dirhams (the basic monetary unit of that time) and one irdab of wheat every month.⁴⁸ The Mamelukes also paid the salaries and stipends of large numbers of teachers and students.⁴⁹ This trend was particularly encouraged by Sultan Husam Al-Din Lajin, who restored the Mosque of Ibn Tulun in the Qatayi district of Cairo, paying salaries to professors and stipends to students, and asking his physician Sharaf Al-Din Muhammad Ibn Al-Hawafir to deliver lectures on medicine there.⁵⁰

The following tale will enlighten us greatly on education and life in general, in the golden age of Islam.⁵¹ When Ibn Tulun ruled Egypt, some students attended the class of a professor who dictated daily such a small portion of tradition that their money ran out before the class was finished, and they had to sell everything they had to buy food. After starving for three days, they resorted to begging, although none of them wanted to face such disgrace. So they cast a lot, and the one who lost went into a corner of the mosque where they lived and asked God to release him from his plight. Just then, a messenger came from Ibn Tulun with money, for he had been warned in a dream to help them; there was also a message that he would visit them in person the next day. To avoid this honour, which might have been seen by others as a desire for personal glory, the students fled from Cairo that night. Ibn Tulun bought the whole of that ward and endowed the mosque with it for the benefit of students and strangers residing in it.

The Muslim system of education influenced Europe and later the rest of the world in many respects, such as its universality, and its methods of teaching and granting diplomas. Georges Makdisi illustrates this influence well, showing that aspects of university education such as the doctoral thesis and its defence, the peer review of scholarly work based on the consensus of peers, and - most importantly - the concept of academic freedom for professors and students, were all acquired by Europe from the Muslim World. The open scholarly discussions in the mosques were surely the main source of these influences in times when scientific intolerance ruled elsewhere, and free scholarly thought was often punished with burning at the stake. Academic influence also came in the form of the many books written by Islamic scholars which became the core texts of education in the first European universities (Montpellier, Bologna, Paris, Oxford etc.), which all were founded between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There were many other ways in which the Muslims influenced education in Europe, which are too long and too detailed to go into here. Refer to the excellent works on this by Makdisi and Ribera⁵².

Finally, to answer those who blame the decline of Muslim civilization on Islam rather than on the occupation and devastation of its centres of learning such as Cordoba, Baghdad, and Seville by the Europeans and the Mongols, we conclude that from its earliest days Islam went hand in hand with scholarship and knowledge. As well as, the verses of the Quran and the sayings of the Prophet (peace be upon him) which urged people to learn and seek knowledge, the mosque, the concrete symbol of Islam, was the most important centre of learning in the Muslim World. Indeed, in most Muslim countries, the word *Jamaa* at once both mosque and school. In Arabic, the word for university *Jami'a*, is derived from *Jami*, mosque. No similar derivation exists in any other language or culture; and there is no better illustration of the association between Islam and education than this.

References:

² Ibid.

³ E.H. Wilds: *The Foundation of modern Education*, Rinehart & Co., 1959, p. 216

⁴ S.P.Scott: *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and London, 1904 Vol iii, at pp 467-8.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ F.B. Artz: *The mind, The Mind of the Middle Ages*, Third edition revised; The University of Chicago Press, 1980, p.151.

⁷ J.Pedersen: *The Arabic Book,* Tr. Geoffrey French, Princeton University Press; Princeton, New Jersey, 1984, P. 37.

⁸ M. Nakosteen: *History of Islamic origins of Western Education, 800-1350;* University of Colorado Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1964, P.48.

⁹ In Western universities, these days, a foreign student has to pay considerable fees to receive training; and some branches of teaching (social sciences, and history in particular) are forbidden to foreigners from the `wrong' parts of the world, and especially those holding `wrong' views.

¹⁰ A.L. Tibawi: *Islamic Education*, Luzac and Company Ltd, London, 1972. P. 24.

¹¹ S.P. Scott, History, op cit, p.467.

¹² J. Waardenburg: Some institutional aspects of Muslim higher learning, *NVMEN*, 12, pp.96-138; At p. 98.

¹ Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud: *The Concept of Knowledge in Islam*; Mansell: London and New York; 1989. at p.32.

 $^{\rm 13}$ F.B. Artz: The Mind, op cit, p. 150.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid; pp 150-1.

