

155620/5

# Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY  
JAMES HASTINGS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF  
JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.  
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE  
UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN  
AND  
LOUIS H. GRAY, M.A., Ph.D.  
SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

VOLUME V  
DRAVIDIANS—FICHTE

EDINBURGH: T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET  
NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 597 FIFTH AVENUE



spring up. Since that time Jewish educational ideas have gradually widened in all countries where civilization co-exists with religious liberty. In Russia and Roumania and Turkey, those ideas, except where they are leavened by salutary influences from without—by those, for example, of the Anglo-Jewish Association in England and the Alliance Israélite in France—are still antiquated; but elsewhere there is nothing to differentiate Jewish educational aims and methods from those of other religious bodies. Even Palestine, hitherto the home of reactionary tendencies, gives evidence of an educational awakening. Enlightened conceptions of teaching and a liberal curriculum are becoming the order of the day; secondary schools are springing up, and, in Jerusalem, there are to be found an arts and crafts school and a normal school for teachers. In Europe the latest tendency is to entrust the secular teaching of Jewish children to the State or to the municipality, and to restrict voluntary education to instruction in Hebrew and religion and cognate subjects. The Jews, taxed as citizens for the maintenance of general elementary and secondary teaching, deem themselves discharged from the duty of making special provision for the secular instruction of the children of their poor. They are concentrating their efforts in an increased degree upon the provision of religious training. This tendency is especially marked in England, where the first Jewish school was founded in London about the middle of the 17th cent., though nearly a hundred years had to elapse before any attempt was made to add some rudimentary secular teaching to the ordinary elements of Jewish instruction. At the present time there are eight Jewish denominational schools, including the great 'Free School' in Bell Lane, Spitalfields, with its 3000 scholars, in the metropolis. State-aided, they provide secular as well as religious instruction; but, while they are supported with hardly relaxed generosity by the Jewish community, no disposition is manifested to increase their number. The religious education of the many thousands of Jewish children who now attend the public elementary schools is undertaken by the Synagogue, with its religious classes connected with the various places of worship, and, in London, in addition, by the Jewish Religious Education Board, which maintains an organized system of religious teaching at certain County Council schools, mainly in the East End, where Jewish children form the great majority of the scholars.

LITERATURE.—I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; M. Gidemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens der abendländ. Juden*, 4 vols., Vienna, 1873-85; Hamburger, art. 'Erziehung', 'Lehrer', 'Lehrhaus', 'Unterricht', 'Schule', 'Schüler'; J.E., art. 'Education', 'Heder', 'Pedagogics'; JQR ix. [1896-97] 631 ff.; S. Maybaum, *Methodik des jüd. Religionsunterrichts*, Breslau, 1898; J. Picciotto, *Anglo-Jewish History*, London, 1876; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, London, 1898; B. Strassburger, *Gesch. der Erziehung bei den Israeliten*, Stuttgart, 1885.

MORRIS JOSEPH.

EDUCATION (Muslim).—I. Education in the early history of Islām.—The value set upon education in Islām is indicated by certain *ḥadīth* sayings which, though they may have no claim to rank as authentic, yet undoubtedly reflect the educational ideals of Islām in its early days, and may be taken as representing the prevailing views of the first generations. Thus it is handed down as a saying of the Prophet himself, that 'A father can confer upon his child no more valuable gift than a good education'; and, again, 'It is better that a man should secure an education for his child than that he bestow a *ṣā'* in charity.'<sup>1</sup> The boon thus commended extends also to slaves. It is regarded as a work of specially meritorious

<sup>1</sup> Tirmidhi, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo, A.H. 1292, i. 354.

character 'to educate a slave-girl well, then set her free, and give her to a husband.'<sup>1</sup>

It may be safely said that Islām raised the Arabs to a higher level of civilization, and at the same time introduced amongst them the elements of education, in which they had hitherto been rather deficient.<sup>2</sup> That Muhammad himself—partly, it may be, on utilitarian grounds—attached considerable importance to the acquisition of the most indispensable elements of knowledge, may be inferred from the conditions on which he released prisoners of war after his victory at Badr. He employed several Quraish captives to teach the boys of Medina to write, and this service counted as their ransom. Twelve boys were assigned to each of the Meccan prisoners who were capable of giving the required instruction, and, as soon as the pupils had attained the stipulated degree of progress, their teachers were set at liberty.<sup>3</sup> The Quraish, as a people largely engaged in commerce, had naturally more occasion to practise writing than the date-planters and husbandmen of Medina,<sup>4</sup> and it was, therefore, easier to find penmen among them than in Yathrib—a consideration which may perhaps also dispose us to accept the view held by certain Muslim theologians,<sup>5</sup> though condemned as heresy by the orthodox school, viz. that Muhammad was not the 'illiterate' that Muslim orthodoxy, with its mistaken interpretation of the epithet *ummī*, tries to make out.<sup>6</sup> Mention is even made of a list of contemporary Meccan women who were familiar with the art of writing; but this group did not include the youthful 'Ā'isha, who, though she had the advantage over her companions in being able to read, yet had never learned writing.<sup>7</sup> We may, therefore, infer that among the men of Mecca the ability to write was nothing out of the common.<sup>8</sup> Mu'āwīya distinguished himself as the Prophet's secretary. Penmanship was not quite so common among the Arabs of Medina. To the Khazrayite Ubaiy b. Ka'b, who made a name for himself by recording the revelations of the Prophet, is ascribed the exceptional distinction of having been skilled in penmanship before the rise of Muhammad.<sup>9</sup> In Medina, those who, in addition to certain other accomplishments, possessed also the art of writing—acquired perhaps from the Jews resident there<sup>10</sup>—were deemed worthy of the title of *kāmil* ('perfect').<sup>11</sup>

It would also appear that, once the young Muslim community had been constituted, a primitive system of education, embracing at least the bare elements of knowledge, was set on foot. In no long time we begin to meet with references to the *kuttāb* ('elementary school'). We would cer-

<sup>1</sup> Bukhārī, *Kitāb al-'atq*, no. 16; Jāhiz, *Kitāb al-hayawān*, Cairo, A.H. 1323, i. 28, mentions a slave-girl who was conversant with Euclid.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the present writer's *Muḥ. Studien*, i. (Halle, 1889) 112.

<sup>3</sup> Sprenger, *Mohammad*, Berlin, 1881-9, iii. 131; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, London, 1906, p. 270, at foot.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Milan, 1907, ii. 702 ff.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. the Andalusian Abu-l-Walid al-Bāji († A.H. 474=A.D. 1081), who incurred great hostility in consequence; cf. the present writer's *Zāhirīten*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 171, note 1; Dhahabi, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, Lucknow, A.H. 1301, ii. 41, s.v. 'Abdallāh b. Sahl of Murcia' († A.H. 480=A.D. 1087); 'Between him and Abu-l-Walid al-Bāji there were great disputes over the writing question.'

<sup>6</sup> On this question, see Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qórans*, i. (Leipzig, 1909) 12.

<sup>7</sup> Balādhori, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1870, p. 472.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Lammens, 'La République marchande de la Mécque,' p. 24 (*Bull. de l'Inst. égypt.*, 1910, p. 46, note 7).

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Sa'd, iii. li. 59; Caetani, *op. cit.* iv. 201.

