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Important Notes

The first six articles of this Special Issue were contributed by the Group of Researchers of professional bodies such as artchitects, planners, surveyors and others. Therefore, their writings differed from the normal social sciences literature. The rest of of the articles were contributed by those who are specialized in Islamic Social Sciences area.

The Essential in the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah

Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri*

Abstract

This article aims at understanding the essential in the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah in Islamic thought, first by considering a general overview of the term and then their main teachings on the Divine attributes. This article also explores their epistemological foundation and points out that Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah are leading and representing Islam through their discourse in Islamic theological thought, which focus on the principle of moderation and balance, as well as reconciliation and reformation between different groups which had arisen earlier in Islam. This study employs qualitative methodology in which the data collected are analyzed using textual and content analysis approach. In addition, it supplements a bibliography of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah Studies in Islamic 'Aqīdah and Kalam. Finding reveals that the inclusive nature of Ahl al-Sunnah after being embracing many different groups under their edifice. The teachings of Ahl al-Sunnah represent the authentic teachings of Islam as a complete way of life as well as the early generation of Muslims.

Keywords: Islam, *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah*, Islamic Thought, *'Aqīdah, Kalam'*

Introduction

Islam is the world's second largest religion after Christianity. In details as of November 2020, the world population is around 7.823 billion people. According to Pew Research Center, demographic analysis that Christians remained the largest religious group in the world in 2015, making up nearly a third (31.2%) or 2.3 billion out of 7.3 billion people. It followed by Islam (24.1%) or 1.8 billion, religious "nones" (16%) or 1.2 billion, Hindus (15.1%) or 1.1 billion and Buddhists (6.9%) or 500 million. Others include adherents of folk religions (5.7%) or 400 million, members of other religions (0.8%) or 100 million, and Jews (0.2%) or 10 million that make up smaller shares of the world's people. Earlier as in

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¹ Worldometer, "Current World Population," accessed on 7/11/2020, http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/

² See Conrad Hackett and David Mcclendon, "Christians remain world's largest religious group, but they are declining in Europe," accessed 7/11/2020,

the 2009 demographic study, Islam has 1.57 billion adherents, making up 23% of the world population. The vast majority (approximately 80-90%) of Muslims worldwide practice Sunni Islam, better known in Arabic as Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah, while an estimated 10-20% is minority includes the Shi'is and Kharijis. This fact urges us to be on familiar terms with the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah and their teachings since they represent the Muslim community at large.

However, it is unfortunate to know that both the first and the new edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam² have no specific entry on "Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah." Instead the readers are asked to refer to the entry on "Sunna" in these encyclopedias, in order to locate information on Ahl al-Sunnah. In addition, the new encyclopedias such as The Oxford Encyclopedia of Islamic World⁴ and Oxford Dictionary of Islam⁵ provide a brief entry on "Sunnī Islam." In the former, an entry on "Sunnī Islam: Historical overview" is written by Michael Elias Marmura (1929-2009). ⁷ a Jerusalem born scholar in the field of medieval Islamic philosophy. In the latter, a concise entry on "Sunnī Islam" surveys its origins and development until modern period. It is worth mentioning that in the same dictionary, Barelvis or Barelwis, which is founded in

http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/04/05/christians-remain-worlds-largestreligious-group-but-they-are-declining-in-europe/

See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics of Islam; Pew Research Center, "Mapping the Global Muslim Population: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Muslim Population," accessed 7/11/2020, http://pewforum.org/Mapping-the-Global-Muslim-Population.aspx

² M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset and R. Hartmann (ed.), Encyclopedia of Islam, first ed., 4 vols, & Supplement (Leiden: Brill, 1913-38); P. J. Bearman (Author, Editor), th Bianquis (Editor), Clifford Edmund Bosworth (Editor), E. Van Donzel (Editor), W. P. Heinrichs (Editor), Encyclopedia of Islam, new ed., 12 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1960-2005)

³ See A. J. Wensinck, art, "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, first ed., vol. 4, pp. 555-557; G. H. A. Juynboll, art. "Sunna" Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition, vol. 9, pp. 878-881.

⁴ See John L. Esposito (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, revised version in 6 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵ See John L. Esposito, (ed.), The Oxford Dictionary of Islam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁶ Michael E. Marmura, art. "Sunni Islam," in Esposito (ed.), The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, vol. 6, pp. 139-140.

⁷ On M. E. Marmura, see Mohammed Rustom, "In Memoriam Michael E. Marmura 1929– 2009," Arabic Sciences and Philosophy, vol. 20 (2010), 177-184, accessed on 20/11/2020, https://www.unigoettingen.de/de/document/download/5de6085133f22b1a2dde169acbf2884 1.pdf/In%20Memoriam,%20Michael%20E.%20Marmura%20(1929-2009).pdf

⁸ Esposito, The Oxford Dictionary of Islam, p. 10.

northern India in 1880s by Mawlana Ahmed Reza Khan Barelwi (1856-1921), is identified as Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah. 1

However, modern studies on Islamic thought and its theology, such as works by Arent Jan Wensinck (1882-1939), William Montgomery Watt (1909-2006),³ and Fazlur Rahman (1919-1988),⁴ to name a few, did provide an insight into the Ahl al-Sunnah, its origins and development. Hamid Enayat (1932-1982)⁵ highlighted the polemics between Shi'ism and Sunnism in the historical and modern contexts. A recent study of Muhammad 'Abd al-Hadi al-Misri⁶ is also a useful study on *Ahl al-Sunnah*. The views of Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328), a controversial Muslim scholar from Syria in his Majmu 'al-Fatāwā al-Kubrā (A Great Compilation of Fatwa) becomes important criteria to know the distinct features of the Ahl al-Sunnah. Moreover, the most important reference to study the Ahl al-Sunnah is by examining the Muslim classical works on Muslim sects such as Maqālat al-Islāmiyyin wa Ikhtilāf al-Musallīn (The Discourses of the Proponents of Islam and the Differences among the Worshippers) of Abu al-Hasan 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī (c. 874-936), al-Farq bayna al-Firāq (The Difference in-between Sects) and *Usūl al-Dīn* (The Foundations of Religion) of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī (c. 980-1037) and al-Milāl wa al-Nihāl (The Book of Sects and Creeds) of Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (1086-1153). This will provide a balance treatment of subject matter as this article attempts to accomplish.

¹ On recent development of Barelvi, see Iqbal Singh Sevea, The Rise of Barelvi Political Activism in Pakistan, ISAS Insight, no. 520, 13 October 2018, accessed on 20/11/2020, https://www.isas.nus.edu.sg/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/ISAS-Insights-No.-520-A-New-Strand-of-Islamic-Politics-in-Pakistan.pdf

² A Dutch scholar, see A. J. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development, first published 1932 (London: Routledge, 2008).

³ A Scottish scholar, Orientalist and priest, see W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative* Period of Islamic Thought, first published 1973 (Oxford: Oneworld, 2002); Carole Hillenbrand, "Professor W. Montgomery Watt," accessed 20/11/2020,

https://www.independent.co.uk/news/obituaries/professor-w-montgomery-watt-423394.html ⁴ A Pakistani modernist scholar and philosopher of Islam, see Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979).

An Iranian political scientist, see Hamid Enayat, Modern Islamic Political Thought, first published 1982 (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2006).

⁶ Muhammad 'Abd al-Hadi al-Misri, Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama 'ah: Ma 'alim al-intilag al-kubra (Cairo: Dar al-I'lam al-Dawli, 1992); trans. into Malay, Mercu-Mercu Kemermelangan Ahl al-Sunnah Wal Jama'ah (Kangar, Perlis: Majlis Agama Islam dan Adat Istiadat Melayu Perlis, 1998); trans into Indonesia by Zeid Husein al Hamid, Ahli Sunnah waljama'ah: Sejarah Perkembangan Ahli Sunnah dan Berbagai Golongan Ahli Bid'ah (Surabaya: Central Media, 1990).

This article aims at understanding the inclusive nature of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah, known also as the Sunnis describing its conception from a general overview of the term, and unfolding the different groups, which have been included in the Ahl al-Sunnah. It explains the main teachings of Ahl al-Sunnah, which are revolved around the Divine attributes. It also explores their epistemological foundation. This article concludes that Ahl al-Sunnah are leading and representing Islam through their discourse in Islamic thought, which focused on the principle of moderation and balance, as well as reconciliation and reformation between different groups, which had arisen in Islam. To sum up this article explores the essential in the Ahl al-Sunnah, in which their teachings and approaches represent the early generation of Muslim community as well as Islam as a complete way of life.

The Term Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah: A General Overview

The appellative Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah, literally means "the people to the Sunnah and of the community." The word "Sunnī" (pl. Sunnivyūn) is frequently being used for member of the Ahl al-Sunnah. In English the term "Sunnī" and "Sunnite" is commonly used. The term "Sunni" means (1) "the great branch of Islam that accepts the first four caliphs as rightful successors of Muhammad." (2) "A Sunnite." The word "Sunnite" means "A Sunni Muslim."2

Other early usages for the term include Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah wa al-Athār by Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780-855), a founder of the Hanbali school of Sunni jurisprudence and Abu al-Layth al-Samarqandī (944-983), a Hanafite jurist and Qur'an commentator. Ibn Qutaybah (828-889), a polymath Islamic scholar uses Ahl al-Sunnah once in his Ta'wil al-Muktalif al-Hadīth. Abu al-Hasan al-'Ash'arī (d. 324/936) uses Ahl al-Sunnah wa-Aṣhāb al-Ḥadīth, and alternate with Ahl al-Jamā 'ah in his Magālat.³ Furthermore, W. M. Watt also listed out other terms included Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Istiqāmah, Ahl al-Istiqāmah, Ahl al-

¹ Wensinck, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, first edition, vol. 4, 555-557; "Ahl al-Sunna" as "the adhrents to the Sunna," see also Juynboll, art. "Sunna," Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition, vol. 9, p. 880.

