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Ibn Khaldūn's Concept of Science of Crafts (*'Ilm al-ṣanā'i'*) and the Discourse of the Integration of Knowledge

Wan Mohd Azam Mohd Amin*

Abstract

This paper examines the concept of science of crafts of Ibn Khaldūn (806/1406) and its relation to the discourse of the integration of knowledge of the classical Muslim scholars. In-depth analysis on his works, studies have found that Ibn Khaldūn divides human knowledge (*'ilm al-bashar*) into *'ulūm al-naqlī al-waḍ'iyyah* or *'ulūm al-shar'iyyah* and *'ulūm al-hikmiyyah al-falsafiyyah*, both of which are the acquisition (*muktasib*) of man's perception (*idrāk*) in the soul. Ibn Khaldūn's sciences of craft seem to be the manifestation of integration between revealed knowledge and intellectual knowledge that take place in the soul. This also goes in line with the concept of ethics of al-Ghazālī who emphasizes the purification of soul so as to manifest noble habits. Furthermore, it also falls under the category of permissible (*al-mubāḥ*) sciences of al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) classification of knowledge. Moreover, unlike al-Ghazālī who discusses ethics of the other-world (*al-ākhirah*) only, Ibn Khaldūn goes a step further by developing the sciences of craft as the scientific ethics of this world under his concept of civilization (*'umrān*).

Keywords: Ibn Khaldūn, Science of Crafts, classification of knowledge, integration of knowledge, Islamic Epistemology.

Introduction

One of the outstanding scholars of Muslim world whose concept of civilization (*'umrān*) is linked with the theory of knowledge is Abū Zayd 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406). As a matter of fact, his concept of civilization which consists of three stages, *badawī*, *ḥaḍarī* and *tamaddun*, is a development process of the human soul (*naḥs al-insān*) to acquire knowledge (*al-ma'rifah*).¹ In his epistemology, he employs many terminologies that deal with knowledge such as sciences of the

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¹ Mahayudin Haji Yahaya, *Teori 'Umran Ibn Khaldun*, Bandar Seri Begawan: Pusat Dakwah Islamiah, 2014, pp. 167-188. See also Majid Fakhry, *Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism*, Oxford: One World, 2000, pp. 107-112.

angels ('*ulūm al-malā'ikah*), sciences of the prophets ('*ulūm al-anbiyā'*), human knowledge ('*ulūm al-bashar*), traditional transmitted sciences (*al-'ulūm al-naqliyyah al-waḍ'iyyah*), philosophical sciences (*al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah al-falsafiyyah*), narrated religious science ('*ilm al-shar'ī*), acquired knowledge ('*ilm al-kasbī*), gifted knowledge (*al-'ulūm al-laduniyyah*) and others.

The salient feature of Ibn Khaldūn classification of knowledge is that he developed a new scheme, the science of crafts ('*ilm al-ṣanā'i*') or scientific habit. It is a manifestation of the acquired knowledge attained by man's soul in building this world ('*umrān*').¹ In order to have a better understanding of Ibn Khaldūn's concept of science of crafts, it is vital to discuss his concept of knowledge and its relationship to the concept of soul.

Ibn Khaldūn's Concept of Knowledge and Soul.

Considerable research has been done by scholars on Ibn Khaldūn's classification of knowledge.² Generally, he classifies knowledge into two main categories: sciences of the angels ('*ulūm al-malā'ikah*) and sciences of the prophet ('*ulūm al-anbiyā'*) on one side, and human knowledge ('*ulūm al-bashar*') on the other. Although the prophets are human, the method they acquire knowledge is not the same as an ordinary human, as the nature of their souls could ascend to the same level or even higher than the angels at any time. This is because they were created (*muftūrūn*) by God in such a way that they are able to change their nature from human to that of angels (*isti'dād li al-insilākh min al-bashariyyah ilā al-malā'ikah*) and vice-versa.³ The nature of the angels is that their "essences are free from corporeality and matter, and they are of pure intellect in which the intellect, thinker, and the object of thinking are one."⁴ Furthermore, the prophets who are chosen (*iṣṭafā*) by God are able to change the nature of their soul into human's at any time they like so as to convey their knowledge of revelation (*al-wahy*) to the ordinary people.

¹ Suhaila Abdullah, "Ibn Khaldun's Discourse on the Importance of Knowledge and Ethics in Youth Human Capital Development", *Journal of Human Development and Communication*, Volume 3, 2014, pp. 59-77.

² Beside F. Rosenthal, to mention a few for examples Mohammad Abdullah Enan, *Ibn Khaldun: His Life and Works*, Petaling Jaya: The Other Press, 2007; Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldūn*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2003; Syed Farid Alatas, *Ibn Khaldun: Biografi Intelektual dan Pemikiran Sang Pelopor Sosiologi*, Bandung: Penerbitan Mizan, 2017.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, Abd al-Rahmān, *Muqaddimah*, Beirut, Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah, 1996. p. 441.

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 441.