<sup>10</sup> Balādhori, 473.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the passages quoted by Lammens, *Études sur le règne du Calife Mo'awīya*, Beirut, 1906, p. 630; also Aphāni, ii. 169, at foot; Tabari, *Annales* (ed. Leyden, 1879 ff.), i. 1207, where the reference is not to Arabs in general, but to natives of Medina. For the full connotation of *kāmil*, see Ibn Sa'd, v. 308, line 7 ff.

tainly not lay much stress upon the mention of a 'companion' called Mirdās,<sup>1</sup> and surnamed *al-mu'allim* ('the teacher'),<sup>2</sup> as there is but little evidence to show that such a person ever existed.<sup>3</sup> Even in the early period, however, we find better attested notices of the *kuttābs* and the *mu'allims* who taught in them. Umm Salim, mother of Anas b. Malik, the Prophet's attendant (or, according to other accounts, Umm Salama, one of the Prophet's wives), asks a *mu'allim kuttāb* to send her some schoolboys—preferably of the slave class—to assist her in wool-carding.<sup>4</sup> 'Amr b. Maimūn al-Audī († c. A.H. 74-77 = A.D. 693-6) gives the text of an apotropaic formula which the 'companion' Sa'd b. abi Waqqās taught his children, 'as the teacher instructs his scholars in writing.'<sup>5</sup> Another reference tells how Abū Huraira, Ibn 'Omar, and Abū Usaid (who fought at Badr) on one occasion passed by a *kuttāb*, and attracted the attention of the boys.<sup>6</sup> There is also evidence to show that the *lahū* (tablet for practice in reading and writing) was in use at a very early period; the female 'companion' Umm al-Dardā writes on such a tablet some wise sentences as reading lessons for a boy ('Abd Rabbīhi b. Sulaimān b. 'Omar).<sup>7</sup>

Elementary education seems to have been thoroughly established in Islam by the early Umayyad period.<sup>8</sup> It is true that we cannot decide whether sound evidence on this point can be drawn from an anecdote telling how the facetious grammarian Sa'd b. Shaddad jocularly sold the pupils of his elementary school as slaves to 'Ubadallah b. Ziyād, governor of 'Irāq.<sup>9</sup> We are on surer ground when we read that the poet Kumait and the formidable vicegerent and commander Ḥajjāj b. Jūsuf were schoolmasters—the last-named, of course, in the years before his remarkable political career. Just before the time of Ḥajjāj, again, Jubair b. Ḥayya taught in a school at Ta'if, and likewise rose afterwards—in 'Irāq—to high rank, being promoted by Ziyād from the position of a clerk to that of administrator of 'Iṣfahān.<sup>10</sup> Dabḥāq b. Muzāḥim († A.H. 105 = A.D. 723) kept a *kuttāb* in Kūfa, making no charge for instruction.<sup>11</sup> In the 2nd cent. A.H.—the date cannot be fixed more precisely—we even hear of a Bedawi of the tribe of Riyāh who settled as a *mu'allim* in Baḡra, and conducted a school for payment (*bil-ujra*).<sup>12</sup> There is, of course, nothing surprising in the fact that in the lands conquered by Islam, such as 'Irāq, a Muslim system of education should take root and develop in the centres of an older civilization; but the foregoing references to schools in Arabia proper are more pertinent to the subject in hand.

Even in the early Umayyad period the education of the young princes at court had reached a high standard of excellence, but it is not necessary here to describe it in detail. A spirited account of it, dealing with all its phases, and furnished with copious references to sources, has been given by H. Lammens, and we need only call the reader's

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, no. 2008, iii. 818 (Calcutta ed.).

<sup>2</sup> This title might also, as in Ibn Sa'd, iii. ii. 103, lines 7-9, signify one who instructed the people in the citation of the Qur'an.

<sup>3</sup> The doubtful traditions referring to him are given by Suyūṭī, *Al-La'ālī al-maḡnū'a fi-l-ahādīth al-mawḏū'a*, Cairo, A.H. 1317, l. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Bukhārī, *Ḍiyāl*, no. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib. no. 24.*

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Sa'd, iv. i. 133, line 4; cf. the present writer's *Vorlesungen über d. Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 148, at top.

<sup>7</sup> Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842-47, p. 80, line 6 from foot.

<sup>8</sup> Kremer, *Kulturgesch. d. Orients unter d. Chalifen*, Vienna, 1875-7, ii. 132.

<sup>9</sup> In Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-uṣū'āt*, Cairo, A.H. 1326, p. 253.

<sup>10</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Iṣāba*, i. 460.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Sa'd, vi. 210, line 12.

<sup>12</sup> Yāqūt, *Dict. of Learned Men*, ed. Margoliouth, 1909 ff. (*Gibb Memorial Series*, vi.), ii. 239.

attention to his work.<sup>1</sup> The *mu'addib* ('instructor') was a standing figure at the Umayyad court, and was admirably supported in his work by the fathers of the princes.

'Omar II. took his children severely to task when they violated the rules of grammar.<sup>2</sup> He had, in his own youth, a most lugubrious *mu'addib*, and the ascetic character of the future khalīf might perhaps have been anticipated from the fact that this tutor is described as a person negligent of externals; he wore a coat that reached to his heels, and his moustache hung down over his lips<sup>3</sup>—a trait at variance with Arabic ideas of elegance, which, in accordance with a primitive *sunna*, enjoined the trimming of the moustache (*qaṣṣ al-sharīb*).<sup>4</sup>

The development of scientific knowledge under the Abbāsids in the 2nd cent. A.H. naturally carried with it a corresponding advance in preparatory education. There is also evidence of the fact that the younger generation were encouraged, by the prospect of public recognition, to give themselves heart and soul to the task of acquiring the elements of learning. It is recorded that in the early years of this period deserving pupils of the elementary schools in Baḡdad were rewarded by being carried through the streets on camels and having almonds thrown to them. It was on an occasion of this kind that the poet 'Akawwak lost his sight, his eyes having been seriously injured by the almonds meant for the clever scholars. In this period, moreover, we find mention of institutions for higher education (*majālīs al-adab*).<sup>5</sup> About the same time the Fāṭimid administration, now established in Egypt, took steps towards founding academies (*dār al-ḥikma* or *al-'ilm*) in Cairo, where the theological tenets of the Shi'ite school, as also—in eclectic fashion—the rich stores of learning inherited from the Greeks and the Persians, were studied. When the Fāṭimid dynasty was overthrown, the Ayyūbids superseded their academies by high schools conducted on Sunnite principles, and the wide spaces of the mosques were utilized for teaching purposes. This use of the mosque as a *madrasa* had a notable influence upon the architecture of the mosque itself.<sup>6</sup> The sultanates under the sway of the Abbāsids continued to vie with one another in the promotion of higher education—largely confined, it is true, to theology and its subsidiary sciences<sup>7</sup>—as also in the erection of suitable *madrasas*,<sup>8</sup> which find mention from the 4th cent. onwards. An epoch-making advance in the development of the higher school was made by the enlightened Seljūk vizier Nizām al-mulk (middle of 5th cent. A.H.—11th cent. A.D.), whose institutions—the *Nizāmiyya*-academies—in various parts of the empire were devoted chiefly to the higher theological studies.<sup>9</sup> In the same period, however, we note a growing tendency to free the studies of the *madrasas* from their theological oneness. Separate institutions were founded, and became famous, for the study of the exact sciences. The observatories which sprang up everywhere became centres for the teaching of astronomy, while the numerous

<sup>1</sup> *Études sur le règne du Calife Mo'awīya*, p. 331 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt, ed. Margoliouth, i. 25, at the foot.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, ed. Brockelmann, Berlin, 1900 ff. (in the series *Semitische Studien*, ed. C. Bezold), p. 361, line 15.