² Webster's II: New College Dictionary (Boston, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1995), 1105; the literal meaning of the Arabic *sunnah* is "custom, use and wont, statute." It has however become the "characteristic term for the theory and practice of the catholic Muhammadan community," see Wensinck, art. "Sunna," Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 555.

³ Juynboll, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, p. 880.

Haga wa al-Sunnah. These usages and the variety of terms indicate its development before the Muslim community arrived at the standard term.

'Alī ibn Muhammad ibn 'Alī al-Jurjānī or al-Sayvid al-Sharif al-Juriānī (740-812/1339-1414) in his Ta rīfāt (The Definitions) defines Ahl al-Hagg as "people who attach themselves to what is the truth according their God by presenting arguments and evidence, and they are known as Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah." They are the opposite of Ahl al-Ahwa' which is defined as "the People of Qiblah whose beliefs are different from Ahl al-Sunnah. They include the Jabariyyah, Qadariyyah, Rawāfid, Khawārij, Mu'attilah, and Mushabbihah. They consist of twelve sects, which develop into seventy-two groups."² According to al-Shaykh Muhammad A'lā ibn 'Alī al-Tahānawī (d. 1158/1745), Ahl al-Ahwa' (the people of pernicious desires) are synonymous to the term Ahl al-Bida (adherents to innovative dogmatic ideas) in Morocco, who are deviated from the way of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah. They inclined towards desires, which are against the Sharī'ah.³ Consequently they are under the category of the *firqah al-Dāllah* (the misguided sect).

As for one individual from ahl al-Sunnah, 'Abdullah ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/726-797) is said to call him as Sāhib al-Sunnah. This appellative reflects the place of the *isnad* (a precise chain of transmitters, each of whom has received the report from his predecessor). Al-Hasan ibn 'Alī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941), an earlier Muslim theologian and a defender of the Sunnah say that, "the isnad is part of the religion for other-wise everybody would be free to say whatever he wanted." The collective Ahl al-Sunnah and Sāhib al-Sunnah has two plurals, namely Ashab al-Sunnah or Ashab al-Sunan, literally "People of Sunnah."

Ahl al-Sunnah emphasises on the Muslim community and its collective wisdom, guarded by the Ouran and the Sunnah.⁵ The

² Al-Juriani, *Kitab al-Ta'rifat*, ed. Ibrahim al-Abyari (n.p.: Dar al-Dayyan li l-Turath, n.d.), 57-58 s.v. "ahl al-haqq" & "ahl al-ahwa"; see El-Tigani Mohd El-Amin, "Kitab al-Ta'rifat of al-Jurjani: An Annotated English Translation and Evaluation Study," unpublished PhD thesis (Kuala Lumpur: ISTAC, 2005).

Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought, pp. 268-69.

³ Al-Shaykh al-Ajal al-Mawlawi Muhammad A'la ibn 'Ali al-Tahanawi, *Kitab Khashshaf* istilahat al-funun, 3 vols. (Beirut: Dar al-Sadir, [1995]), III: 1533; On al-Tahanawi, see Ismail Lala, "An Analysis of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Tahānawī's Approach in Kashshāf işṭilāḥāt alfunūn-The entry of huwiyya," Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies 17 (2017): 14-34, accessed on 20/11/2020. https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/j ais/volume/docs/vol17/v17 02 lala 014-034.pdf

⁴ Juynboll, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, p. 880.

⁵ Marmura, art. "Sunni Islam." vol. 6, pp. 139-140.

appellative al-Jamā 'ah means the community, referring to the Muslim community as a whole. The prophet is reported to have said, "The hand of God is over the community." There is a close link between the jama'ah and the concept of the ijmā' (consensus) in Islamic law. According to al-Juriani, the term ijmā' literally means "resolute and agreement," but technically it means "the unanimous agreement of the mujtahidīn among the ummah of Muhammad (pbuh), at any given time, on a religious point." Imām Muḥammad ibn Idris al-Shāfi (767-820), a founder of Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence, however extended its meaning to the ijmā' of the Muslim community. For him, "we have to obey their authority, and we know whenever there are sunnahs of the Prophet, the public cannot be ignorant of them, although it is possible that some are, and we know that the public can neither agree on anything contrary to the *sunnah* of the Prophet nor on an error." The principle of luzum al-jamā'ah (adhering to the Muslim community) indicates that every Muslim must follow and confirm as a valid what the Muslim community regards as lawful and unlawful (al-Tahlīl wa al-Tahrīm). Al-Shāfi'ī asserted "He who holds what the Muslim community holds shall regarded as following the community and he who holds differently shall be regarded as opposing the community he was ordered to follow. So error comes from separation." The reason is that the Muslim community has a thorough understanding of the real meaning of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, and of $qiy\bar{a}s$ (analogy).³

The link between Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah and a Prophetic hadīth of "sa-taftariqu ummatī" is very close indeed. Al-Baghdādī explained the rise of Ahl al-Sunnah from the basis of this hadīth. The hadīth mentioned that Islamic community would be split into 72 or 73 factions only one will be in Paradise and the others in Hell. It is identified that the Jamā'ah will eventually attain salvation. The appellative al-Jamā 'ah is well-known alternative to Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah which is considered the saved sect (Firqah al-Nājiyah). The Prophet (pbuh) is reported to have said: "The Jews split into 71 sects:

¹ Al-Jurjani, *Kitab al-Ta 'rifat*, s.v. *ijma* ' (24: 30).

² Al-Imām Muḥammad bin Idrīs al-Shāfi ʿī, *Al-Risālah*, ed. Ahmad Muhammad Shakir (Beirūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1940), 472, para. 1312; trans. into English by Majid Khadduri, Islamic Jurisprudence: Shafi'i's Risala (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), p. 286.

³ Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri, "The Relationship between 'Ilm and Khabar in the Work of al-Shafi'i," unpublished PhD thesis (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews, 1999), pp. 86-87.

one will enter Paradise and 70 will enter Hell. The Christians split into 72 sects: 71 will enter Hell and one will enter Paradise. By Him in Whose hand is my soul, my ummah will split into 73 sects: one will enter Paradise and 72 will enter Hell." Someone asked. "O Messenger of Allah (Peace be upon him), who will they be?" He replied, "The main body of the Muslims (al-Jamā 'ah)." (Tirmidhī).

Ahl al-Sunnah is closely related to Ahl al-Hadīth who was busily searching for sunnahs. They are also known as the Hashwiyyah, literally "those that stuff." In al-Shāfi i's view, Ahl al-Hadīth performed a great service to the cause of Islam in their enthusiasm to collect every report about the Prophet's (pbuh) sunnah. They emphasized the place of hadīth in the basis of law and minimized the use of reasoning.

The rise of Ahl al-Sunnah to represent the Muslims as whole is of later development. According to al-Hasan ibn 'Alī al-Barbahārī, Ahl al-Sunnah lived in concealment during theological dispute in the times of Caliph al-Ma'mūn (786-833), revolving around the belief that the Our'an was created (khalq al-Our'an) while being the Word of God. They began to constitute the majority of Islam after the end of mihnah (inquisition), in favour of Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal.¹

As mentioned earlier, one of the important opposites of Ahl al-Sunnah is Ahl al-Bid ah or Ahl al-Bidā (adherents to innovative dogmatic ideas). It is said that Muhammad Ibn Sirin (d. 110/729) divided the people of his day into two categories, i.e. the Ahl al-Bid ah or Ahl albidā', and Ahl al-Sunnah. Ahl al-Sunnah distinguish themselves from other Islamic sects whose views they believe constitute innovations (bid 'ah), that is departure from the beliefs of the community at large.³

Ahl al-Sunnah also differs from the Shī'ah in denying that the Prophet designated 'Alī to succeed him as a leader of the Islamic community.⁴ They accept the first four rightful guided Caliphs as a rightful succession of Prophet Muhammad. However, the difference between these two groups is of later development. Watt points out that "... it was the early tenth century which witnessed the essential part of the process of the polarization of Islam into Sunnite and Shi ite." An Iranian scholar, Hamid Enayat has summarized the very nature of the Shī'ah's thought and action as representing "an attitude of mind which refuses to admit that

⁴ Marmura, art. "Sunni Islam" vol. 6, pp. 139-140.

¹ Juynboll, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, p. 880.

² Juynboll, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, p. 880.

³ Marmura, art. "Sunni Islam" vol. 6, pp. 139-140.