An ordinary man, according to Ibn Khaldūn, acquires knowledge through perception (*idrāk*) which is “the consciousness of the perceiver (*shu'ūr al-mudrik*) in the essence of perceptions that are outside of their essence” (*ḥuṣūl al-ṣūrah al-ma'lūm fī dhawātihim*).¹ Like previous philosophers, he believes that the intellect (*al-'aql*) which is part of the human soul (*nafs al-insān*), does the process of thinking and plays an important role in knowledge acquisition. Perception which stimulates the thinking process, is of two kinds; the first being the perception of sciences and knowledge (*idrāk li al-'ulūm wa al-ma'rifah*) that falls under the category of certainty, hypothetical, doubtful and imaginary (*al-yaqīn wa al-ẓann wa al-shakk wa al-wahm*).² The soul will perceive (*idrāk*) the form of things through the power of intellect using the medium of external senses (*iḥsās*) equipped in human being.

The second is the perception of ecstatic experience (*idrāk li 'l-aḥwāl*) that comes from joy and grief, anxiety and relaxation, satisfaction, anger, patience, gratefulness, and others (*al-farj wa al-īẓn wa al-qabḍ wa al-bast wa al-riḍā wa al-ghaḍab wa al-ṣabr wa al-shukr*). The Sufi acquires knowledge through this kind of perception that comes from ‘states’ (*aḥwāl*) persisting in himself, which later turn into habitual station (*maqām*). The states (*aḥwāl*) and stations (*maqāmāt*) of the Sufi are the outcome of their struggle (*mujāhadah*), self-discipline (*riyāḍat al-nafs*) and effort to draw closer to God (*taqarrub ilā Allāh*).³ Therefore, according to Ibn Khaldūn all human knowledge is acquired (*fā huwā kulluhu muktasab*) as they come from perception.⁴ Consequently, he defines knowledge as ‘the attainment of pictures of the things that have not been attained’. Based on the two types of perception, man starts to acquire knowledge throughout his life. Furthermore, Ibn Khaldūn further classifies the acquired knowledge into two categories; the transmitted traditional sciences (*al-'ulūm al-naqliyyah al-waḍ'iyyah*) or narrated religious sciences (*al-'ulūm al-shar'iyyah*) and the philosophical sciences (*al-'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah al-falsafīyyah*).

The Transmitted Traditional Sciences

The transmitted traditional sciences or narrated religious sciences stem from two sources of the revelation; the Qur'ān and the Sunnah and can be acquired through the Prophet who learnt from the One who invented

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 440.

² Ibn Khaldūn, p. 450.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 450.

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 440.

them. Nothing much can be done by human intellect (*wa lā majāl fī hā li 'l-'aql*) in this type of science except to understand, relate and apply the principles and guidelines transpired in the revelation on daily activities. This is because this science serves as principles and guidelines for human beings in solving their problems in this world.

Nevertheless, although human reason is less superior in this regard, Ibn Khaldūn opines that the real contribution of '*aql*' is to derive general principles and guidelines from the source and then apply and relate them to the problems of daily activities. Moreover, it also functions to systematize the sciences that are derived from the source. This process of derivation and systematization is called analogical reasoning (*qiyās*). Consequently, Ibn Khaldūn is of the opinion that there are four divisions of the transmitted traditional sciences; 1) Sciences of the Qur'ān and Sunnah ('*ulūm al-Qur'ān wa al-sunnah*'), 2) Islamic Jurisprudence 3) Speculative Theology ('*Ilm al-kalām*'), and 4) Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).

The first division is the Sciences of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah ('*Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa al-Sunnah*') in which there are many fields. Directly related to this division is Qur'anic orthography (*fann al-rasm*) which covers the usage of Qur'anic letters (*awdā' hurūf al-Qur'ān*) and its calligraphic styles (*rusūmu-hu al-khaṭṭiyyah*). One of the fields of this division is the Sciences of Qur'anic interpretation ('*ulūm al-tafsīr*') from which stems subjects like linguistics sciences (*mawdū'āt al-lughah*), rules of vowel endings (*aḥkām al-i'rāb*) and styles (*balāghah*). It also discusses topics of abrogating and abrogated verses (*al-nāsikh wa al-mansūkh*), the reasons why verses were revealed (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), and linguistic knowledge and stylistic form (*ma'rifah al-lughah wa al-balāghah*).¹

This division also covers the sciences of Qur'anic readings ('*ulūm al-qirā'āt*') in which the differences of backgrounds of the Companions led to the different pronunciations of the reading of the Qur'ān. They transmitted the reading pronunciations to later generations in accordance with their ways that led to the establishment of seven techniques (*al-qirā'āt al-sab'ah*) of reading. The reciters (*qurrā'*) transmitted and taught these techniques to others until they become an independent science of crafts. Another field of great importance of this division is the sciences of *ḥadīth* ('*ulūm al-ḥadīth*') which is concerned with the chains of transmitters (*asānid*), the transmitters (*al-ruwāt*) and their names (*asmā'*), ranks (*ṭabaqāt*), and the way the transmissions take place and the technical terminologies (*iṭlāḥāt*). Some of the subjects of this field is

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 407-411.