<sup>4</sup> Bukhārī, *Libās*, no. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Aghāni, xviii. 101.

<sup>6</sup> See Max v. Berchem, art. 'Architecture,' in *Spécimen d'une encyclopédie musulmane*, Leyden, 1899, col. 16; also art. ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadian in Syria and Egypt), above, vol. I. p. 757 f., and ART (Muhammadian), p. 873 f.

<sup>7</sup> For Muslim higher education in the periods referred to, cf. Haneberg, *Über d. Schut- u. Lehrwesen d. Muhammedaner im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1856; Kremer, ii. 479 ff.; Winand Fell, *Über d. Ursprung u. d. Entwicklung d. höheren Unterrichtswezens bei d. Muhammedanern (Program d. Marsellen-Gymnasiums in Köln, for the year 1882-83)*.

<sup>8</sup> Important data regarding the older types of *madrasa* which preceded the *Nizāmiyya*-schools are found in Subki, *Ṭabaqat al-Shāfi'iyya*, Cairo, A.H. 1324, iii. 137.

<sup>9</sup> Julian Ribera, 'Origen del Colegio Nidami de Bagdad,' in *Homenaje a Francisco Codera*, Saragossa, 1904.

hospitals now being instituted—served as they were by the most renowned physicians of the day—attracted students of medical science, as is shown by numerous references in Ibn abi Uṣaibi'a's *Biographies of the Physicians*. In the present article, however, we propose to confine our discussion largely to elementary education.

2. The subjects of primary education; forbidden books.—In a series of sayings showing no trace of theological influence, advice is given regarding the subjects which should have a place in the education of children. Khalif 'Omar I., for instance, is said to have counselled parents in these words: 'Teach your children to swim and to throw darts; charge them that they must be able to mount a horse securely, and make them recite appropriate verses.'<sup>1</sup> 'Omar was himself a renowned horseman, and is said, in picturesque phrase, to have sat in the saddle 'as if he had been created on the horse's back.'<sup>2</sup> Amongst these attainments the art of swimming was specially prized. Khalif 'Abdalmalik gave his sons' tutor the following injunction: 'Teach them to swim, and accustom them to sleep little.'<sup>3</sup> Ḥajjāj (who, according to another report, laid most emphasis upon the religious training of his children, and therefore refused to engage a Christian teacher)<sup>4</sup> gave a similar charge to the preceptor whom he had selected for his sons: 'Instruct them in swimming before you teach them writing, for they can at any time easily find one who will write for them, but not one who will swim for them.' Jāhiz, to whom we owe this item of information about Ḥajjāj, supplies further details indicative of the importance attached to the art of swimming in the educational practice of the higher ranks. A saying of Ibn al-Faw'ān commends writing, arithmetic, and swimming as the accomplishments which, above all others, a prudent father should seek to procure for his children. As between writing and arithmetic, the latter should have precedence, since it is not only of more value in business, but is actually more easily learned, while its eventual advantages are also greater.<sup>5</sup> The traditional view, with a slight variation, finds expression in a modern Arabic proverb current in 'Irāq: 'Learn to write, to make the calamus, and to swim in the river.'<sup>6</sup>

It would, of course, be absurd to suppose that the educational maxims which assign so prominent a place to swimming had their origin in Arabia, as that country could provide but few opportunities for practising the art.<sup>7</sup> The present writer is of opinion that—as is suggested by the grouping together of riding, dart-throwing, and swimming—such educational ideals were largely influenced by foreign, and especially Persian and Greek, views; and, indeed, the pedagogic maxims in question are but the echoes of such views.<sup>8</sup> In especial, the importance ascribed to swimming is doubtless to be traced to Greek ideas: to be able 'neither to swim nor to read' (μητε νειν μητε γράμματα [Plato, *Leg.* iii. 689 D]) was a Greek equivalent for the absolute lack of culture. It was likewise under the same influence that swimming found a place in the educational maxims of the Talmud.<sup>9</sup>

The subjects recommended in the sayings just quoted form no part of the distinctively Muslim theory of education, which was governed by principles of an entirely different character. The

<sup>1</sup> Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, Leipzig, 1874, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Jāhiz, *Bayān*, ii. 54, line 8 from foot.

<sup>3</sup> Mubarrad, p. 77, line 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Aghāni*, xviii. 37, line 20 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 213.

<sup>6</sup> Weissbach, 'Irāq-arab. Sprichwörter', no. 121, in *Leipziger Semitische Studien*, iv. (Leipzig, 1908).

<sup>7</sup> Lamens, *Études*, p. 330.

<sup>8</sup> The like holds good of the *kāmil* ideal current in Medina (see above, p. 198b).

<sup>9</sup> Bab. *Qūdush*, fol. 29a.

general course of training for young males is set forth in the *ḥadīth* as follows:

'On the seventh day after the child's birth, the 'aqīqa ("hair-cutting," together with the sacrifice of an animal) is performed, and he receives his name and is made secure against all harm; when he is six years old, his education begins; at the age of nine, he is given a separate sleeping-place; at thirteen years of age, he receives corporal punishment when he omits his prayers; at sixteen, his father gives him in marriage, then grasps him by the hand and says: "My son, I have trained you and had you taught, and I have given you in marriage: now I beseech God for help against your temptations in this world, and against your being punished in the Last Judgment."<sup>1</sup>

As regards the elementary curriculum in particular, the relevant sources furnish us with the following details. When the child begins to speak, he should be taught to repeat the Muslim article of belief, *Lā ilāha ill' Allāh*; he must then learn the words of Qur'an, xxiii. 117b: 'Exalted is Allāh, the king in truth; there is no god but Him, the Lord of the stately throne of Heaven'; then the 'throne-verse' (*āyat al-kursī*, ii. 256), and the last two verses of sūra lix. (*sūrat al-ḥaṣhr*): 'He is Allāh; there is no deity but Him, the Holy King,' etc. Those who teach their children so will not be brought to judgment by God.<sup>2</sup> At the age of seven, when the child becomes responsible for the *ṣalāt*, he is to be sent to school, and the teacher must begin to instruct him systematically in the Qur'an itself. Children should not be sent to school before the age of seven, as is the practice of some parents, who wish merely to spare themselves the trouble of looking after their offspring.<sup>3</sup> The teaching of the Qur'an should be combined with instruction in the more important religious precepts and usages: the proper response to the *adhān*, the different kinds of washings, the prayers in the mosque to which children should be taken whenever possible; they must without fail be familiarized with the practice of joint-prayer (*ṣalāt al-jamā'a*), even in the school, where one of the older boys acts for the time as leader in prayer (*imām*). Instruction in reading and writing, of course, must also be proceeded with. The children practised writing on tablets (*lawḥ*, pl. *alwāḥ*); the words employed were usually taken from passages in the Qur'an.