⁵ Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought, pp. 270-71.

majority opinion is necessarily true or right, and – which is its converse – a rationalized defence of the moral excellence of an embattled minority."¹

From the 4th or 10th century onwards, Ahl al-Sunnah has started to constitute everywhere the majority Muslims. With the multiplying of Muslims defined as orthodox, Sunnah and Islam, come eventually to be felt, by some at least, as virtually synonymous. In other words, Sunnah is seen as identical in essence to Islam, as said by Bishr ibn al-Hārith (c. 767-850), better known as Bishr al-Hāfī (Bishr the Barefoot), a Muslim mystic: "The Sunnah is Islam, and Islam is also the Sunnah" (al-Sunnah hiya al-Islām wa al-Islām hiya al-Sunnah). In other words, Sunnah and Islam are in essence identical.² The appellative Ashāb al-Islām (people of Islam) assorted number of people from heterodox denomination besides Sunniyyūn. This tolerant stance of Ahl al-Sunnah leads the definitive defeat for the Ahl al-Bid ah. The Ahl al-sunnah had started to constitute everywhere the majority from 4th or 10 century.³

Different Categories of Ahl al-Sunnah According to 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī

As been shown earlier, Ahl al-Sunnah represents the Muslims and their scholars in general. This is indicated in the account of the different categories of Ahl al-Sunnah such as in the work of 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī. In his Uṣūl al-Dīn, al-Baghdādī has a section on chronological lists of the leaders of figh of Ahl al-Sunnah.⁴

However, detailed categories are listed in al-Baghdādī's al-Farq bayna al-Firāq when he examined the characteristics of the Saved Sect (al-Firgah al-Nājiyyah), acknowledged salvation to them, and explained their goodness. For al-Baghdādī, the Saved Sect is Ahl al-Sunnah themselves as indicated in the Prophet tradition cited earlier. Al-Baghdādī mentions the following regarding the exposition of the different categories of the People of Sunnah and Jamā'ah.⁵

² Juynboll, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, p. 880.

¹ Enayat, Modern Islamic Political Thought, p. 27.

³ Juynboll, art. "Sunna," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, new edition, vol. 9, pp. 880-81.

⁴ Al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb Usūl al-Dīn* (Beirūt: Dār al-Afaq al-Jadīdad, 1981), pp. 311-12.

⁵ Al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayna al-Firāq*, ed. Muḥammad Mahy al-Dīn 'Ābd al-Ḥāmīd (Beirūt: Al-Maktab al-'Asriyyah, 1993), 313-18; Trans is by S. Z. Chowdhury, "al-Baghdadi: Survey of Different Muslim Groups: Regarding the Exposition of the Different Categories of the People of Sunnah and Jama'ah," accessed on 18/7/2011, http://daralnicosia.wordpress.com/2011/05/02/al-baghdadi-survey-of-different-muslimgroups/, with only minor changes.

- "And know and may Allah grant you prosperity! that the People of Sunnah and Jama'ah comprise eight categories of people:
- 1. The first category from them are those who have comprehensive knowledge in the field of: Allah's Unity (Tawhīd) and the Prophethood (Nubuwwah); the rulings of threats and promises (al-Wa'd wa al-Wa'īd); reward and punishment (al-Thawāb wa al-'Iqāb); conditions of juristic reasoning (ijtihād) as well as the Khilāfah (*Imāmah*) and political leadership (*al-Ziʿāmah*) and they proceeded in this manner adopting the characteristics of the scholastic theologians (Sifātivyah min al-Mutakallimīn)¹ who were free from (tabarra'u) likening Allah upon His creation (tashbīh) as well as nullifying His [SWT] attributes (ta'tīl) and free from the innovations of the Rāfidah, Khawārij, al-Jahmiyyah, al-Najjariyyah as well as the rest of the people of pernicious desires and misguidance (Ahl al-Ahwa' al-Dāllah).
- 2. The Second category from amongst [the people of Sunnah and Jamāʿah] are: the exalted Imams of Islamic rulings (a'immah al-fiqh) including the 'People of Opinion' (al-ra'y) and 'Traditions' (al-*Hadīth*); those who believed and affirmed, in the fundamentals of the religion, the school that adheres to the attributes of Allah and His Eternal attributes (Sifātihī al-azaliyah) and are free from the doctrine of al-Oadar and al-i'tizāl; affirmed the visio beatifica of Allah Most High (ru'ya Allah) with the eyes (bi al-Absār) without making a likeness to created things nor nullification; those who affirmed the Hashr of the grave as well as the interrogation in the grave (al-su'āl fi al-gabr), the Hawd, the Sirāt, the great intercession (Shafā 'ah) and the Divine pardon for sinners who did not associate anything with Allah (dūna shirk) and they asserted: The eternal bliss of Paradise (bi-dawām na'im al-jannah) for its inhabitants and the eternal torment of the Fire for the non-believers. Then they also asserted: the khilāfah of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and how excellent they were in their praises for the Pious Predecessors of this ummah (al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ); and they deemed the Friday Prayer obligatory behind Imāms who are free from being partisan to the people of desires and misguidance; they deemed extracting an Islamic ruling

¹ I prefer to translate this part as "They followed in this type of knowledge similar to the ways of the Sifātiyyah (i.e., those who did not make any distinctions between the attributes of divine essence (dhāt), of divine names (asmā') and of divine action (fi'l) among Muslim theologians."

from the Qur'an, Sunnah and Consensus of the Companions (ijmā' al-Sahābah) as obligatory; and considered wiping over the leather socks (mash 'alā al-Khuffayn) as permissible as well as the incident of three pronouncements of divorce (wuau' al-talāa al-thalāth) but considered temporary marriage (mut'ah) as unlawful and finally, they deemed obedience to the Sultan [as obligatory] in all that is not disobedience [to Allah].\

Included in this group are the followers of Mālik, al-Shāfi'ī, al-Awzāʿī, al-Thawrī, Abu Hanīfah, Ibn Abī Laylah, the followers of Abu Thawr, the followers of Ahmad b. Hanbal, the Zahiriyyah and the rest of the jurists who affirmed all the rational aspects as well as the fundamentals of [Allah's] attributes and did not mix their figh with any reprehensibly innovated matter from the people of wanton desires and misguidance.

- 3. The third category: they are those who possessed knowledge by means of the reports $(akhb\bar{a}r)$ and the transmitted examples (alsunan al-ma'thūrah) from the Prophet upon him be blessings and peace; have differentiated between the rigorously authenticated aspects $(al-sah\bar{\imath}h)$ from the inauthentic $(al-saq\bar{\imath}m)$; and who knew the causes of 'impugnment' (al-jarh) and 'validation' (al-ta'dil) and did not muddle their knowledge (lam yukhlitu 'ilma-hum) with any reprehensibly innovated matter from the people of wanton desires and misguidance.
- 4. The fourth category from amongst [the people of Sunnah and Jamā'ah] are: those who possessed deep knowledge regarding the major areas of Arabic Literature (al-adāb), Grammar and Syntax (alnahwu wa al-tasrīf) and those who followed the path of the Arabic Linguists and Rhetoricians such as Khalīl, Abu 'Amr b. al-'Alā', Sibawayh, al-Farra', al-Akhfash, al-Asma'ī, al- Muzanī, Abu 'Ubayd [al-Qāsim b. al-Sallām] and all the rest of the learned from the School of Kūfah and Basrah who did not muddle their knowledge with any reprehensibly innovated matter from the people of the Qadariyah sect or the Khawārij and whoever of them inclined in any way whatsoever towards misguided whims, they are not of the Ahl al-Sunnah and their statements are neither a proof (hujjah) in the Language nor the Grammar.

- 5. The fifth category: those who have knowledge of the various ways of Qur'anic recitation as well as from the aspect of exegesis of Our'anic verses, its explanation (ta'wīli-ha) according to the norms and methods (madhhab) of the Ahl al-Sunnah and not the explanation of the people of wanton desires and misguidance.
- 6. The sixth category: the pious ascetics (al-zuhhād) and the Sufis (al-Sūfiyyah) who underwent deep reflection (abṣaru), abstained (fa 'l*asaru*), were tried and tested (akhtabaru), learned lessons (fa 'al-'tabaru'), were content with the Divine decree (radu bi al-maqdur), satisfied with the less difficult (qana 'a bi al-maysūr); those who knew that the ears, eyes and the heart $(al-fu)\bar{a}d$ are all responsible regarding what is Good and what is Bad (mas`ūlun 'an al-khayr wa al-sharr), accountable for even an atom's weight (mathāqil al-dharrah); have prepared the best preparation for the Day of Judgment; their utterances followed the twin paths of interpretation and instruction in accordance with the People of Hadīth and not of those who purchase the hadith as mere amusement (lahw); who do not know of pride (al-rivā'), do not reject shame (al-hayā'); their religion is al-Wāhid, negation of likening Allah to creation (tashbih), their doctrine is resigning the meanings of Allah's attributes purely to him (tafwīd), having complete reliance upon Him [SWT], submission to his commands (taslīm li-`amrihī), content with what they are provided with (al-qina ah bi-ma ruziqu) and shunning that which is frowned upon: (Race with one another in hastening towards forgiveness from your Lord and Paradise the width whereof is as the width of the heaven and the earth prepared for those who believe in Allah and His Messengers. That is the Grace of Allah which He bestows on whom He is pleased with. And Allah is the Owner of Great Bounty).
- 7. The seventh category are: the *Murābitūn* at the frontier posts for the Muslims against the non-believers, struggling and fighting against the enemies of the Muslims, who protect the Muslim sanctuaries; who defend their women and their lands and render victorious (yuzharūn) the orthodox school, the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah. Moreover, they are those regarding whom Allah (SWT) revealed: (Those who struggle four Our cause; so of surety we will guide them to Our paths: And Allah is with those who do right). May Allah increase them in their ability from and with His excellence.