the science of disparaging and authenticating (*‘ilm al-jarḥ wa al-ta’dīl*) in which scrutinizing and criticisms of the text (*matn*) and chain of transmitters will be done. Thus, it led to the classification of *ḥadīth* into categories of *mutawātir* or large number of narrators for every generation to which lying is impossible, and *aḥād*, the number of narrators is smaller compared to the former.¹

The second division is about Islamic jurisprudence from which stems three fields namely Jurisprudence (*fiqh*), laws of inheritance (*farā’id*) and principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*). Jurisprudence is the classification of laws of God into obligatory (*wujūb*), forbidden (*ḥaẓr*), recommendable (*nadb*), disliked (*karāḥah*) or permissible (*ibāḥah*), which covers all aspects of actions of a responsible Muslim. The laws of inheritance is the science of estate division upon the owner’s death which is prescribed in the Qur’ān and the Sunnah. Besides, the science of the principles of Jurisprudence is concerned with the methodology of deriving the laws and legal obligations of the Muslims from the Sources.²

The third division of narrated sciences is the science of speculative theology (*‘Ilm al-kalām*). It is concerned with defending the unity of God (*tawḥīd*) and other articles of faith based on logical arguments, and refutation against the innovators such as the Mu‘tazilites whose belief is deviated from the way of the pious predecessors and the Muslim traditionalists (*al-salaf wa ahl al-sunnah*) as they denied the attributes of God. The fourth division is Sufism which also covers the science of dream interpretations (*‘Ilm ta’bīr al-ru’yā*). It is concerned with spiritual exertion in the worship (*‘ibādah*) towards God in which self-mortification (*mujāḥadat al-naḥs*) and self-discipline (*riyāḍat al-naḥs*) are emphasized so as to attain the experience i.e ‘state’ (*ḥāl*) that becomes habitual ‘station’ (*maqām*) and lead to knowledge of unveiling (*kashf*). The science of dream interpretation (*‘ilm ta’bīr al-ru’yā*) emphasizes perception through dream as evident from the story of prophet Yūsuf and some of the traditions of the Prophet. Therefore, it falls under the ambit of revealed or narrated sciences (*‘ulūm al-shar‘ī*). Like *kashf*, this science is also prone to falsehood as there are two types of dreams, true (*al-ru’yā al-ṣāliḥah*) and false dream (*adghāth al-aḥlām al-kādhībah*). The true dream is the outcome of “an awareness of the rational soul in its spiritual essence of glimpses of the forms of events”,

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 411-416.

² Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 416-426.

and the false dream is the pictures derived from the memory preserved in the faculty of imagination.

The Intellectual Sciences

The second group of acquired knowledge of Ibn Khaldūn's classification is the intellectual sciences (*ʿulūm al-ḥikmiyyah al-falsafīyyah*).¹ It consists of many fields of science and skill or craft. The intellectual sciences that are derived from man's ability of thinking are of four divisions; 1) Logic (*ʿIlm al-manṭiq*) 2) Physics (*ʿIlm al-ṭabīʿi*) 3) Metaphysics (*al-ilāhīyyāt*) 4) The study of quantities (measurement) or Mathematical sciences (*al-taʿālīm* or *ʿilm al-ʿadad*) from which emanates other sciences such as Arithmetic, Geometry, Music and Astronomy. The three divisions and four subdivisions of mathematical sciences constitute seven principles of the intellectual sciences.

The first in the hierarchy of Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual sciences is the subject of Logics whose aims are to protect the mind from error by employing correct methodology of reasoning, and to distinguish the true from the false.² The second is the mathematical sciences in which the numbers are used systematically to distinguish between the truths and false. It consists of Arithmetic, Geometry (*al-handasah*), Music (*al-mūsīqī*) and Astronomy (*al-hayʿah*).³ The astronomy which employs some of the geometrical methods and astronomical observation is a field that discusses the existence, location and movement of fix stars and planets. It will manifest the craft of astronomical tables that are based on calculation in accordance with the mathematical rules. Presumably, Ibn Khaldūn puts mathematical sciences in the second up to the fifth of the list due to their common nature with Logic. The only difference is that the subject of Logic employs sentences and Mathematics uses numbers so as to achieve the same goal. The sixth is Physics and the last one is Metaphysics. According to Ibn Khaldūn, each of these sciences has subdivisions.

The division of Physics discusses motion (*ḥarakah*) and rest (*sukūt*) of the bodies in this universe such as the heavenly bodies, man, animal, plant, minerals and others. It also discusses the concept of soul which is of many types such as the human soul, vegetative and animal souls. The division of Physics will manifest the craft of medicine (*al-ṭibb*) which investigates the system and well-being of human body. The physician (*al-ṭabīb*) looks after

¹ Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldūn*, pp.76-98; Mohd Fakhrudin Abdul Mukti, "Philosophical Ideas in Islam: The Attitude of Ibn Khaldūn", *Afkār*, Edisi Khas (2014), pp. 67-96.

² Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 462-463.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 463.

the health of the people and treats diseases by using remedies derived from their observation and symptoms. Another craft of the division of Physics is the Agriculture (*al-falāḥah*) that is concerned with the skill of cultivation and growth of plants through irrigation, proper treatment, the conditions of soil, the proper seasons and so on.