¹⁶ J. Waardenburg: Some institutional, op cit, p. 101.

¹⁷ Encyclopaedia of Islam, new Edition, Volume 3, Leiden, Brill, 1971, p. 95.

¹⁸ M. Nakosteen: History, op cit; p. 45.

¹⁹ M. Nakosteen, History... op cit, p 45.

²⁰George Makdisi: The Rise of humanism, op cit, p. 210.

²¹ Ibid, p. 211.

²² George Makdisi: *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West*; Edinburgh University Press, 1990, pp. 210-1.

²³ Ibn Battutah in K.A. Totah: *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education*; Bureau of Publications, New York: Columbia University, 1926, p 45.

²⁴Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad Ibn Ali. *Al-Mawaiz wa Alitibar fi dhikr Al-Khitat wa-Al-athar*. Edited by Ahmed Ali Al-Mulaiji. 3 Vols. Beirut: Dar al Urfan. 1959, Vol 3, p 203.

²⁵ A.Metz: Die Renaissance des Islams; p. 170; in K.Totah: The Contribution; op cit. p. 43.

²⁶ In A.S. Tritton: materias, op cit, p. 100.

²⁷ George Makdisi: Islamic Schools, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol 11; Charles Scribners and Sons, 1988; p.65.

²⁸M. Alwaye: `Al-Azhar...in thousand years.' Majallatu'l Azhar: (Al-Azhar Magazine, English Section 48 (July 1976: 1-6 in M. Sibai, Mosque Libraries, op cit, p 30.

²⁹Pedersen, Johannes. `Some aspects of the history of the madrassa' *Islamic Culture* 3 (October 1929) pp 525-37, p. 527.

³⁰ Al-Khuli: *dawr al-masajid*, op cit, p. 20, in M. Sibai, Mosque Libraries, op cit p. 30.

³¹ R. Le Tourneau: *Fes in the age of the Merinids*, trsl from French by B.A. Clement, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961, p. 122.

³² Ibid.

³³ H. Djait et al: *Histoire de la Tunisie* (le Moyen Age); Societe Tunisienne de Difusion, Tunis; p. 378.

³⁴ Al-Bakri, Massalik, 24; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, Uyun al-anba, ed. and tr A. Nourredine and H. Jahier, Algiers 1958, 2.9, in Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol IV, pp 29-30.

³⁵ G.Makdisi: Islamic Schools, op cit, p.65.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ W.M.N. Wan Daud: The Concept of Knowledge, op cit, p. 36.

³⁸ J. Waardenburg: `Some institutional..' op cit, p: 109.

³⁹ Bayard Dodge, Muslim Education, op cit, p 27.

⁴⁰ Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol I, p. 816.

⁴¹ Bayard Dodge: Muslim Education, op cit, pp 26-27 in particular.

⁴² Ibn Jubair in K. Totah: The Contribution of the Arabs, op cit, p. 45.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ M. Sibai: *Mosque Libraries, an historical study*; Mansell Publishing Ltd; London and New York; 1987; p 55.

⁴⁵ Levi Provencal, Evariste, Comp. *Nukhab Tarikhiya Jamia li Akhbar al-Maghrib al-Aqsa*, Paris: La Rose, 1948: pp 67-68.

⁴⁶ Mary J. Deeb: Al-Zaytuna; in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World*; edt: J.L. Esposito; Oxford University Press; 1995; Vol 4; p. 374.

47 Ibid.

⁴⁸ Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad Ibn Ali. *Al-mawaiz wa Alitibar fi dhikr al-Khitat wa-Alathar*. Edited by Ahmed Ali al-Mulaiji. 3 Vols. Beirut: Dar al-Urfan. 1959. Vol 3, pp: 222-3.

⁴⁹ J.Berkey: The Transmission of knowledge in Medieval Cairo, Princeton University Press, 1992; pp 52-4.

⁵⁰ Ibid; p. 52.

⁵¹ Source: A.S. Tritton: materials, op cit, p.78.

⁵² J. Ribera: *Dissertaciones y opusculos*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1928.