Ibn Jubair († A.H. 614 = A.D. 1217), in his sketch of the state of education in Banāsuq, says that in the elementary schools of that city—where writing (*aktib*) and recitation (*talqin*) of the Qur'an were taught by different masters—the passages for exercise in reading and writing were taken, not from the Qur'an, but from poetical texts of secular character, as the act of wiping inspired words from the tablets seemed to cast dishonour upon the sacred book.<sup>4</sup> The cleansing (*mahr*) of the tablets marked the close of the first period of morning school: the allotted hour for this was eight o'clock a.m., and the teacher must then grant a short pause (*ṭarīf*, 'leave').<sup>5</sup> For the act of wiping the *alwāḥ*, when they contained verses of the Qur'an, various precautions are recommended by the more strait-laced theologians. It must be performed in a clean and well-guarded place, not open to be trodden upon, so that the water used in wiping out the sacred words shall not subsequently suffer any desecration. The best way to dispose of the water is to pour it into a river or a pit, or to collect it in a vessel for those who wish to use it medicinally,<sup>6</sup> as it is believed to possess magical virtues. A pious resident of Cairo, Muhammad Tāj al-dīn († A.H. 707 = A.D. 1307), who founded a school in the Qarafa, inserted in the deed of foundation a clause to the effect that the water used in that institution for cleansing the *alwāḥ* was to be poured upon his grave.<sup>7</sup> Even the pieces of rag with which the tablets were wiped must be wrung out with the greatest care, lest the water that dripped from them should be profaned.<sup>8</sup>

Concurrently with exercises in reading and writing from the Qur'an, the pupils were taught the rudiments of arithmetic. To these were added

<sup>1</sup> In Ghazālī, *Ihya' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Būlāq, A.H. 1239, ii. 193.

<sup>2</sup> MS in the Ducal library of Gotha (Arab.), no. 1001, fol. 34a.

<sup>3</sup> 'Abdārī, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharif*, Alexandria, A.H. 1293, ii. 164, line 7.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn Jubair, *Travels*, ed. Wright and de Goeje, *Gibb Memorial Series*, v. [1907] 272, line 17.

<sup>5</sup> *Revue africaine*, xii. [1897] 283, at the foot.

<sup>6</sup> *Madkhal*, ii. 105.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalāni, *al-Durar al-kāmina* (MS in Vienna Hofbibliothek, Mixt. 246), lil. fol. 350b.

<sup>8</sup> *Madkhal*, loc. cit.

also legends of the prophets (*ahādīth al-anbiyā*) and anecdotes from the lives of godly men (*hikāyat al-sālihin*).<sup>1</sup> In early times the parts of the *hadīth* most in favour for educational purposes were the legends about the *Dajjāl* (Antichrist),<sup>2</sup> by which are probably meant the traditions regarding the Mahdī period and the Last Things. Finally, the children had to learn selections from the poets; and with these the elementary curriculum seems to have reached its term. In an ordinance regarding the education of the young, 'Omar I. enjoined that popular proverbs (*al-amthāl al-sā'ira*) and beautiful poems should form subjects of instruction.<sup>3</sup> As regards the kind of poetry to be selected for children, the writers who discuss the course of elementary education are all most emphatic in demanding that moral pieces alone should be allowed, and that verse of an erotic character should be strictly excluded. It is interesting to read what the philosophers—to leave the theologians out of account—have to say on this subject.

Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna) recommends the following course of instruction: 'When the boy's limbs have become firm and he has attained to some readiness of speech, when he is able to assimilate the coherent materials of language and his ear has become perceptive, he should begin to receive instruction in the Qur'an, the letters of the alphabet should be drawn for him to copy, and he should be taught the precepts of religion. As regards poetry, it is desirable that the boy should acquire the *rajaz* poems to begin with, and only afterwards the *qaṣīdas*, for the recitation of the *rajaz* is easier and its retention in the memory more certain, as its verses are shorter and its metre simpler. The teaching of poetry should commence with pieces which find themes in the advantage of good morals, the praise of science, the reproof of ignorance, and the rebuke of stupidity, and which enforce the honouring of one's parents, the practice of good deeds, and other noble qualities.'<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Miskawāh reproaches parents for teaching their children to recite licentious poetry, to repeat the lies found in such poems, and to take pleasure in what they tell of vicious things and the pursuit of lewdness, as, e.g., the poems of Imru-ul-Qais, al-Nābigha, and others like them; 'one so taught will go to live with princes, who summon him to their presence in order that he may recite such poems, and even compose in a similar strain.'<sup>5</sup> And in the directions drawn up for the *mufṭasib* ('chief of police'), as recorded by Ibn Bassām (13th cent. A.D.), that official is charged to see that schoolboys do not learn the poems of Ibn Hājja or the *Diwān* of Sarī al-dīla, while boys who read such poems by stealth must be deterred by corporal punishment.<sup>6</sup>

The strictness with which the young were guarded from the influence of erotic poetry will not surprise us when we remember the attitude of the Sunnite theologians towards narrative literature of a secular stamp. In the extant *fatwā* of a fanatically orthodox theologian of the 11th cent. A.D., people are warned against the possession not only of metaphysico-theological and philosophical works, but also of poetic and entertaining writings, and especially of certain frivolous books of the day. Contracts relating to such literary products are null and void. Writings of this character should rather be destroyed by fire and water.<sup>7</sup> Muhammad al-'Abdārī goes so far as to maintain that a paper merchant should not sell his wares to one who, to the best of his belief, will use the paper for reproducing the stories of 'Antar or Sīdī Baṭṭāl, and similar tales, as the diffusion of such writings falls under the category of *makrūhāt* ('reprehensible things').<sup>8</sup>

There were, however, other grounds upon which certain kinds of poetry were withheld from the young. Thus 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib forbade his children's tutor to read with them the *qaṣīdas* of 'Urwa b. al-Ward, as they might thereby be incited to leave their native soil and seek

their fortunes elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> There is also a *hadīth* saying which assigns the 'books of the Christians' likewise to the class of writings that must not be taught to the young.<sup>2</sup>

3. Status of the elementary teacher.—The importance attached to the work of the elementary teacher—the person from whom the young received their earliest knowledge of Allāh—is by no means reflected in his social status. The prevailing attitude of Muslim society towards the teacher of children (usually called *fiqī*; in the Maghrib also *dārrār*, 'little child,' from *dhurriyya*, pl. *dharārī*) is represented in Arabic literature as one of extreme disrespect. His position is on a level with that of weavers, blood-letters, and other despised trades.<sup>3</sup> Teachers were universally spoken of as a stupid and brainless class. 'Seek no advice from teachers, shepherds, or those who sit much among women'<sup>4</sup>—an adage which, as applied to teachers and weavers, and with the addition of the explanatory clause, 'for God has deprived them of reason and withheld His blessing from their trade,' is quoted as a saying of the Prophet.<sup>5</sup> The phrase '*ahmaq min mu'allim kullāb* ('stupider than a schoolmaster')—with variations in the wording—has passed into a proverb.<sup>6</sup>

There is also a group of anecdotes, forming a permanent element in the Adab literature, which turn on the same point—the teacher as dunce.<sup>7</sup> 'How should we look for sagacity in one who is beside his wife in the evening, and in the early morning goes back to the society of little children?'<sup>8</sup> This contemptuous attitude found expression in the epigram:

Kafa l-mar'a naṣṣan an fuḷāla bi'annahu  
Mu'allimu sibyan wa'in kana faḷḷā,<sup>9</sup>

i.e. 'It is a sufficient indication of a man's inferiority—be he never so eminent—to say that he is a teacher of children.' The teacher's occupation, in fact, works almost like a specific for generating stupidity. Ibn al-Jauzi (A.H. 597 = A.D. 1200), who wrote two books, treating respectively of 'the shrewd' and 'the stupid,' sets forth in the second of these the relative stupidity of various classes of people according to the following table:—'The rationality of women [who are universally regarded as *naḡīqāt al-aql wal-dīn*,<sup>10</sup> i.e. 'deficient in rationality and religion'] equals that of seventy weavers; that of a weaver equals that of seventy schoolmasters.'<sup>11</sup> When 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa' was asked to give a weekly lesson to the son of Isnā'il b. 'Aḥ, a dignitary of State, he refused the engagement, with the remark, 'Do you really wish me to have a place on the register (*diwān*) of numskulls?'<sup>12</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the satirical poems directed against Ifajjā b. Jusuf take full advantage of the fact that he, as well as his brother, was once a schoolmaster at Ṭā'if, and remind him of the time when he was still 'a humble slave, who early and late kept company with the village boys';<sup>13</sup> a person whose loaves were always of different shapes—'one without any visible rounding, another round as the full moon'—because he received them as payment from the parents of the children whom he primed with the *sūrat al-kauthar*.<sup>14</sup>