The last division of intellectual science is metaphysics (*‘ilm al-ilāhiyyāt*) in which the discussion on the ultimate existence (*al-wujūd al-muṭlaq*) becomes one of its topics. General matters like body and spirit, the quiddities (*‘araḍ*) and essences (*dhāt*), oneness and multiplicity are discussed together. The discussion also touches on the nature of the spiritual world in its relation to this corporeal world. The metaphysician also discusses the nature of the soul and its state after its separation with the body. In the hands of al-Ghazālī, the science of metaphysics is integrated into Islamic speculative theology (*‘ilm al-kalām*) with a very systematic approach.

The sciences of sorcery and talismans (*‘ulūm al-sihr wa al-ṭalismāt*) seem to be a subdivision of metaphysic in Ibn Khaldūn’s hierarchy of sciences as he explains it after the discussion of metaphysics. Ibn Khaldūn opines that certain men’s soul have the ability to exert effects on the physical elements in this world. Islam prohibits Muslims to learn and practice this science as it is harmful to others. Although Islam prohibits and does not acknowledge this science, Ibn Khaldūn observes that there exist sub-culture practices among the Muslims.

The science of secret of letters (*‘ilm asrār al-ḥurūf*) or *al-sīmiyā* which means ‘magic letters’ follows the science of sorcery and talismans in the hierarchy of sciences of Ibn Khaldūn. It is concerned with the secrets hidden in letters which correspond to nature. This science and its branches are practiced and transferred by the talismans to some extreme Sufi groups to produce wonders (*al-khawāriq*) such as to know the future happening. (Ibn Khaldūn: 488-490). Ibn Khaldūn further discusses the science of alchemy (*al-kīmiyā*) which is concerned with all substances in this world that includes the activity of alchemists to produce gold and silver artificially. Although it is not quite clear in Ibn Khaldūn’s explanation, studies have found that this science is part of the metaphysics division as he connects it with the science of sorcery and talismans.¹

The science of craft (*‘ilm al-ṣanī‘ah*)

Since human knowledge is acquired through the perception of the soul, both classifications of Ibn Khaldūn about narrated traditional sciences

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 506-513.

and intellectual sciences can be turned into craft.¹ According to Ibn Khaldūn, the rational soul (*al-naḥs al-nāṭiqah*) which exists in man can potentially be transformed into actuality by new sciences and perceptions that are derived from *sensibilia* (*al-maḥsūsāt*) and speculative power (*al-quwwah al-naẓariyyah*). The perception of man (*shu'ūr al-mudrik*) leads him to the thinking activities inside the brain to acquire knowledge which is the understanding about the things that are outside of his essence. Once man has understood and decided to interact with the outside things, he needs to familiarize himself with certain rules and regulations. After a certain period of time, it becomes habit which is part of the quality of one's soul or the craft (*al-ṣanī'ah*). Therefore, another important aspect of Ibn Khaldūn's epistemology is the concept of crafts or '*al-ṣanā'i*', which plays a significant role in the theory of '*umrān* (civilization).

Craft is a habit (*malakah*) that manifests from knowledge, science and thoughts perceived by the soul, which later, through repeated practices become its quality. Ibn Khaldūn observes: "A habit (*malakah*) is a firmly rooted quality acquired by doing a certain action and repeating it time after time, until the form of (that action) is firmly fixed."² Since craft is tangible, corporeal, and perceptible (*jismānīy maḥsūs*), it concerns transforming one's ideas into action that can be practiced continuously in this world.

He equates craft with habit (*malakah*) of some thoughts and practices based on knowledge and science perceived by the soul. Habit, which is a quality of the soul, can be acquired through repeated practices that come through knowledge and science.³ In other words, knowledge which is the perception of the soul can be turned into craft or habit through direct practices repeatedly. Once science is turned into craft, it can be taught to others. Furthermore, teaching itself is a craft as it can be learnt and studied from a teacher.

The craft which is a scientific habit actually helps the rational soul to expedite the process of transforming the potentiality into actuality as it is connected to *sensibilia*. Furthermore, it can also lead to a new obtainment of new scientific norms resulting from habit. Thus, the additional qualities will be added to the rational soul. It can be assumed that Ibn Khaldūn continues to work on the theoretical framework of the soul developed by his

¹ Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldūn*, pp. 25-32.

² Ibn Khaldūn, p. 371.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 402.

predecessors especially al-Ghazālī who emphasizes the importance of purification of soul so as to equip it with noble characters free from bad ones. Ibn Khaldūn, presumably may have suggested the scheme of science of craft after one's soul has been purified and equipped with noble characters (*akhlāq al-karīmah*) and free from blameworthy qualities (*akhlāq al-madhmūmah*).

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the habits are corporeal (*jismāniyyah*) in nature, as they belong to the category of *sensibilia* (*al-maḥsūsāt*). Thus, all sciences that can be turned into direct practices can also be turned into craft. This definition is in line with definitions of *al-akhlāq* made by many Muslim scholars like al-Ghazālī and others who equate it with habit. *Akhlāq* or habit is a “stable state of soul from which the action without thought and deliberation manifest”.¹ The only difference is the craft refers to the specific action and scientific habit dealing with this world whereas the *akhlāq* is general quality of the soul which does not necessarily deal with this world.