8. The eighth category comprise the common people over whom the general mark of the Ahl al-Sunnah prevails and not the [dark] smudge which is visible as the mark of the people of pernicious desires and misguidance.

Thus, we only intended by this [last] general category those who firmly believed in the agreement of the scholars of Sunnah and Jamā'ah regarding the areas of Divine Justice and Unity, Divine threats and Promises; and referred to them with regards to the requirements of the religion, and followed them in the laws (furu') related to halāl and harām and did not believe one bit in the unwarranted innovations of the people of desires and misguidance and those are what the Sufis term "the occupying of paradise" (hashwu al-jannah)."

As indicated by al-Baghdādī above, Ahl al-Sunnah adopts the views of the Sifātivvah among the Mutakallimūn. In general, the Sifātivvah are those who did not make any distinctions between the attributes of divine essence $(dh\bar{a}t)$, of divine names $(asm\bar{a}')$ and of divine action (fi'l). They avoid likening Allah to His creation (tashbīh) and nullifying His [SWT] attributes (ta`tīl). Their stands were the opposite of other sects such as the Rāfidah, Khawārij, Jahmiyyah, and Najjariyyah who are considered among the heretical innovators. The *Sifātiyyah* also opposed any people who follow the desire and misguided teaching (ahl al-ahwā' al-ḍāllah). Al-Baghdādī has identified that Ahl al-Sunnah hold the views of the Sifātiyyah among the Mutakallimūn. In order to know further the views of the Sifātiyyah whose teaching adopted by Ahl al-Sunnah, we will examine al-Shahrastānī's Milal wa al-Nihal which is considered as a 'balanced scholarly work' on sects and religions written by Muslim scholars so far.²

Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah on Belief in the Divine Attributes as Reflected in the Sifātiyvah among the Mutakallimūn

The Mutakallimūn or Ahl al-kalām emerged from disputes over matters of religious belief and their ultimate concern is with the religion of Islam and its fundamental beliefs. Their early intellectual efforts were aimed at

¹ Among the first Muslim *mutakallimūn* (theologians) are Ma'bad al-Juhanī (d. 80/699), Ghaylan al-Dimishqī (d. before 126/743), Waşil b. 'Aţā' (d. 131/748) and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd (d. 145/762), see Majid Fakhry, A History of Islamic Philosophy, 42; on 'Ilm al-Kalām, see L. Gardet, art. "Ilm al-Kalām," in Encyclopedia of Islam, new ed., vol. 3, 1141-50.

² W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987), p. 75.

defending Islam and its beliefs against the attack of heretics. They are divided into several sects ($fir\bar{a}q$), namely the Mu'tazilah, the Jabariyyah, the Sifātiyyah, the Khawārii, the Murji'ah and the Shā'ah. The Mu'tazilah are generally regarded as the founders of the discipline of kalām.¹

According to al-Shahrastānī, the Orthodox (the salaf) differed from the Mu'tazilah on the question of the attributes of God. The Orthodox are called the Sifātiyyah. They followed the literal meaning of the Ouran and the Sunnah on the issue. With some differences in term of interpretation, some of them maintained the existence of the attribute of God in terms of entities subsisting in him, while the other likened his attributes to those of creatures.²

The Mu'tazilah who deny the attributes are called the mu'attilah (strippers). They deny altogether the eternal attributes (al-sifāt al*qādīmah*) to God. For them God is eternal by his essence. They says that God is 'knowing,' by his essence, 'powerful,' by his essence and 'living' by his essence, not by 'knowledge' or 'power' or 'life,' considered as eternal attributes or entities $(ma'\bar{a}n\bar{i})$, subsisting in God. This is because if the attributes shared in the eternity of God, they would also share in his divinity (*ilāhiyyah*).

In addition, the Mu'tazilah also believe that the speech of God is temporal and created in a place (muhdath makhl $\bar{u}q$). They also hold that will, hearing and seeing are not entities ($ma \, \bar{a}n\bar{t}$) subsisting in the divine essence. They are unanimous that God cannot be seen in Paradise. They also deny any possibility of anthropomorphism. Any ambiguous verses (ayat al-mutashābihah) of the Quran must be interpreted in a metaphorical sense.

The Mu'tazilah also hold that man has power over his action either good or bad. Man is the creator of his action, not God. Man, therefore deserves reward and punishment in the next life for what he does in this world. Man is obliged by reason to know good and evil. Even before revelation (wurūd al-sama'), man is under obligation to acquire a fundamental knowledge (uṣūl al-ma 'rifah) of God and to show him gratitude for benefit received (shukr al-ni mah).

¹ Al-Shahrastānī, *Al-Milāl wa al-Nihāl*, 3 vols. (Beirūt: Dār al-Surūr, 1948); Trans. A. K. Kazi and J. G. Flyn, Muslim Sects and Divisions (London: Kegan Paul International, 1984); Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri, "The Relationship between 'Ilm and Khabar", 58; Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri, "The Early Muslim Debates on Knowledge based on Reports (khabar)," Hamdard Islamicus XXVII: 1 (2004), pp. 43-54 (48).

² Al-Shahrastani, *Al-Milāl wa al-Nihāl*, 40, trans. p. 26.

¹ Al-Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa al-Nihāl*, pp. 58-59, trans. pp. 41-42.

The Sifātiyyah among the salaf were accustomed to argue not according to a kalām method but by authoritative statement (qawl $ign\bar{a}(\bar{i})$. In other words, they follow the literal text of the Ouran and the Sunnah, Later on with the rise of Abū al-Hasan Ismā'īl al-Ash'arī (d. 935) and his support to the view of the Sifātivvah using kalām method, this theological school was known as Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah. The name Sifātiyyah was now given to the Ash'aris who are his followers.

Al-Ash arī put to silence those who denied the attributes with the argument they could not answer. His argument goes as follows: "if a man reflects on his creation... he would be forced to acknowledge that he has a creator who is all powerful, knowing and willing.... God, therefore, has attributes which are known from his acts: these attributes cannot be denied. Just as his acts show that He knows, powerful and willing, so also do they show that He has knowledge, power and will. He went on to say that " ... 'the one knowing', as used of God, has in reality no meaning other than that he has knowledge; 'the one powerful' no meaning other than he has power; 'the one willing' no meaning other than he has will."1

For al-Ash arī, these attributes are eternal and subsist in the essence of God. God knows with knowledge, powerful with power, living with life, willing with will, speaking with speech, hearing with hearing and seeing with sight.

Al-Ash arī holds the view that every existent can be seen: "God exists, therefore He can be seen." Revelation also states that the believers will see him in the Hereafter, as God says, 'On that day there shall be joyous faces looking at their Lord' (Surah al-Qiyāmah (75): 22). Al-Ash arī also holds that hands and face are attributes that are decreed (sifāt jabriyyah) by God; for, as he explains, revelation speaks of them, and therefore, they must be accepted as they are revealed.

Al-Ash arī also holds that "whatever is of obligation is so because of revelation. Reason does not impose any obligation, nor does it declare anything good or bad. Knowledge of God is, indeed, acquired by reason but it is through revelation that it becomes of obligation to know him; as God says, "We shall not punish unless we first send a prophet." (Surah al-Isrā' (17): 15). Similarly, that man should show gratitude to the Bountiful, and that God should reward the obedient and punish the disobedient, are obligations made known by revelation, not by reason.

¹ Al-Shahrastani, *Al-Milāl wa al-Nihāl*, p. 127, trans. p. 79.

To conclude this section, Ahl al-Sunnah's teachings on the principles of Islam have been discussed extensively by al-Baghdādī in his Farq bayna al-firāq. He presents the fifteen principles, as the Ash 'arīs understand them. They include the following:

- (1) Acknowledging the real natures of the things and knowledge in specific or general terms
- (2) Knowledge of the origin of the world in times with its division in terms of accident and bodies.
- (3) Knowledge of the creator of the world and His essential attributes.
- (4) Knowledge of His eternal attributes.
- (5) Knowledge of His names and qualities.
- (6) Knowledge of His justice and wisdom.
- (7) Knowledge of His messengers and prophets.
- (8) Knowledge of miracles of the prophets and wonders of the saints.
- (9) Knowledge of the agreement of the community on the principles of Islamic law.
- (10) Knowledge of the rulings of command and prohibition and obligation (taklīf).
- (11) Knowledge of man's annihilation and rulings of the hereafter.
- (12) Caliphate and imamate and conditions of leadership.
- (13) Rulings on faith and Islam in general.
- (14) Knowledge of rulings of saints and different classes of pious leaders.
- (15) Knowledge of rulings of enemies among unbelievers and people of pernicious desires.¹

We will discuss the first principle of Islam only, namely its epistemological foundation. This is considered as the theory of knowledge according to Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah.