This literary mockery of the elementary teacher, however, was not so damaging as the scorn which found its way into the *ḥadīth* in the form of sayings ascribed to the Prophet; for here the criticism was no longer confined to humorous sallies against the

<sup>1</sup> *Aghāni*, ii. 191, 9. The reference is probably to such verses as are found in the *Diwān*, ed. Nöldeke, Göttingen, 1863, iii. verse 5 ff., v. 1 ff., vi. 7 ff., xxxii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. 'Bkr', v. 145, line 3; *lā tu'allimū abkara awlādikum kutuba-l-naṣārā*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the present writer's art. 'Die Handwerke bei d. Arabern,' in *Globus*, lxxvii. (1894), no. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 180, line 1.

<sup>5</sup> Dhahabi, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, i. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Burton, *Unexplored Syria*, London, 1872, i. 285, no. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Qutaiba, '*Uyūn al-akhbār*, p. 442; Ibn al-'Adīm, in *Thalāth rasa'īl*, ed. Stambul, p. 33; the same anecdote, as told of mollāhs in Turkestan, appears in F. Duckmeyer, 'Unbefangene Beobachtungen aus Russisch-Turkestan,' in the *Beilage zur Münchener Allgem. Zeitung*, 1801, no. 250.

<sup>8</sup> Jāhiz, *loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā*, Cairo, 1287, i. 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Musnad Ahmed*, ii. 67, at top; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, i. 159; cf. Goldziher, *Mus. Studien*, ii. 296; the idea is elaborated in a poem ascribed to 'Alī, and found in Bahā al-dīn al-'Amīlī, *Mikhlāt*, Cairo, A.H. 1317, p. 72.

<sup>11</sup> *Thamarāt al-awraq* (ed. in margin of *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā*), i. 194 (with many anecdotes about teachers).

<sup>12</sup> *Muḥād. udabā*, i. 29.

<sup>13</sup> Malik b. al-Raiḥ, in Ibn Qutaiba, *Poesis*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1904, p. 206, line 14; cf. Lammens, p. 360, note 2.

<sup>14</sup> Jurjāni, *al-Munlakḥab min kināyat al-udabā*, Cairo, 1908, p. 118.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-'Arabi, in 'Abdārī, iii. 811, line 15.

<sup>2</sup> Nawāwī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 239, line 6 from foot.

<sup>3</sup> Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i. 213, 9 from foot.

<sup>4</sup> *Risālat al-ṣiyāsa*, MS in Leyden University Library, no. 1020, fol. 67a = *Mashrūq*, ix. 1074.

<sup>5</sup> *Tahdhīb al-akhbār*, p. 44, foot.

<sup>6</sup> *Nihāyat al-rutba fī 'alab al-ḥisba*, in *Mashrūq*, x. 1085.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ZDMG* lviii. (1904) 584.

<sup>8</sup> *Madkhal*, iii. 127, 131, line 1.

intellectual poverty of teachers, but fastened with special keenness on their moral shortcomings.

'The teachers of our children are the vilest among you; the most deficient in pity for the orphan, the most churlish towards the poor.' 'What thinkest thou of teachers?' asked Abū Huraira of the Prophet, whose answer was: 'Their *dirham* is forbidden property, their livelihood is unjust gain, their speech hypocrisy.'<sup>1</sup>

The odium thus expressed made itself felt also in the treatment meted out to teachers. Yahya b. Aktham († A.H. 243 = A.D. 857), judge under Khalif Ma'mun, even refused to accept teachers as satisfactory witnesses in a court of law.<sup>2</sup> This disqualification has been explained on the ground that the profession taught the Qur'an for hire. But the teacher could, of course, make the retort that the judge himself takes a reward for dispensing Divine justice.<sup>3</sup> The hapless pedagogue gave further offence by drawing attention to the better treatment accorded to his calling among other peoples. Such comparisons evoked severe strictures from the religious standpoint, and were actually declared by the Meccan theologian, Ibn Hajjar al-Haitami († A.H. 973 = A.D. 1565)—on the authority of earlier writers—to be one of the recognized criteria of unbelief.<sup>4</sup>

'When a teacher of children says, "The Jews are a great deal better than we Muslims, for they fulfil the obligations due to the teachers of their children,"—any one who so speaks is to be regarded as a *kafir*.'<sup>5</sup>

It is possible, of course, that this depreciation of the indispensable profession of teacher may be due simply to the haughtiness inherent in the Arabic race.<sup>6</sup> In passing judgment upon it, however, we must not forget that analogous features appear in the educational annals of Greece and Rome.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, it may be said in favour of Muslim society as a whole that this far from creditable attitude towards the elementary teacher was by no means universal. We know of Muhammadans of unbiased mind who made a stand against the hackneyed judgments of the populace, and attained to a more appreciative estimate of an undeservedly maligned vocation. As the representative of this point of view, we may single out Jähiz († A.H. 255 = A.D. 869), who in this, as in other matters, criticized the prejudices of the masses in an independent spirit.

Jähiz maintains that the traditional estimate of the schoolmaster held good only of those in the lowest ranks of the profession—the ignorant *fellah* teachers; and he points to the men of high intellectual distinction who had taught in schools, and had in some cases exercised great influence as the instructors of princes.<sup>8</sup> He also cites an imposing list of illustrious scholars, poets, and theologians (Kisā'i, Qutrub, Kumait, etc.) who had adorned the profession, and he sets beside them a number of contemporary teachers. 'Here in Basra we have never had men of greater learning in various branches of science, or of more lucidity in the expression of thought, than the two teachers, Abu-l-Wazir and Abu-l-Adnan.' Hence it was sheer folly and crying injustice to reproach the profession as a whole with stupidity.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Zurqāni, on *Muwaffa*, Cairo, A.H. 1279–80, iii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Thamarat al-awraq*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Uyun al-akhbar*, p. 91, line 9; cf. Bukhāri, *Aḥkām*, no. 17 (Qastallāni, x. 268).

<sup>4</sup> *Al-'ilm bi-gawāḍi' al-islām* (ed. in margin of this writer's *Zawājir*, Cairo, A.H. 1312, ii. 74).

<sup>5</sup> As illustrating the reverse side of the matter, we may quote what Wilhelm Burchard, a native of Saxony, who was held captive by the Turks in the 17th cent., says with regard to the position of teachers in Turkey: 'Man hält die Schulmeister in Türckey sehr wehr und thum kein Überlast, lassen auch nicht geschehen, dass ihnen ein einzig Leid wiederfahre, worinnen sie uns Teutschen hefftig beschämen, als da viele gar Fußschemel aus ihren Schuldinern machen und alles Hertzleid den armen Leuten zufügen' (W. B., *Eines in die 19 Jahr von Türccken gefangen gewesen Sachsen aufs neu eröffnets Türckey*, Magdeburg, 1688, 21691, cap. ix.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i. 110.