Bibliography:

-M. Alwaye: `Al-Azhar...in thousand years.' Majallatu'l Azhar: (Al-Azhar Magazine, English Section 48 (July 1976: 1-6. -F.B. Artz: *The mind, The Mind of the Middle Ages*; Third edition revised; The University of Chicago Press, 1980.

-Baedeker's Egypt, 1929. David and Charles, Newton Abbot, 1974.

-Al-Bakri, Massalik, 24; Ibn Abi Usaybi'a, Uyun al-anba, ed. and tr A. Nourredine and H. Jahier, Algiers 1958, 2.9, in Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol IV; pp. 29-30.

-J.Berkey: The Transmission of knowledge in Medieval Cairo, Princeton University Press, 1992.

-H. Djait et al: Histoire de la Tunisie (le Moyen Age); Societe Tunisienne de Difusion, Tunis.

-Mary J. Deeb: Al-Zaytuna; in *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Modern Islamic World*; edt: J.L. Esposito; Oxford University Press; 1995; Vol 4.

-B. Dodge: *Muslim Education in the Medieval Times;* The Middle East Institute; Washington D.C; 1962.

-Encyclopaedia of Islam, new Edition, Volume 3, Leiden, Brill, 1971.

-Al-Khuli, Ali Muhammad al-Shadhili, *Dawr al masajid al- tarikhi fi al-tathqif al-Ilmi*, Cairo: Wazarat al-Awqaf, 1961 -Rom Landau, The karaouine at Fes, *The Muslim World* 48 (April 1958): pp. 104-12.

-R. Le Tourneau: *Fes avant le protectorat* (Societe Maroccaine de Librairie et d'Edition, Casablanca, 1947, pp. 453-471).

-R. Le Tourneau: *Fes in the age of the Merinids*, trsl from French by B.A. Clement, University of Oklahoma Press, 1961.

-R.S. Mackensen: `Background of the History of Muslim libraries.' *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 51 (January 1935) 114-125, p 123. See also issue 52 (October 1935) pp. 22-33, and 52 (January 1936): pp 104-10.

-George Makdisi: *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West*; Edimburg University Press, 1990.

-George Makdisi: Islamic Schools, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, Vol 11; Charles Scribners and Sons, 1988. -Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad Ibn Ali. *Al-Mawaiz wa Alitibar fi dhikr al-Khitat wa-Al-athar*. Edited by Ahmed Ali al-Mulaiji. 3 Vols. Beirut: Dar al Urfan. 1959.

-Al-Maqrizi, Ahmad Ibn Ali. *Al-mawaiz wa Alitibar fi dhikr al-Khitat wa-Alathar*. Edited by Ahmed Ali al-Mulaiji. 3 Vols. Beirut: Dar al-Urfan. 1959. Vol 3.

-M. Nakosteen: *History of Islamic origins of Western Education, 800-1350;* University of Colorado Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1964.

-J.Pedersen: The Arabic Book, Tr. Geoffrey French, Princeton University Press; Princeton, New Jersey, 1984.

J.Pedersen: `Some aspects of the history of the madrassa' *Islamic Culture* 3 (October 1929) pp 525-37.

-Levi Provencal, Evariste, Comp. Nukhab Tarikhiya Jamia li Akhbar al-Maghrib al-Aqsa, Paris: La Rose, 1948.

-J. Ribera: *Dissertaciones y opusculos*, 2 vols, Madrid, 1928.

-M. Sibai: *Mosque Libraries, an historical study*; Mansell Publishing Ltd; London and New York; 1987. -S.P.Scott: *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*, J.B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia and London, 1904 Vol iii.

-A. Tazi: La Mosque Al-Quaraouiyyine, 3 vols, edt Dar al-Kitab Allubnani, Lebanon, 1973.

-A.L. Tibawi: *Islamic Education*, Luzac and Company Ltd, London, 1972.

-K.A. Totah: *The Contribution of the Arabs to Education*; Bureau of Publications, New York: Columbia University, 1926.

-A. s. Tritton: *Materials on Muslim education in the Middle Ages*, Luzac and Company, London.

-Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud: The Concept of Knowledge in Islam; Mansell: London and New York; 1989.

-J. Waardenburg: Some institutional aspects of Muslim higher learning, *NVMEN*, 12, pp.96-138; At p. 98.

-E.H. Wilds: The Foundation of modern Education, Rinehart & Co., 1959.