Epistemological Foundation of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah Epistemology is considered to be "the necessary foundation" of Islamic theology. Imām Abū Manşūr al-Māturīdī (853-944) was the first Sunni

¹ Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī, *Al-Farq bayan al-Firāq* (Beirūt: Al-Maktabah al-ʿAsriyyah, 1990), 323; Trans. Abraham S. Halkin. Moslem Schisms and Sects (al-Fark Bain al-Firak) Being the History of the Various Philosophical Systems Developed in Islam (Tel-Aviv: Palestine Publishing Co. 1935), accessed on 18/7/2011, http://issuu.com/bilal81/docs/alfarq bayn al-firaq

¹ Franz Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 211.

Mutakallimūn who made a serious attempt to define a systematic theory of Islamic theological knowledge in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*. He mentions three means of acquiring knowledge, namely, (1) use of the senses ('iyan), (2) report of others (*khabar*), and (3) speculative thinking (*nazar*). It is however suggested that al-Ash'arī's work lacks a similar exposition of an epistemological foundation for his theological creed as in al-Maturidi. However, by looking at the end of the first part of the *Maqālāt*, in which al-Ash'arī presents the view of *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth* dan *Ahl al-Sunnah* on Islamic doctrines shows the opposite. He does indicate the epistemological foundation of his theology but in the garb of the Hanbalite-epistemological type. ³

He writes in the first paragraph as follows: "The sum of what is held by those following the hadīths and the Sunna is the confession of God, His angels, His books, His messengers, what has come (as revelation) from God, and what trustworthy (person) have related from the Messenger of God. They reject nothing of that."

This above statement indicates that the theory of knowledge of al-Ash arī is based on revelation and report of others, i.e. *khabar*. This is one of the means of acquiring knowledge beside the use of the senses and reason. The "official Ash arite epistemology" is appeared in Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baqillānī (c. 940-1013) who elaborates this epistemology in his *Tamhid fī al-radd alā al-mulhidah wa al-mu attillah wa al-rāfiḍah wa al-khawārij wa al-mu tazilah.* He starts with definition of knowledge as "the cognition of the object known as it is" (*ma rifah al-ma lum alā ma huwa bih*). There are two kinds of knowledge, namely knowledge of God which is primeval, uncreated (*ilm qadīm*) and the created knowledge of all living beings, human, angels, *jinn* and others (*ilm muḥdath*). The latter is subdivided into necessary knowledge (*ilm ḍarūrī*) and speculative, deductive

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¹ Abu Mansur al-Maturidi, *Kitab al-Tawhid*, ed. Fath Allah Khulayf (Alexandria, n.d.), pp. 7-11.

² Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, p. 249; Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant*, p. 215.

³ See al-Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*; see also Abu al-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, *Al-Ibānah 'an Uṣūl al-Diyānah* (Beirūt: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1990), trans. into English by Walter Conrad Klein, *The Elucidation of Islam's Foundation* (Connecticut: 1940); *Al-Luma' fī al-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Zaygh wa al-Bida'* (The Sparks: A Refutation of Heretics and Innovators); Richard J. McCarthy, *The Theology of Al-Ashari* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1953)

⁴ Al-Ash'ari, *Maqālāt*, I: 345, trans. Watt, p. 41, italic is mine.

⁵ Abu Bakr Muḥammad Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Baqillānī, *Al-Tamhīd fī al-Radd 'alā al-Mulḥidah wa al-Mu 'aṭillah wa al-Rāfiḍah wa al-Khawārij wa al-Mu 'tazilah* (n.p.: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, n.d.), 36-37; Abdul Salam Muhamad Shukri, "The Relationship between *'Ilm* and *Khabar*", pp. 48-49.

knowledge ('ilm nazar wa istidlāl). He also divides the causes or means of knowledge into three, namely five senses (al-hawwāss al-khamsah), report of others and reason (istidlāl bi al-'agl).

Abd al-Oāhir al-Baghdadī's corresponding views can be found in his work Usūl al-Dīn and al-Farq bayna al-firāq. A summary of al-Baghdādi's epistemological foundation of Ahl al-Sunnah is made by A. J. Wensinck in his Muslim Creed. W. Montgomery Watt translates and gives his comments on the first chapter of Kitāb Uṣūl al-dīn in his article entitled "The Logical Basis of Early Kalam." Furthermore Imam Abū al-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (1028-1085) in his Kitāb al-Irshād and Imām Abū Hamīd Muhammad al-Ghazālī (1058-1111) in his *Igtisād fī al-i 'tigād* also present the similar introduction of the epistemological foundation of theology in their work.³

However, a concise formulation of the theory of knowledge of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah can be seen in al- 'Aqā 'id al-Nasafiyyah by Imām Naim al-Dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Nasafī (1067-1142) which later on commented by Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ud ibn 'Umar ibn 'Abd Allah al-Taftazanī (1322-1390) in Sharh 'Aaā 'id al-Nasafī. It is worth quoting what is said by al-Nasafī says in the first two part of his *Creed*:

- "1. The People of Truth say that the real natures of things are established (or fixed), and that knowledge of them is really (knowledge). (This is) contrary to the view of the Sophists.
- 2. The causes of knowledge [asbāb al-'ilm] for created beings are three: the sound senses, true report and reason. The senses are five: hearing, sight, smell, taste and touch; by each sense, information is given about (the class of objects) for which it is appointed. True report is of two kinds. One of these is the widely-transmitted report [al-khabar al-mutawātir]. that is, a report established by the tongues of (many) people, whose agreement on a falsehood is inconceivable. This is bound to give a

² W. Montgomery Watt, "The Logical Basis of Early Kalam," Islamic Quarterly 6 (1961), 3-10; Islamic Quarterly 7 (1963), pp. 31-39.

Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant, p. 216.

Imām al-Haramayn Abu al-Ma'alī 'Abd al-Mālik al-Juwaynī, Kitāb al-Irshād ilā Qawati' al-Adillah fī Uṣūl al-I'tiqād, ed. As'ad Tamīm (Beirūt: Mu'assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfah, 1985); trans. into English by Dr. Paul E. Walker & reviewed by Muhammad S. Eissa, Imam al-Haramayn al-Juwayni, A Guide to Conclusive Proofs for the Principles of Belief (Reading, UK: The Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, 2000); al-Imam al-Ghazali, Kitab al-Iqtisad fi al-i'tiqad (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1988), trans, into Malay by Alamul Huda Muhammad, Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali al-Thusi, Iktikad Moderat (Akidah Mengikut Pandangan Imam al-Ghazali) (Johor Bahru: Perniagaan Jahabersa, 2007).

necessary knowledge [al-'ilm al-darūrī], such as the knowledge of former kings in past time and of distant lands. The second kind is the report of the messenger (who has been attested by evidentiary miracle (about what has come to him by revelation). This is bound to give deductive knowledge [al-'ilm al-istidlālī]. The knowledge established by (such a report) resembles in certainty and fixity knowledge necessarily established (such as sense-knowledge and that from widely transmitted reports). Reason, again, is also a cause of knowledge. What is established by immediate intuition [bi al-badīhah] is necessary, such as the knowledge that every thing is greater than its part. What is established by inference [bi alistidlāl] is acquired knowledge [iktisābī]. Inspiration [al-ilhām] is not one of the causes of the knowing of the soundness (or truth) of a thing in the view of the People of Truth."1

Importance of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah's Discourse in Islamic **Thought**

Islamic thought introduces us with the doctrines and philosophies of Islam as understood by Muslim scholars throughout the history of Islam. It is considered a new area of study under the discipline of Islamic history.

According to Professor Abdullah Saeed from University of Melbourne, Islamic thought deals with a range of areas from "the foundation texts to law, theology, philosophy, politics, art and mysticism as well as key trends in Islamic thought in both the pre-modern and modern period."² Islamic thought interprets the original vision of Islam as religion to that vision which involves some specific philosophical formulation in terms of specific metaphysical, epistemological and ethical meanings related to Islam. Thus we can say in general that Islamic thought involves in interpreting religion on the basis of various branches of philosophy and its methods. Islamic thought is an intellectual discipline in some way relevant to philosophy as worldview.

It is also observed that the rise and development of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah as the school represents the majority in Islam is unique. The authority and authenticity of this school is beyond doubt acknowledged by the agreement of scholars and Muslim communities. Furthermore, they tied

¹ See 'Abd al-Mālik bin 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sa'adī, Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-Nasafiyyah li al-Imām Najm al-Dīn 'Umar bin Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Nasafī (Amman: Dār al-Nūr al-Mubīn li al-Nashr wa al-Tawzi', 2012), 15-35; trans. into English by W. Montgomery Watt, Islamic Creeds: A Selection (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), p. 80.

² Abdullah Saeed, *Islamic Thought: An Introduction* (Oxon (UK) and New York: Routledge, 2006), p. vii.

their teachings closely with prophetic heritage. As a whole in their struggle to establish a middle course they have surpassed the residues of sharp sectarian polarizations within the Muslim community, which brought many negative and destructive consequences to the Muslim unity.