The craft or skill can be transferred from one to another through the method of teaching. Besides acquiring information, it also involves the method of personal observation in which all senses are utilized. The teacher would instruct a student to practice a certain skill until the latter acquires the quality that corresponds to the former. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the crafts are natural in man's life and his status is neutral in nature. It is man's intention and the way to perform it that will determine the value of his skills. In other words, the science of craft is a habit or familiarization with the systems or products that man achieved in discovering this universe.

There are simple and composite crafts that correspond to the levels of life. Simple crafts are normally acquired by man through the necessities especially in the simple life (*al-badāwah*). The composite crafts are acquired by man in the luxuries of sedentary life especially in cities of great civilization (*al-ḥaḍārah*, *al-tamaddun*). In teaching the craft, it should be started with the simple ones. The first to exist was the necessary crafts like agriculture, architecture, tailoring, carpentry, and weaving due to the necessities of man to have staple food, shelter, and clothes. From a simple shelter like residing in caves and tents and hunting for food like the nomadic people man builds houses and grows crops for foods based on his skills and mastery of architecture, carpentry and agriculture. Man further develops these crafts into composite ones in the sedentary life in towns and cities in which there are many types of

¹ Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-dīn*, Beirut, dār al-ma‘rifah. 1982.3:46-47.

houses and buildings. All these crafts are necessary in building a civilization (*'umrān*).

There are also necessary noble crafts such as midwifery, the art of writing, book production, singing, and medicine. The craft of midwifery and medicine are concerned with the health of new-born babies, their mothers and the entire population as they will ensure the survival of a civilization. The same goes to the art of writing that is also related to calligraphy and book production, whose purpose is to ensure that the history of one's civilization will be recorded and kept safely in the archive. Consequently, one of the main outcomes of the craft of writing that comes to surface is the craft that is related to *ḥadīth* transmission in that one knows how to determine the acceptable ones. According to Ibn Khaldūn, although the art of writing is the most useful craft, during his time, it has been cut off in Maghreb (Morocco) and Egypt due to the destruction of their civilizations.¹ Many writings were incomprehensible as they were recorded by Berber students who committed so many corruptions and clerical errors in the process of documentation. As a result, there was disunity in the field of Islamic jurisprudence as the followers of certain school blindly followed certain views without having access the authentic sources.²

Another important craft that flourished during Ibn Khaldūn's time is the art of singing that is "the setting of poems into musics".³ This is so because singing and music produce pleasure to mankind. He opines that pleasure is the attainment of something agreeable to one's sensual perception (*idrāk al-mulā'im wa al-mahsūs*).⁴ There were many musical instruments such as wood-wind instrument (*al-mizmār*) and string instruments (*al-awtār*) which will produce harmonious sounds if they were played systematically. The same goes to the Qur'anic readers who can modulate their voices systematically in that their recitations exert an impact on the audience's emotion. However, there was disagreement among the schools of jurisprudence on the legality of applying melodies on Qur'anic recitation.⁵

Generally, with regard to the acquired knowledge, it can be assumed that Ibn Khaldūn is in full accord with al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/820) and al-

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 399.

² Ibn Khaldūn, p. 387.

³ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 394.

⁴ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 395.

⁵ Ibn Khaldūn, p. 396.

Ghazālī. He also agrees on the roles played by reason (*‘aql*) in dealing with revelation and on this universe. He however discusses the concept of craft (*al-ṣanī‘ah*) in greater detail. Probably he has witnessed their roles during the peak of Islamic civilization and the birth of western civilization. This discussion is absent in al-Shāfi‘ī’s who lived in the early period of Islamic civilization. Al-Ghazālī does not also discuss the concept of craft in his writings. He nevertheless, gives special emphasis on the importance of the concept of ethics (*akhlāq*) in general, which to some extent is the concept of habit discussed in greater detail by Ibn Khaldūn almost 300 years after the former’s death.

The sciences of crafts are different from memorized knowledge and the spiritual ethics of al-Ghazālī as they combine man’s understanding and creativity to deal with the ‘product’ of this world. Unlike al-Ghazālī’s ethics which deals with the hereafter and how to achieve felicity in it, Ibn Khaldūn’s scientific ethics deal with this world and how to achieve it. Although both theories emphasize the stable state of human soul as the central point of discussion, the science of craft aims at building this world (*‘umrān*) in accordance with Islamic principles and guidelines.

The Integration of Knowledge.

The word integration connotes the idea of blending or uniting one thing with something else so as to work as a functional unit. The concept of revelation in Islam which comprises the Qur’ān and Sunnah of the Prophet is the best example of the concept of integration of knowledge to the Muslim *ummah*, as al-Shāfi‘ī introduced it as *jimā‘ al-‘ilm* in his *al-Umm*. The integration can be seen in term of the Sunnah as the practical evidence of the doctrines and teachings of the Qur’ān. The interpretation, as made by the prophet, is *al-sunnah* and also falls within the ambit of revelation. These two sources comprise the principles and guidelines for man to achieve felicity in the lives of this world and the hereafter. The elaboration and discussion of those principles and guidelines have been systematised and compiled by man and is called by al-Shāfi‘ī as religious knowledge.