<sup>7</sup> Ussing, *Darstellung d. Erziehungs- u. Unterrichtswesens bei d. Griechen u. Römern*, Altona, 1870, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> The tutor sometimes took his *nisba* from a family of repute in which he had served: thus the philologist, Abū 'Amr al-Shābāni, who taught the son of Yazid b. Mansūr, adopted the surname Yazidi (Suyūṭi, *Bughyat al-u'ū'at*, p. 192).

<sup>9</sup> Jähiz, *Bayān*, i. 100 ff. = *Khams rasū'il*, Stambul, A.H. 1301, p. 187.

In order to gain the prestige of authority for this more favourable view of the teacher's calling, attempts were made to trace it likewise to utterances of the Prophet himself. Al-Qurtubi († A.H. 671 = A.D. 1272), the great commentator on the Qur'an, gives his imprimatur to one such deliverance, viz.

'The best of men, and the best of all who walk the earth, are the teachers. When religion falls into decay, it is the teachers who restore it. Give unto them, therefore, their just recompense; yet use them not as hirelings, lest you wound their spirit. For, as often as the teacher bids the boy say, "In the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate," and the boy repeats the words after him, God writes for the teacher, and for the boy and his parents, a record which shall surely save them from the Fire.'<sup>1</sup>

It is true that the scholar who thus lent his sanction to a *hadith*<sup>2</sup> usually branded as apocryphal was an Andalusian. In Andalusian Islam, no doubt, a higher value was placed upon the function of the teacher than was the case in the East—a result due in great measure to the flourishing system of elementary education that had grown up in the Western khalifate.<sup>3</sup> Here, therefore, the alleged utterances of the Prophet in honour of teachers would tend to be more favourably received. The same thing holds good of Islam in Sicily.

Speaking of Palermo, the Arab traveller Ibn Hauqal († A.H. 367 = A.D. 977) puts on record that he found over three hundred elementary schools in that city, and that the inhabitants regarded their teachers 'as their most excellent and distinguished citizens,' speaking of them as 'the people of Allah, their witnesses (before God), and their trusty friends.' It is true that Ibn Hauqal, in explanation of the scornful attitude towards the intellectual capacities of teachers prevalent elsewhere, adds that 'they choose this profession in order to evade enrolment in the army.'<sup>4</sup>

4. Payment of teachers.—As has been indicated in the foregoing, the gravamen of the strictures urged against the teaching profession from the religious side was the fact that teachers asked and took payment for giving instruction in the Qur'an. The moral propriety of taking wages for religious teaching was a question frequently debated among Muslim jurists. It is to be presumed that in Islam, as in other religions,<sup>5</sup> the devout were in favour of gratuitous religious instruction. In spreading the knowledge of Divine things the teacher should have no other design (*niyya*) than that of doing a work well-pleasing to God, and thereby attaining nearness to Him. No financial consideration should attach to such 'near-bringing works' (*qur'āb*), any more than—on similar grounds—to the *adhān*,<sup>6</sup> the *ṣalāt*, the diffusion of the *hadith*, etc. All such acts must be done only *ihtisāban* ('for God's sake'), not *iktisāban* ('for gain'). In support of this view, and in evidence of its being the only legitimate one, there were numerous traditions to hand;<sup>7</sup> nor were typical examples lacking to commend its acceptance.

One such example was found in 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sullami, a man of devout spirit, who had actually heard *hadiths* from the lips of 'Othmān and 'Alī, and who, at the time of his death (during the khalifate of 'Abdalmalik), was *imām* of a mosque in

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by 'Abdari, *Madkhal*, ii. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Jauzi pronounces the following verdict on this *hadith*: 'It is not permissible to use this saying as an argument (in the question as to payment of teachers), for it is a concoction of Ahmed b. 'Abdallah al-Harawi al-Juyibāri, who was a liar, and fabricated *hadiths*—a matter in which all critics of tradition agree' (MS in Leyden Univ. Library, no. 1772, fol. 132a). In Suyūṭi's work on spurious traditional sayings likewise this and other similar utterances regarding *mu'allim* are marked with a warning rubric (*Al-La'āl al-maḡnū'a fi-l-ḥadith al-maḡdū'a*, p. 103 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Schack, *Poesie u. Kunst der Araber in Spanien u. Sicilien*, Berlin, 1866, i. 52; Dozy, *Gesch. d. Mauren in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1874, ii. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1870 ff., ii. 87, top.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Manu, xi. 63, where the act of teaching the Veda for hire, or learning it under a paid teacher, is declared to be a sin of the second degree.

<sup>6</sup> Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 390.

<sup>7</sup> These traditional testimonies were collected by the Hanbalite Ibn al-Jauzi (MS in Leyden Univ. Library, no. 1772, fol. 1810).

Kūfa, and in that capacity had devoted himself to teaching the Qur'ān. It is recorded that once, on coming home, he found a number of cattle which a grateful father had sent him as a honorarium for instructing his son in the sacred volume. He at once returned the gift, with the message: 'We take no payment for the Book of God.'<sup>1</sup> Other teachers of the Qur'ān gave similar practical expression to this point of view;<sup>2</sup> and, in support of the theory that religious instruction should be given *majjānan* ('gratuitously'), appeal was made also to an admonition 'from the ancient books' which, in point of fact, may be identified as a Talmudic maxim.<sup>3</sup>

But, while the demand for free religious teaching might be good enough as an ideal, and while some even tried to carry it into effect, it was naturally left behind in the march of practical life. It was, after all, necessary that the wretched beings who, without much moral support from their fellows, engaged in the work of teaching should at least make a bare subsistence out of it. In this, as in many other things, the religious injunction, with its ascetic ideal, could not be put in practice so ruthlessly as to maintain a universal interdict against the merest pittance of payment.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, besides the more austere *hadiths*, there are others of a more humane character, and more favourable to the practice of taking wages for religious instruction; and the teacher who was not in a position to prosecute his calling for a purely spiritual reward could always derive comfort from these.<sup>5</sup>

Even Bukhārī himself finds a place in his *Corpus Traditionum* for a saying ascribed to Ibn 'Abbās: 'Nothing has a better right to be rewarded than [instruction in] the Book of God.' It is true that he appends to this the condition laid down by Sha'bi, viz. that the teacher may on no account negotiate for his wages, but may accept what is voluntarily given him. Bukhārī finally cites the testimony of Ḥakam b. 'Uyayna: 'I have never heard it said of any of the *fugaha* that he disapproved of the teacher's remuneration. Even Ḥasan Baṣrī paid a teacher ten dirhams.'<sup>6</sup> From Mālik b. Anas comes the still more decisive statement that in the holy city of Medina none has ever taken umbrage at the teacher's receiving a reward even in this world—and that not merely as a voluntary honorarium from the parents, but as a fixed monthly fee (*mushāhara*).<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly the payment of teachers became the rule actually recognized in practice by Muslim law,<sup>8</sup> and was vindicated, with the support of the sources quoted above, by authorities of the highest repute.<sup>9</sup>