The Ash arī school of thought of which carries the name of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah plotted a discourse of moderation and balance, of reconciliation and reformation between the early orthodox (salaf al-sālih) and the subsequent tendencies toward the extremes. Their discourse based dogma on the principle of rational enquiry. A number of eminent scholars came to al-Ash'arī's support, among them Abū Bakr al-Baqillānī (d. 403/1013), Ibn Furāk (d. 405/1015), al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037-38), al-Juwaynī (d. 437/1046), al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), Abū al-Faraj al-Isfarāyinī, (d. 470/1078), al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), Fakhr al-Din al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), Sayf al-Dīn al-Amīdī (d. 631/1233), 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar al-Baydāwī (d. 707/1308 or 715/1316), 'Adūd al-Dīn al-Ījī, (d. 756/1355), al-Sayyid al-Sharif al-Jurjānī (d. 815/1413), Abū 'Abdillah Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Sānūsī al-Husaynī al-Sānūsī (d. 891/1486 or 895/1490), Ibrāhīm Burhān al-Din al-Laggānī (d. 1041/1631), 'Abd al-Salām Ibrāhīm al-Laggānī (d. 1078/1668), Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Arāfah al-Dasūgī (d. 1230/1815), Faddalī al-Fadalī or Fudālī (d. 1236/1821), Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad al-Bajūrī or Bayjūrī (d.1276/1860), Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1322/1905) and many others.²

Viewing from the general context of religious thought, the school of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah is the manifestation of the general trends in religious thought. It is pointed out that these trends include firstly, the religious schools' with their differences and numbers' attempt in general to apply religious law, religiously and historically by using as a means traditionalism (al-Salaf al-Awwāl) and antiquity (al-Qidāmiyyah al-*Tārīkhiyyah*). They believe that all truth must be ancient (*qadīm*), and if it is ancient it must be transmitted from the sages through unbroken trustworthy chain of transmitters (ruwat), and secondly religious thought by its nature reflects a permanent tendency to proliferation of groups, schools, sects and even heresies.

From perspective of a general history of religious thought, which centered on revelation and prophethood, especially Judeo-Christian tradition, an account of historical Islam in general reflects several

Muhammad 'Abduh, The Theology of Unity (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2004), pp. 36-37.

² See further below, "The Bibliography of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah Studies in Islamic 'Aaīdah and Kalām''

tendencies, namely (1) literalistic dogmatic exclusiveness which inevitably engenders disbelief literalistic dogmaticism. This can be seen by examining a general historical relationship between Judaism and Christianity, which from this perspective, pouring out phenomenon from which Judaism as whole despised Jesus and described him with disbelief and hypocrisy. (2) Rationalism is liable to become tainted with skepticism leading to the weakening and at times even the destruction of religion. In the domain of religion the autonomy of reason involved the rejection of dogma, authority and tradition. (3) Mysticism is apt to become wrapped up in subjectivity, which makes for antinomianism and spiritual anarchy.¹

As mentioned earlier, Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah surpasses the sharp polarization between the three opposing discourses in understanding and interpreting Islam as religion. These discourses can be categorized as follows: (i) Salafī literalist approach, (ii) Rationalist-Mu tazilite conviction, and (iii) Mystical Sufism. The discourse of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah reconcile their disagreement to the point of agreement based on examining what is the positive and substance from each interpretation. In addition, their effort is to surpass what is sloppy and what is negative in each of them. The discourse of Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah evaluates all together these views through the principles of moderation, balance, reconciliation and public good. These have a chance for the acceptance and diffusion in the Muslim community. At the end the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah becomes an established school, which is accepted at all times, everywhere, and by all (quod semper, et ubique, et ob omnibus).

The aim of *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā* 'ah is then to bring to a halt the ugly trends of a permanent tendency to proliferation of different group by through the approach of moderation, balance, reconciliation and reformation between different groups. To cite one example on the issue of

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¹ 'Irfan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Fattaḥ, ''Uṣūl al-Dīn: The Content, Methods of Teaching, the Contemporary Attempts to Re-Structuring its Traditional Contents,'' (unpublished paper in Arabic presented on 12/10/2004 at the Department of Usul al-Din and Comparative Religion, IIUM); see also 'Irfān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Fattaḥ, *Dirāsāt fī al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-Islāmī: Abḥath fī 'Ilm al-Kalām wa al-Taṣawwuf wa al-Istishrāq wa al-Harakāt al-Ḥaddāmah* (Beirūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1991)

² Fattaḥ, "Uṣūl al-Dīn: The Content..."; "The formula *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* – what has been taught always, everywhere and by all – is as much as most of us know of Vincentius of Lérins, whose *Commonitorium*, published in ad 434, presents itself as a manual of the faith that is held by orthodox Christians throughout the world," see "Book reviews Thomas G. Guarino, *Vincent of Lérins and the Development of Christian Doctrine* (Grand Rapids, mi: Baker Academic, 2013)," *Ecclesiology* 12 (2016), p. 392.

human action, al-Ghazali in al-Arba in points out that, "As for the followers of the Sunna and the Community (jamā 'ah), they took a middle course between them [i.e. al-Jabariyyah and al-Oadariyyah]. They did not remove choice entirely from themselves and did not remove the decree and predestination (al-Oadā' wa al-Oadar) entirely from God, but said: "the servants' act are in one respect from God and in another respect from the servant; and that the servant has a choice in the bringing about of his acts (wa li-al-'abd ikhtiyārūn fī ijad af'ali-h)." Thus it is not strange to describe Ash'arites as the chief of the ancients and the contemporaries with the title of the school of moderation and reconciliation.

In order to indicate the continuity of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā 'ah this article includes a bibliography of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah studies in Islamic Aqīdah and Kalām. The two schools of Ash 'arī and Māturīdī will be listed under this bibliography.

Bibliography of the Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā ah Studies in Islamic 'Aqīdah and Kalām²

The Ash'arī School

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Al-Ghazālī, Al-Arba'īn, 10; see M. E. Marmura, "Ghazali & Ash'aris Revisited," Arabic Sciences & Philosophy 12 (2002), 91-110 (103)

² This part is a new addition to the earlier article as mentioned in note 1.

(949-1027), al-Tabṣīr fī al-Dīn wa tamyīz al-Firqah al-Nājiyah 'an al-Firāq al-Hālikīn; Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Qāhir ibn Tāhir al-Tamīmī al-Baghdādī (c. 980-1037), Usūl al-Dīn (The Principles of Religion) (Beirūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1997) & al-Farq bayna al-Firāq (Beirūt: al-Maktabah al-'Asriyyah, 1993), English trans. Kate Chambers Seelye, Moslem schisms and sects (Al-Fark Bain al-Firak), being the history of the various philosophic systems developed in Islam, by Abū-Mansūr 'Abd-al-Kāhir ibn Tāhir al-Baghdādī ... Part I, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920) & Abraham S. Halkin, Moslem schisms and sects (al-Fark bain al-firak): being the history of the various philosophic systems developed in Islam, Pt. 2 Pt. 2 (Thesis) (Tel-Aviv: Palestine Publishing Co., 1935); Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn Husayn Ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā al-Bayhāqī (c. 994-1066), al- I'tiqād wa al-hidāyah ilā sabīl al-rashād; Kitāb al-`Asmā' wa al-sifāt (Book of the Divine Names and Attributes); al-I'tiqād 'alā Madhhab al-Salaf ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah; Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah (The Signs of Prophethood); Abu al-Maʿālī al-Juwaynī (1028-1085), Kitāb al-Irshād ilā qawati al-adillah fī usūl al-i tigād; trans. Paul E. Walker & reviewed by Muhammad S. Eissa, A Guide to Conclusive Proofs for the Principles of Belief (Reading, UK: Garnet: Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, 2000); al-Shamil fī usūl al-dīn (The Comprehensive (book) in the Principles of Religion); al-Luma and al- Aqīdah al-Nizāmiyyah; al-Raghib al-Isfahānī (d. 1108/1109), al-I'tiqadāt, al-Mufradāt fi gharib al-Qur'ān.