Al-Shāfi‘ī classified the acquired knowledge into *‘ilm al-dīn* (religious knowledge) and *‘ilm al-dunyā* (worldly knowledge). He further classified the religious knowledge into common knowledge (*‘ilm al-‘āmm*) and specialist knowledge (*‘ilm al-khāṣ*).¹ Common knowledge is that which every sane, mature, adult Muslim knows and of which

¹ Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Jimā‘ al-‘Ilm*, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1985. pp. 12 & 19.

ignorance is impossible. This category which all Muslims must acquire to fulfil their religious obligations as made evident by al-Shāfi'ī's words, *kullifa al-ibād* (individually obligatory), comprises mostly the five articles of Islam (*arkān al-Islām*). As for the specialist knowledge ('*ilm al-khāṣṣ*'), al-Shāfi'ī refers to the details of the common knowledge ('*ilm al-āmmah*') which are subsidiary duties and specific rulings (*furū' al-farā'id*, *khāṣṣ al-aḥkām*) from God to mankind; for example, the detailed laws regarding the five daily prayers, fasting, *zakāt*, pilgrimage and others. Al-Shāfi'ī, claimed that most of these rulings are not textually (*naṣṣan*) mentioned in the two major sources of revelation but are deduced by the practice of religious analogy (*al-qiyyās*).¹ The same goes to worldly knowledge ('*ilm al-dunyā*') although al-Shāfi'ī did not speak much about it. Al-Shāfi'ī is of the opinion that the legal value of acquiring this type of knowledge is a collective obligation (*farḍ fi hi qaṣd al-kifāyah*).

In order to integrate the principles and guidelines from the revelation into worldly activities that include knowledge of this world ('*ilm al-dunyā*'), al-Shāfi'ī developed the methodology of *al-qiyyās*. Al-Shāfi'ī's analogy can be understood as deducing the cause ('*illah*') of the *ḥukm* as found in the Qur'ān and *aḥādīth* (i.e. the *aṣl*), and then applying *ḥukm* to a new case (*al-far'*). This is commonly practiced in the field of *fiqh* since the absence of legal value (*ḥukm*) in both sources demands that man use his faculty of reason. In other words, the scope of al-Shāfi'ī's analogy is narrower as it only treats the *ḥukm* of new cases (*al-far'*) not present in the Qur'ān and *Sunnah*. Al-Shāfi'ī's analogy does not involve the discovery of new formulae as in the pure and applied sciences' search for the laws of nature.

In his attempt to extrapolate legal values (*aḥkām*), al-Shāfi'ī and his followers introduced the mechanism of *qiyyās* which must be based exclusively on the following: a) *takhrīj al-manāṭ* (derivation of the basis for rulings), b) *tanqīḥ al-manāṭ* (refinement of the basis for rulings), and c) *taḥqīq al-manāṭ* (the verification or ascertainment of the basis for rulings). They are also known as *masālik al-illah* (path to the cause).² Furthermore, *al-illah* or *al-manāṭ al-ḥukm* may be defined as a thing to which the Sharī'ah has attributed the ruling or that which anchored (*naṭa*) it or appointed it as a sign for the ruling.³ The main purpose of the *masālik*

¹ Al-Shāfi'ī, *Jimā' al-'Ilm*, p.12.

² A. Hassan, *Analogical reasoning in Islamic Jurisprudence*, Islamabad, Islamic Research Institute.1986. p. 232.

³ Mohd Daud Bakar, "A Note on Qiyās and Ratio Decidendi in Islamic legal theory", *IIUM Law Journal*, vol.4, No.1&2, 1994, p. 73-82.

al-‘illah is to find reasons or principles for each *ḥukm* contained in the Qur’ān and Sunnah. In other words, the *qiyās* of Al-Shāfi‘ī and his followers are confined solely to the legal texts of the Qur’ān and Sunnah; also known as *āyāt wa aḥādīth al-aḥkām* (legal verses and traditions).¹

Al-Ghazālī’s concept of revivification (*iḥyā’*) of sciences can be viewed as an initial process of integration of various sciences of the acquired knowledge so as to be included in the Islamic sciences (*‘ulūm al-dīn*). The process starts with the person involved having undergone the process of purification of soul and understand the science of the heart so as to achieve qualities of god-fearing (*taqwā*), sincerity (*ikhhlās*) and *iḥsān* toward Allah and thus enabling him to integrate the various sciences of the acquired knowledge. Al-Ghazālī² suggests that his science of ethics (*‘ilm al-akhlāq*) would meet the purpose of purifying the soul, by following the sunnah of the Prophet (*ittibā’ al-sunnah*), and aiming at the happiness (*al-sa’ādah*) in this world and the hereafter. He gave many names to his ethical system such as science of the path of hereafter (*‘ilm al-ṭarīqah al-ākhirah*), science of the pious predecessor (*‘ilm al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*) and science of the practical religion (*‘ilm al-mu’āmalah*).