The adherents of the more rigid view, in giving their consent to the practice of paying teachers—this payment, however, they preferred to call *iwad* ('recompense')—sought to solace their feelings by qualifying the teacher's right by certain *pia desideria*, which, it is true, made very little difference. They appealed to the moral sense of the teacher. He must look upon his wages, not as professional emoluments, but as a gift (*fath*)<sup>10</sup> Divinely bestowed upon him in order that he may pursue a calling well-pleasing to God.<sup>11</sup> The all-important thing is the inward purpose (*niyya*); he must devote himself to the work from purely spiritual motives, and without any worldly considerations whatever. To this 'Abdārī adds the naive admonition that the teacher should make no public profession of his motives, as it is quite like 'the people

of our time' to take him at his word, and deprive him of his material recompense.<sup>1</sup> Further, he must not let his continuance at work depend rigidly upon his being paid regularly. Should his allowance cease in any particular case, he must attend all the more zealously to the children of parents who, owing to their poverty, have fallen behind in their payments.<sup>2</sup> From the children themselves he must not receive presents without the knowledge of their parents or guardians.<sup>3</sup> In general, he must be satisfied that the money tendered him is above suspicion as to its source, and that it has not been gained dishonestly, or by methods obnoxious to religious precept; he should, for instance, have nothing to do with the money of a tax-gatherer. With respect to this counsel—it was, of course, simply a wish—it is interesting to note the qualifying clause annexed to it, viz. that in such cases the teacher need not refuse money from the hands of the mother or grandmother of his pupil, so long as he can assure himself that the immediate source has the warrant of religious law.<sup>4</sup> But he must avoid all intercourse with fathers whose occupation is at variance with the strict demands of religion; and, as long as they make their living in that way, he must not greet them, or hold himself accountable to them.<sup>5</sup>

Stories of the exorbitant charges made by eminent teachers come down from every period, though it must be admitted that this applies only to those branches of learning which were not in the strict sense religious.

The grammarian Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Mabramān († A.H. 345 = A.D. 950), pupil of Mubarrad, had a name for excessive avarice. He would not give instruction in the *kitab* of Sibawayh under a fee of one hundred dinars.<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Shams al-dīn al-Suyūṭī († A.H. 808 = A.D. 1405) charged a dirham for every line of the grammatical poem *Alfiyya*,<sup>7</sup> which comprises about a thousand lines.

5. School administration.—Muslim literature treats in great detail of the teacher's demeanour towards his scholars,<sup>8</sup> and the conditions applying to the conducting of schools. As regards the relation of teacher to pupil, the fundamental principle is the just and equal treatment of all scholars. Laith b. Mujāhid affirms that at the Day of Judgment God will subject the schoolmaster to a special interrogation as to whether he maintained strict impartiality between pupil and pupil, and that, if he is found guilty in this respect, he will be set beside the workers of iniquity.<sup>9</sup> A whole series of apparently trivial points relating to the child's presence in school are brought by 'Abdārī under the principle that no distinction shall be made between children of the rich and children of the poor.<sup>10</sup> Nor must the scholars be employed in the private service of the teacher's household, without the express sanction of their parents;<sup>11</sup> and from this it was argued that the teacher must not make use of orphan children for such work *under any circumstances*.<sup>12</sup>

It is the law in Islām that all teachers should be married;<sup>13</sup> a similar requirement is found in the Talmud.<sup>14</sup> A typical indication of the ethical standpoint of Eastern peoples is seen in the regulations designed to obviate the very suspicion of evil communications. The rule that the work of elementary teaching must be done, not at the teacher's own

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Sa'd, vi. 120, line 3 ff.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 210, line 12; 213, line 14.  
<sup>3</sup> Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii. 181 f.; also quoted as from 'ancient writings,' in Mawardi, *Adab al-dunya wal-din*, Stambul, A.H. 1304, p. 71.  
<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lammens, *Études*, 300.  
<sup>5</sup> The *hadiths pro and con* are brought together in the Ahlwardt MSS, Berlin Royal Library, no. 135.  
<sup>6</sup> Bukhārī, *Ijāra*, no. 10. That giving instruction in the Qur'ān might have a pecuniary equivalent is shown by a story which relates how a man who was too poor to give his bride money or money's worth as a wedding-present (*nahr*) was allowed by the Prophet to teach her several suras of the Qur'ān in lieu thereof (Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, no. 40; cf. Zurqānī on *Muwatta*, iii. 7).  
<sup>7</sup> The present writer has not succeeded in tracing this regulation, as cited by Mālik, in the *Muwatta*.  
<sup>8</sup> *Itneue africaine*, xl. 281.  
<sup>9</sup> Kamāl Pashāhāzādah wrote a special *risāla fi jawāz al-istijār 'alā ta'lim al-Qur'ān* (Ahlwardt, Berlin MSS, no. 439).  
<sup>10</sup> For this term, see *WZKM* xlii. (1899) 49.  
<sup>11</sup> 'Abdārī, *Madkhal*, ii. 168, line 13.

<sup>1</sup> *Madkhal*, ii. 159.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ii. 161, line 17.  
<sup>3</sup> *min waḥin nastūrīn bil-'ilm* (*Madkhal*, ii. 159, at the foot).  
<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 160, line 2.  
<sup>5</sup> Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'at*, p. 74.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* 37.  
<sup>7</sup> Ghazālī has a short paragraph on the *ādab mu'allim al-ṣibyan* ('manners of the teacher of children') in his *Al-udab fi-l-din* (*Majmū'at*, ed. Ṣabri al-Kurdi, Cairo, A.H. 1323, p. 67).  
<sup>8</sup> Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, p. 98, line 6.  
<sup>9</sup> *Madkhal*, ii. 158, 162, 167.  
<sup>10</sup> Ibn Bassām, in *Mashrūq*, x. 1084; *Rev. africaine*, xli. 233.  
<sup>11</sup> *Madkhal*, ii. 166, line 19.  
<sup>12</sup> *Ib.* 167.  
<sup>13</sup> Mishn. *Qiddush*, iv. 13.

residence, but in a specially appointed public place (*ḥanūt*, pl. *ḥawānūt*) within sight of the people was intended to prevent every suggestion of scandal.<sup>1</sup> Nor could the halls of the mosques be used for this purpose, as little children might unwittingly defile the walls and flooring of the sacred edifice. This prohibition was supported by a saying of the Prophet: 'Keep your boys and your lunatics away from your mosques'; but the precept was not strictly observed in practice. It has been a favourite custom from olden times to conjoin the elementary school and the public fountain (*sabīl*); the institution of the latter is often combined with that of a school in the upper storey (*maktab sabīl*). It is interesting to note 'Abdārī's criticism of certain practices common among teachers in his day. He holds it unworthy of the profession that a teacher, at the inauguration of his school—or afterwards, if he finds his undertaking insufficiently supported—should try to draw the attention and invite the patronage of the public by setting up placards before the school-gate. It is likewise unbecoming that a teacher, in requesting the parents to attend the school-festivals (*asrāḥ*), should in his letters of invitation (*aurāq isti'dhānā*) flatter them with high-flown epithets and titles, or compose the invitations in verse.<sup>2</sup>

The pupils must also have their off-days. The school must be closed for two days of every week, viz. Thursday and Friday, and also for a period of from one to three days before and after the 'id festival.<sup>3</sup> The Thursday holiday gave occasion to the proverbial phrase, 'to be as happy as a teacher on Thursdays' (*kamā fariḥa al-mu'addib bil-khamīs*).<sup>4</sup> The scholars are also granted a whole or partial holiday whenever any one of them has finally mastered a section of the Qur'an.<sup>5</sup> The parents of a boy who has succeeded in doing this celebrate the event by a festivity (*isrāfa*),<sup>6</sup> and bestow upon the teacher a special gift, the acceptance of which is not frowned upon even by the precisians. When a youth completes his study of the Qur'an, the occasion is celebrated in a feast called (in Mecca) *iqḫāba*, or (in the Maghrib) *takhrīja*.<sup>7</sup> 'Abdārī's minute account of the more extravagant—and to him obnoxious—forms sometimes assumed by these functions reveals an interesting phase of contemporary life.