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Muta`akhirīn min al-'Ulamā' wa al-Hukamā' wa al-Mutakallimīn (The Summary of the Ideas of the Scholars, Philosophers and Theologians, Ancient and Modern) (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1984), and others including al-Khamsūn, al-Ishārah, Ta'sis al-Taadis, al-Arba'ūn, al-Muhassal, and Nihāyat al-'Uqūl; and in philosophy his works include al-Mabahith al-Mashriqiyah, Sharh 'Uyūn al-Ḥikmah, Sharh al-Ishārat wa al-Tanbīhāt, al-Mulakhas, and al-Matalib al-ʿĀliyah; Abu ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān Salah al-Dīn al-Kurdī al-Shahrazūrī or Ibn al-Salah (c. 1181-1245), Muqaddimah Ibn Salah fī 'Ulūm al-Hadīth; Sayf al-Dīn al-Amīdī (1156-1233), Abkar al-Afkar fī Uṣūl al-Dīn, 3 vols. (Beirūt: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2003); 'Izz al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Salām (1181-1262), Al-Mulhat fī I'tiqād Ahl al-Hagg or al-Radd 'alā al-Mubtadi 'ah wa al-Hashawiyyah, al-Farq bayn al-Imān wa al-Islām or Ma'nā al-Imān wa al-Islām, al-Anwa' fī 'Ilm al-Tawhīd, Bayān ahwal al-nas yawm al-qiyamah; Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abu Bakr al-Ansari al-Ourtubi (1214-1273), al-Tadhkirah fī Ahwāl al-Mawta' wa-'Umūr al-Ākhirah, al-Asna fī Sharh al-Asmā' al-Husnā; Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (1233-1278), al-Minhaj bi Sharh Sahīh Muslim, al-Tarkhis fī al-Qiyām li-dhawi al-Fadl wa al-Maziah min ahl al-Islām; Abu al-Barakāt al-Nasafī (d. 700/1301 or 709/1310), 'Umdat fī Usūl al-Dīn (The Pillar of the Creed); Nasir al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar al-Baydāwī (d. 707/1308 or 715/1316), Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī or Anwār al-Tanzīl wa Asrār al-Ta'wīl; Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-Arwāḥ fī Uṣūl al-Dīn; Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam: 'Abd Allah Baydāwī's text, Tawāli 'al-Anwār min matāli ' al-Anzār, along with Maḥmūd Isfahānī's Commentary, Maṭāli al-Anzar, Sharh Tawāli al-Anwār, edited and translated by Edwin E. Calverley and James W. Pollock (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2002); Shams al-Dīn Mahmūd ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Isfahānī (d. 749/1348), Maṭālī 'al-Anzār: Sharḥ Ṭawāli ' al-Anwār; Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwinī al-Kātibī (1203-1277), Hikmat al-'Ayn; Outb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Tahtānī (d. 710/1311 or d. 766/1365), al-Risāla al-Ma'mulah fī al-Tasawwur wa al-Tasdīq; 'Adūd al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1300-1355), al-'Aqā'id al-'Adūdiyyah; al-Mawāqif fī 'Ilm al-Kalām (Beirūt: 'Alam al-Kutub; al-Qāhirah: Maktabat al-Mutanabbi; Dimashq: Maktabat Sa'd al-Dīn, 1980); Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (683-756/1284-1355/1370), al-Durrah al-Mudiyyah fī al-Radd 'alā Ibn Taymiyah, al-I'tibār bī Bagā' al-Janat wa al-Nār fī al-Radd 'alā ibn Taymiyah wa ibn al-Qayyim al-Qā`ilīn bi Fana' al-Nār; Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (b. 727/1327 or 728-771/1328-1370), Mu'jām, Tabagāt al-Shāfī'iyyat Kubrā, Wustā wa Sughrā (Large, Medium and Concise), 10 vols.; Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (1322-1390), Sharh al-Maqāsid fī 'Ilm al-Kalām, ed. Dr. 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Umayrah, 5 vols.

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Post Ghazālī Era II: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṣuyuṭī (1445-1505), *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubrā*; Muḥammad b. Pir ʿAlī Birgevi or Birgili (d. 981/1573), *Al-Ṭarīqah al-Muḥammadiyyah* (The Mohammadan Path); Burhan al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 1041/1631), *Jawharat al-Tawḥīd* (The Gem of Monotheism) (Qāhirah: Matbaʿat al-Istiqāmah, n.d.); ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm ibn Shams al-Dīn al-Siyalkutī (d. 1657), *Ta līqāt ʿala al-hashiyah ʿalā Sharḥ al-ʿAqā'id al-Nasafīyyah*; ʿAbd al-Salām Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī (d. 1078/1668), *Sharḥ Jawharat al-Tawhīd* [Son to Ibrāhīm al-Laqānī who wrote a commentary on *al-Jawharat*]; Abu ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī (1631-1691), *Mashrab al-ʿAmm wa al-Khaṣ min Kalimāt al-Ikhlāṣ (Silsilāt al-ʿAmal al-Kāmilah li al-Imām al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī fī al-Fikr al-Islāmī)*; ʿAbd al-Ghānī bin Ismāʿīl al-Nablūsī (d. 1143/1730), *al-Anwār al-Ilāhiyyah fī Sharḥ al-Muqaddimah al-Sanusiyyah*, (Amman: Dar al-Nur, 2015); Muhammad bin Mansur al-Hudhudi (17th century), *Sharḥ al-Imām al-ʿAllāmah Muḥammad bin*

Mansūr al-Hudhudi 'alā Umm al-Barāhin; Ismail Gelenbevi or Kalanbawī Efendī (1143-1205/1730-1791), Hashiyat Kalanbawī 'alā Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī fī Sharh al-'Aqā'id al-'Adūdiyah; 'Abdullah ibn Hijāzī al-Sharqāwī (1737-1812), Hashiyah al-Sharaāwī 'alā Sharh al-Hudhudī 'alā Umm al-Barāhin (Cairo: Sharikat Maktabat wa Matba'at Mustafā al-Bābi al-Halabī, 1955); Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (d. 1230/1815), Hashiyat al-Dasūqī Umm al-Barāhin (Beirūt: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyah, Muḥammad bin al-Shāfi'ī al-Fadalī or al-Fudalī al-Shāfi'ī (d. 1236/1821), Kifāyat al-'Awāmm fī mā Yajibū 'Alayhim min 'Ilm al-Kalām (The Sufficiency of the Common People); Ahmad bin Muhammad al-Mālikī al-Sāwī (d. 1240/1825), Kitāb Sharh al-Sāwī 'alā Jawharat al-Tawhīd, (Beirūt: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 2011); Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad al-Bajurī (d. 1276/1860), Risālat al-Bajurī fī al-Tawhīd, Sharh Jawharat al-Tawhīd, Tuhfat al-Murīd, Hashiyat al-Bajurī al-Musammah bi Tahqīq al-Magām 'alā Kifāvat al- 'Awāmm fī 'Ilm al-Kalām (Cairo: Matba'ah al-Maymāniyah, 1898); Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), Risālat al-tawhīd (Treatise on the Oneness of God); Ibrāhīm ibn Ahmad al-Marghanī (d. 1931), Tāli al-Bushrā 'alā al-'Aaidah al-Sanūsīvyah al-Sughrā; 'Abd al-Hāmīd ibn Mustafā ibn Makkī ibn Bādīs (1889-1940), al-'Aqā'id al-Islāmiyyah min al-Āyat al-Qur'āniyyah wa al-Aḥādīth al-Nabawiyyah (Aljazā'ir: Dār al-Kitāb al-Jazā'irī, 1970); Muhammad Zāhid al-Kawthārī (1879-1952), Tabdīd al-Zalam al-Mukhīm min Nūniyyat Ibn al-Qayyīm (Refutation of Ibn al-Qayyīm), al-Istibsār fī al-Taḥadduth 'an al-Jabr wa al-Ikhtiyār (The Obtainment of Insight Concerning Determinism and Freedom of Choice), Magalāt al-Kawthārī (A Collection of the articles of al-Kawthari); Ismāʿīl R. al-Farūqī (1921-1986), Al-Tawhīd: Its Implications for Thought and Life (Virginia: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1992); Shaykh al-Sayyīd Sabiq al-Tihāmī (1915-2000), al-'Aqā'id al-Islāmiyyah (Beirūt: Dār al-Fikr, 1992); 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan Habannakah al-Maydānī (1927-2004), Al-'Aqīdah al-Islāmiyyah wa Usūsu-hā (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 2000); 'Irfān 'Abd al-Hāmīd Fattah (1933-2007), Dirāsah fī al-Firāg wa al-'Aqā'id al-Islāmiyyah ('Ammān: Dār al-Bashīr, 1984), Dirāsat fī al-Fikr al-'Arabī al-Islāmī: Abhath fī 'ilm al-Kalām wa al-Tasawwuf wa al-Īstishrāq wa al-Harakāt al-Haddāmah (Beirūt: Dār al-Jīl, 1991); Al-Shaykh Hasan Ayyūb al-Azhārī (d. 1429/2008), Tabsīţ al-'Aqā'id al-Islāmiyyah (al-Kuwayt: Dār al-Buḥuth al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1979); Muhammad Saʿīd Ramadān al-Boūtī (1929-2013), Kubrā al-Yaqīniyyāt al-Kawniyyah: Wujūd al-Khāliq wa Wazīfāt al-Makhlūq (The Greatest Universal Sureties: The Creator's Existence and the Creature's Function); Shaykh Yūsuf al-Qaradāwī (born 1926-), al-Imān wa al-Hayah (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1990), al-Imān bi

al-Qadar (Beirūt: Mu'assasah al-Risālah Nashirūn, 2001); Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas (born 1931-), *Prolegomena to the Metaphysics of Islam: An Exposition of the Fundamental Elements of the Worldview of Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1995); Saʿīd Fawdah (born 1967-), *Taḥdhib Sharḥ al-Sanūsīyyah: Umm al-Barāhin — al-ʿAqīdah al-Ṣughrā*, 3rd ed. (ʿAmmān: Dār al-Nūr, 2016); Saʿīd Foudah, Shaykh, *A Refined Explanation of the Sanūsī Creed: The Foundational Proofs*, trans. into English by Suraqah Abdul Aziz (Rotterdam: Sunni Publications, 2013).

The School of Ḥanafī-Ṭaḥāwī al-Māturidīyyah

The Initiator Era of Ḥanāfī-Ṭaḥāwī: Imām Abū Ḥanīfah (c. 699-767), al-Fiqh al-Akbar I, al-Fiqh al-Akbar II, & al-Wasāyā; Studies include A. J. Wensinck, The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development (London: Routledge, 2008 [Cambridge: The University Press, 1932]); Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭaḥāwī (853-933), al-ʿAqīdah al-Ṭaḥāwiyyah or ʿAqāʾid al-Ṭaḥāwī; Commentaries, Studies and translations include Ibn Abī al-ʿIzz al-Ḥanāfī, Sharḥ al-ʿAqīdah al-Ṭaḥāwiyyah (Cairo: Dār Ibn al-Jawzī, 2014); Ibn Abū Izzi al-Ḥanāfī, Syarah Aqidah Tahawiah, 2 vols., trans. into Malay Hasnan bin Kasan (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Kemajuan Islam Malaysia); W. Montgomery Watt, Islamic Creeds: A Selection (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994).