Al-Ghazālī³ who was one of the Shāfi‘ites, developed many terminologies and schemes for the acquired knowledge such as *‘ilm al-ḥuṣūlī* (acquired knowledge), *‘ilm al-mu’āmalah* (science of practical religion), *‘ulūm al-ākhirah* (other-worldly science), *‘ulūm al-dunyā* (worldly science) and others. Interestingly, based on Al-Shāfi‘ī’s framework, al-Ghazālī modified and developed a new scheme of the classification of the acquired knowledge, that is *farḍ ‘ayn* (individual obligation), *farḍ kifāyah* (collective obligation), *mubāḥ* (permissible sciences) and *al-madhmūmah* (blameworthy sciences). As for the sciences which fall under the individual obligation (*farḍ ‘ayn*), he had broadened the scope of common knowledge of Al-Shāfi‘ī’s. Besides the knowledge of the five articles of Islam, al-Ghazālī added the sciences of the heart (*‘ilm al-qulūb*) into the list of common knowledge. Furthermore, he employed a new terminology to this kind of knowledge called *‘ilm farḍ ‘ayn* (individual obligation) which renders the same connotation of *‘ilm al-‘āmm* (common knowledge) of Al-Shāfi‘ī.⁴

¹ Al-Shāfi‘ī, *al-Risālah*, al-Qāhirah, Dār al-‘Aqīdah, 2009, p. 370-377.

² Al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb al-arba‘īn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, tr. Maulana Moosa Kajee, *Al-Ghazali Forty Foundations of Religion*, N.Pl, Tabligh-e-Deen, 2015, pp. 56-62.

³ Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*, 2 vols., al-Qāhirah, Dār al-salām. 2007, pp. 24-26.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 24-26.

The same goes to al-Shāfi'ī's specialist knowledge ('*ilm al-khāṣṣ*') whose legal ruling is the collective obligation (*farḍ fi hi qaṣad al-kifāyah*). Al-Ghazālī further elaborated it by adding sub-divisions; *shar'ī* (revelation-based) and *ghayr al-shar'ī* (intellect-based) sciences. Each sub-division is of two sub-topics; *al-maḥmūdah* (praiseworthy sciences) and *al-madhmmūmah* (blameworthy sciences). Al-Ghazālī shortened the phrase employed by al-Shāfi'ī *farḍ fi hi qaṣad al-kifāyah* to *farḍ kifāyah* (collective obligation) only. Another scheme which was not in al-Shāfi'ī's discourse, developed by al-Ghazālī, was the category of permissible (*mubāḥ*) sciences. In-depth analysis shows that this category covers most of the sciences available during his time including Logics of Greek Philosophy. Most of the sciences studied at that time fall under this category as long as they are sought with right intention and means, and do not contradict the Islamic values.¹

As for sciences that contradict Islamic values such as the divinity of Greek Philosophy, al-Ghazālī tried to purify it by highlighting both the true and false points in them. He raised three main issues of philosophers that differ from others; the first is that they liked to use many terminologies specially to describe the essence of God, and the method of using words and sentences. Secondly, they liked to talk about Geometry, Arithmetic, and Physics, all of which consist of mathematical theories and calculation formulas as they will leave no room for doubt. Thirdly, they talked about metaphysics which covers the aspect of divinity that contradicts religious principles such as the doctrine of eternity of the world, the positive attributes of the Creator, and the denial of resurrection of human body in the hereafter. (al-Ghazālī, 1997).

Al-Ghazālī contended that he has no objection to the first and second because they are very useful to people as they will lead them to certainty in human knowledge. The only problem lies in Greek philosophy and its philosophers on the subject of divinity in which there are certain doctrines which go against Islamic faith. Consequently, using the technique of Syllogism practiced by the philosophers, al-Ghazālī rebutted their arguments in his works. In his concept of *iḥyā'*, al-Ghazālī purified the subject of Greek philosophy that covers Logic and Divinity, and systematised them in defending Islamic faith. After purifying them from Greek divinity, he integrated them with Islamic sciences and changed the legal status of Logic from *mubāḥ* (permissible) to collective obligation (*farḍ*

¹ Al-Ghazālī, *Ayyuhā al-walad*, in *Majmū'ah rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazālī*, 7 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 2006, 3:104.

kifāyah). The change of legal status is due to Logic and Divinity's task of guarding the laymen's faith against the innovations of the philosophers' disputations and erroneous views of theologians.¹

Like al-Shāfi'ī who divided knowledge into religious knowledge (*'ilm al-dīn*) and worldly knowledge, Ibn Khaldūn followed the same classifications; traditional religious knowledge (*'ulūm al-naqliyyah al-waḍ'iyyah*) or narrated religious sciences (*'ulūm al-shar'ī*) and intellectual knowledge (*'ulūm al-ḥikmiyyah al-falsafīyyah*). Unlike al-Shāfi'ī who divided religious knowledge into common knowledge (*'ilm al-āmm*) and specialist knowledge (*'ilm al-khāṣ*), Ibn Khaldūn was silent on this issue. Although Al-Shāfi'ī did not speak much about the worldly sciences (*'ilm al-dunyā*), it can be assumed that they are *'ilm al-khāṣ*. Ibn Khaldūn's sciences of craft seem to go in line with al-Shāfi'ī's category of the specialist knowledge of the worldly category although the latter's treatment on the issue is brief. Like al-Shāfi'ī, in order to integrate both categories of sciences with the principles from revelation, Ibn Khaldūn who was a Malikite has high regard for the methodology of religious analogy (*al-qiyās*), evident in his writing on the topics of *fiqh wa uṣūlih*. He also acknowledged that the task of systematization should be done through the power of reasoning or analogy (*qiyās*). As the science of crafts is the manifestation of one's soul, its legal status will also depend on one's intention and the means of implementation. Although Ibn Khaldūn did not speak of their legal status as they are neutral in nature, it can be assumed that their status fall under the parameters of Islamic jurisprudence.