The Exponent: al-Imām Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (850-944), *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, ed. Fatḥ Allah Khulayf (Alexandria: Dār al-Jamīʿat al-Misriyyah, n.d.); trans. *Book of Monotheism: A Manual of Sunni Theology, Kitaab at-Tawheed God and the Universe*, Translation & Commentary By Sulaiman Ahmed (Maturidi Publication); Studies include Mustafa Ceric, *Roots of Synthetic Theology in Islam: A Study of the Theology of Abu Mansur al-Maturidi (d. 333/944)* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization (ISTAC), 1995), and so on.

Post-Māturīdī Era: Abu al-Yusr al-Bazdawī (1030-1099), *Kitāb Uṣūl al-Dīn*; Abī al-Muʿīn al-Nasafī (c. 1027/1046-1114), *Tabṣirat al-Adillah fī Uṣūl al-Dīn*; al-Tamḥīd fī Usūl al-Dīn; Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Nasafī (1067-1142), al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafīyyah; Sadr al-Shārīʿa al-Aṣghār or Sadr al-Shārīʿa al-Thānī (d. 747/1346), *Taʿdīl al-ʿUlūm*; Saʿd al-Dīn Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Taftazānī (1322-1390), *Sharḥ ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafī*; al-Sharif al-Jurjānī or ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī (1339-1414), *al-Taʿrīfāt* (Definitions), *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif fī ʿIlm al-Kalām*; Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī (1360-1453), *ʿUmdat al-Qārī*; Ahmad al-Farūqī Sirhindī (1564-1624); Khayr al-Dīn al-Ramlī (1585-1671), *al-Fatāwā al-Khayriyyah*; Shah Walī Allah al-

Dihlāwī (1704-1761), Hujjat al-Allah al-Bālighah; Imām Savvid Murtadā al-Husaynī al-Zabīdī (1732-1790), Ithaf al-Sādah al-Muttaqīn, 'Iqd al-Juman fī bayān Shu 'ab al-Īmān; Muhammad Qāsīm Nanautavi (1832-1880), Tasfiyah al-'Aaā'id (Urdu), Hadīth al-'Ima (Persian); Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (1822-1895), The Sunnī Path, 23rd ed. Hakikat Kitabevi Publications No: 7 (Istanbul: Hakikat Kitabevi, 2016); Allāmah Muḥammad Anwār Shah Kashmirī (1875-1933), Al-Darb al-Khātim 'alā Hudūth al-'Alam (Final Verdict on the Creation of the Universe) (Karachi: Majlis-i-'Ilmi, 1962), 'Aqīdat al-Islām fī Hayāt 'Isā (Karachi, 1961); Muhammad Ashraf 'Alī Thanāwī (1863-1943), Bihishti Zewar: Mudallal o Mukammal Bihishti Zewar ma' Bihishti Gauhar (Karachi: Altaf and Sons, 2001); Mustafā Sabri Efendi (1869-1954), Mawaif al-'Aql wa al-'Ilm wa al-'Alīm min Rabb al-'Ālamīn wa-'Ibādihī al-Mursalīn; Muhammad Abū Zahrā (1898-1974), Tārīkh al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyyah (History of the Islamic Schools); Muhammad Zakarīyyā al-Kandhlawi (1898-1982), Sharī'ah and Tarīqāt: Inseparable and Indivisible. Translated by Asim Ahmad from Sharī at wa Tarīgāt ka Talazum (1977); Wahbah al-Zuhaylī (1932-2015), Asl Mugāranat al-Advān (The Foundations of Comparative Religions); and Muhammad Taqī 'Usmānī (born 1943), Maqālāt al- 'Uthmānī (2014).

Conclusion

It is worth highlighting criticism of rationalist trends in kalām and of Ash arism by Ibn Taymiyah (d. 728/1328) who was considered as the greatest Hanbalis after Ibn Hanbal himself. This is because, as pointed

¹ Under Ibn Hanbal-Ibn Taymiyyah or "Al-Athāriyyah" (the traditionalist theology) includes Ahmad ibn Hanbal (164-241/780-855), Al-Radd 'alā al-Jahmiyyah wa-al-Zanādigah ma'a Mugaddimah fī 'Ilm al-Kalām wa al-Madhāhib al-Haddāmah; Abū al-Wafā' 'Alī ibn 'Āqil ibn Ahmad al-Baghdādī known as Ibn 'Āqil (1040-1119), Kitāb alfunūn ("Book of Sciences"); Ibn al-Jawzī (ca. 1116-1201), Talbis Iblīs; Ibn Taymiyyah (661-728/1263-1328), Minhai al-Sunnah al-Nabawiyyah, al-'Aaīdah al-Wasitiyyah, Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ, Dār` Taʿāruḍ al-ʿAql wa al-Naql, al-'Aqīdah al-Hamawiyyah, al-Asma' wa al-Sifāt, Kitāb al-Imān, al-Sarīm al-Maslūl 'alā Shatim al-Rasūl etc.; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (691-751/1292-1350), I'lām al-Muwāqqi in 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn; Ibn Abī al-'Izz (d. 1390), Sharh al-'Aqīdah al-Ţaḥāwiyyah; Muḥammad Ibn al-Wahhāb (1703-1792), Kitāb al-Tawhīd; Usuman dan-Fodio (1754-1817) in Africa; Modern Salafis includes apolitical and conservatives scholars like 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Baaz (1910-1999), Muḥammad Naşiruddīn al-Albānī (1914-1999), Muḥammad ibn 'Uthaymeem (1925-2001), Rabee Ibn Haadee 'Umayr al-Madkhalī (born 1931), Abdul-Azeez ibn Abdullah Al al-Shaikh (born 1943), Dr. Muhammad Na'im Yasin (born 1943), Dr. Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips (born 1946), Safar bin Abdul-Rahman al-Hawali al-Ghamdi (born 1950), Salman bin Fahd bin Abdullah al-Ouda (born 1955 or 1956) and others, see further Binyamin Abrahamov,

by George Makdisi, "Ibn Taymiyah's influence has reached modern times. His teachings, first followed by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1792), became the basis of the Wahhabī movement in the nineteenth century and the guiding principles of the Wahhabī state of Saudi Arabia. Again, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, through Muḥammad 'Abduh and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, they influenced the modernist Salafiyah movement."

Ibn Taymiyyah's theological position is based on the development of old Islamic idea of the absolute dissimilarity of God and man. Thus Ibn Taymiyyah is of the opinion that "it is impossible to attain knowledge of God by rational methods, whether those of philosophy or of kalām."2 For him, the Muslim community must accept without question the authority of the text, i.e. the Ouran and the Sunnah as a means of acquiring religious and theological knowledge. Ibn Taymiyyah argues for the stand that the Muslim community must observe fully the sources of the Sharī'ah, and that they should reject foreign elements that altered the course of theological thought in Islam. It has been pointed out that Ibn Taymiyyah attacked logic which "he deemed the sole agent leading to the philosophical doctrines of the eternity of the world, the nature and attributes of God, the hierarchy and mediatory role of the Intelligences, prophethood, the creation of the Quran, etc." For Ibn Taymiyyah, all these teachings "stood in stark contrast to what he perceived to the Sunni Weltanschauung that was dictated by the letter of the Quran and the Sunna of the Prophet."³

Ibn Taymiyyah's critique of *kalām* is an important discussion of epistemology in Islam. It is likely that Ibn Taymiyyah is trying to restrain the current trend of treating the principle of theology philosophically defeating its religious spirit, that is to say an engagement in it is for the purpose of service (*'ibādah*). Such a philosophical and rational trend earlier criticized by al-Ghazālī (450-505) himself in the

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[&]quot;Scripturalist and Traditionalist Theology," in Sabine Schmidtke (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); see also art. "Traditionalist theology (Islam)," accessed on 5/12/2020,

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Traditionalist_theology_(Islam)

¹ George Makdisi, "Ibn Taymiyah," (2003), accessed on 23/8/2011, http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/it/itya.htm

² W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1987), p. 144.

³ See Wael B. Hallaq, *Ibn Taymiyya Against the Greek Logicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), xii; on a more recent studies see Mohamad Kamil Hj Ab Majid, *Pemikiran Kontroversi Imam Ibnu Taymiyyah* (Batu Caves: PTS Publishing House, 2020)

Mungidh min al-Dalāl. Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) in his Mugaddimah (Introduction) also highlights this trend when he categorized the development of kalām into early and new kalām, which is philosophical in nature. He names al-Ghazālī as the first scholar to write kalām in accordance of with this new theological approach and followed by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi (1150-1210). The subjects of two disciplines of kalām and philosophy are mixed together in this approach. Ibn Khaldūn points out the usefulness of this approach and Muslim scholars should not be ignorant of speculative argumentation in defense of the Sunni faith.¹

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¹ Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, Trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 52-55.

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