Unlike al-Ghazālī who regarded the *kashf* of Sufism as part of knowledge of unveiling (*'ilm al-mukāshafah*)² or knowledge by presence (*'ilm al-ḥuḍūrī*) which is beyond the grasp of human reasoning, Ibn Khaldūn believed that it fell under the realm of human perception (*idrāk*) and thus, included it under the acquired knowledge (*'ilm al-kasbī*). This is probably because Ibn Khaldūn, who was a historian and phenomenologist spoke from his observation of the society of his time whereas al-Ghazālī, who was a practicing ṣūfī spoke from his own experience. Al-Shāfi'ī, however did not touch on this matter as he confined his works to jurisprudence.

¹ Al-Ghazālī, *al-Qistās al-mustaqīm*, in R.J McCarthy, *Freedom and Fulfillment*, Boston, Twayne publisher 1980.

² Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, p. 24.

From the discussion, Ibn Khaldūn's classification of intellectual knowledge is similar to that of worldly science (*ʿilm al-dunyā*) of al-Shāfiʿī. It also falls under the non-revealed or intellectual sciences (*ʿulūm ghayr al-sharʿī*), permissible sciences (*ʿulūm al-mubāḥ*) and some of the subjects fall under blameworthy sciences (*ʿulūm al-madhmūmah*) of al-Ghazālī. Like al-Ghazālī who included philosophy and its branches under permissible sciences, Ibn Khaldūn put them under intellectual sciences. Furthermore, Ibn Khaldūn was in full accord with al-Ghazālī on the status of sorcery, magic and the likes which were blameworthy and illegal sciences.

Ibn Khaldūn's sciences of craft are also in line with al-Ghazālī's classification of permissible science which covers most of the sciences during their time except sorcery, talisman and the likes. In the effort of integrating permissible sciences, al-Ghazālī suggests that one's intention and means must be correct and in line with Islamic teachings. Furthermore, if there exist points that contradict Islamic teachings just as in the case of Greek philosophy, they must be purified. It can be assumed that the same applies to Ibn Khaldūn's sciences of craft as some of them were further developed by non-Muslim as in the craft of medicine, music, singing and others. Thus, the role of reasoning and analogy (*qiyās*) in purifying the crafts is of great importance.

Al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn acknowledge the importance of Islamic spiritual life that stimulates human soul in pursuing revealed and intellectual knowledge. The soul, which is made up of many faculties like the heart (*al-qalb*), intellect (*al-aql*) and desire (*al-nafs*) should be purified from sins so as to equip it with noble qualities. This can be attained through spiritual exertion, self discipline and habituation for a period of time. According to al-Ghazālī, once the soul is in a stable state of righteousness, it will manifest noble characters that will lead man to the salvation in the hereafter. Unlike al-Ghazālī who does not discuss the ability of soul beyond this point, Ibn Khaldūn goes a step further by suggesting that this world can also be developed and built (*umrān*) so as to achieve good life in this world. This can be achieved by training the purified soul to familiarize with intellectual knowledge and to interact with this world so that they become habitual. The scientific habit of dealing with this world will eventually become qualities of the soul which is similar to that of al-Ghazālī's concept of noble characters.

Conclusion

It can be assumed that Ibn Khaldūn's science of crafts is the extension and development of al-Shāfi'ī's *'ilm al-khāṣ* (specialist knowledge) and al-Ghazālī's concept of *'ilm farḍ kifāyah* (science of collective obligation) and *'ilm al-mubāḥ* (permissible science). Al-Shāfi'ī integrated the principles and guidelines of revelation through his formula of *al-Qiyās* (religious analogy). Al-Ghazālī further developed al-Shāfi'ī's idea in his theory of *ihyā'* (revivification) in which the emphasis was given to the spiritual, intellectual and moral aspects thereafter. Ibn Khaldūn went a step further by focussing on worldly knowledge and moral aspect, especially the scientific habit, so as to develop and build this world.

Both al-Ghazālī and Ibn Khaldūn emphasized the concept of soul in their theories. Based on the same theoretical framework, they highlighted the qualities of human soul that would lead to a successful life in this world and the hereafter. Both revealed and intellectual knowledge can be integrated by the human soul, which in its stable state would manifest good actions. Unlike al-Ghazālī who gave emphasis on habits which led to the felicity of the otherworld or religious ethics, Ibn Khaldūn stressed the importance of the habit that would develop this world.

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