The question of corporal punishment was also discussed among those with whose educational methods we are now dealing. The 'rod' is regarded as a valuable auxiliary of the teacher's art. The 'strap'—quite characteristically—becomes an object of comparison: 'In the Prophet's hand was a whip, like that used in school' (*ka-dīrrat al-kuttāb*)—a simile often employed.<sup>8</sup> The teacher is sometimes held up to derision by being described as 'one who brandishes the whip' (*ḥamīl dīrra*) and takes reward for the book of God.<sup>9</sup> Even the philosopher Ibn Sīnā, in his treatise on the education of children, speaks of the 'assistance of the hand' (*al-isti'āna bil-yad*) as a useful adjunct of instruction.<sup>10</sup> The tutors of the young sons of khalifs did not spare the rod,<sup>11</sup> nor did the fathers disapprove.

Al-Mubarrad describes a scene in which the Khalīf 'Abdalmalik leads by the hand Prince Marwān, 'crying because of the whipping his teacher had given him.'<sup>12</sup> Abū Maryam, preceptor of the Abbāsīd princes Amin and Ma'mūn, was apparently given to a

too drastic use of the ferule. On one occasion he chastised Prince Amin so severely as to make his arm black and blue. The prince complained to his father, and showed him the maimed arm. The Khalīf invited the stern pedagogue to dinner; and when the latter, in no little apprehension, specified the offence for which the prince had been so sharply dealt with, the father reassured him with the words: 'You are at liberty even to kill him: it were better that he die than remain a fool.'<sup>1</sup>

A further form of punishment was 'keeping in'; but, in the one instance of this known to us, it is the father, not the teacher, who administers the correction.<sup>2</sup>

It was to be expected that, in order to protect the children against the undue severity of irascible masters, Muslim jurisprudence would endeavour to regulate the penalties applied, both as to their form and as to their degree. It sanctioned corporal punishment, especially for religious offences,<sup>3</sup> but only in the case of children over ten years of age; while, as to the amount of punishment, the extreme limit was variously laid down as between three<sup>4</sup> and ten 'light strokes.' Nor must the teacher resort to any instrument used by the judge in administering legal penalties (*ḥadd*). The *Mudkhal* speaks severely of contemporary teachers who chastise with 'dry almond rods, bushy palm-branches, Nubian switches, and even the instrument called the *falāqa*'<sup>5</sup> ('stocks'), and used for the bastinado. The supervision of the teacher in this, as in other matters, was assigned to the chief of police. In the directions drawn up for this officer he is instructed to be observant of the way in which children are treated at school, and to protect them from maltreatment by hot-tempered teachers.<sup>6</sup>

6. Education of girls.—It must be borne in mind that the maxims relating to the training and instruction of the young apply only to boys (*ṣabī*). The education of girls did not fall under these rules except in one single particular, viz. that, as set forth in the police directions recorded by Ibn Bassām, the female teachers of girls (*mu'allimat al-banāt*) are to be more strictly looked after in regard to the poetical pieces which they set before their pupils.<sup>7</sup> While it was deemed necessary to instruct girls in moral and religious things, there was no desire to lead them through the portals of intellectual development. Woman's proper sphere centres in the spindle,<sup>8</sup> and this requires no training in letters. Even the philosophic thinker and poet Abū-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī († A.H. 449=A.D. 1057) endorses this maxim,<sup>9</sup> which became a veritable household word in the ancient Muslim world. The following utterance of the Prophet regarding females—said to rest on the authority of 'Ā'isha—is frequently quoted: 'Do not let them frequent the roofs; do not teach them the art of writing; teach them spinning and the *sūrat al-nūr*.'<sup>10</sup> But it were surely preposterous to regard this *sūra*

<sup>1</sup> *Muḥādarāt al-udabā*, i. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Aghās*, ix. 111, line 8 from foot.

<sup>3</sup> In the instructions regarding the training of children it is usually stated that 'they shall receive corporal punishment for neglecting prayer from the age of thirteen' (e.g. Ghazālī, as above); in other versions (e.g. *Mizān al-'itidāl*, li. 364) the *terminus a quo* is given as ten years.

<sup>4</sup> The maximum of three was deduced from the *ḥadīth* by certain Malikite theologians; see Qasṭallānī, x. 40, line 12 (on Bukhārī, *Muḥārabūn*, no. 29).

<sup>5</sup> *Mudkhal*, li. 165. Regarding the instruments of punishment employed in Oriental schools, cf. the interesting notes, with illustrations (including the *falāqa*), in the *Rev. du monde musulman*, xiii. [1910] 420-423, and xiv. [1911] 67, from which we learn that in one Muslim country or another the various penalties mentioned by 'Abīlari were all in actual use.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, in *Mashriq*, x. 963; cf. *ib.* 966; Ibn Bassām, *ib.* 1034.

<sup>7</sup> *Mashriq*, x. 1085.

<sup>8</sup> Mubarrad, *Kamīl*, 150. An almost verbally identical saying of the Rabbis occurs in the Bab. Talmud, *Yomā*, fol. 66b, on which cf. S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäol.* i. (Leipzig, 1910) 653, note 280.

<sup>9</sup> Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, li. 133.

<sup>10</sup> *Mizān al-'itidāl*, li. 335. This *ḥadīth* is reproduced in the *Muḥādarāt* of Ḥākim as an authentic saying of the Prophet.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Bassām, in *Mashriq*, x. 1084; *Mudkhal*, li. 163; *Rev. africaine*, xli. 281.

<sup>2</sup> *Mudkhal*, li. 169 f.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* 168.

<sup>4</sup> Balawī, *Kitāb Alif-bā*, Calro, A.H. 1287, i. 208.

<sup>5</sup> *Rev. africaine*, xli. 284, at top.

<sup>6</sup> We find also the term *ḥudhāqa* (*Mudkhal*, li. 179, line 16).

<sup>7</sup> Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Hague, 1889, li. 146; Margāis, *Le Dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, Paris, 1902, p. 246.

<sup>8</sup> *Ud al-ghāba*, iii. 50, line 6; iv. 234, line 9; v. 563, line 1.

<sup>9</sup> Yāqūt, ed. Margoliouth, l. 60, line 7 from foot.

<sup>10</sup> *Mashriq*, ix. 1074.

<sup>11</sup> Yāqūt, l. 223.

<sup>12</sup> *Kamīl*, p. 573, line 11.



(xxiv.) as suitable for the training of young girls, containing as it does the revelations which refer to women of known or suspected immoral life. The most emphatic warnings of all are uttered against teaching women to write. Ibn Miskawaih († A.H. 421 = A.D. 1030), in spite of all his schooling in philosophy, finds nothing strange in this prohibition. In his *Jawīdān Khirad* he adopts a pronouncement of 'Omar I. which, in counselling the stringent control of women, lays an interdict upon their being taught to write.<sup>1</sup>

It is told of Luqmān the sage that, when on one occasion he passed a school, and noticed that a girl was being taught, he asked, 'For whom is this sword being polished?' implying, of course, that the girl would be her future husband's ruin.<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising to find this view reflected in the police instructions handed down by Ibn Bassām: 'He [the teacher] must not instruct any woman or female slave in the art of writing, for thereby would accrue to them only an increase of depravity.' It is a current saying that 'a woman who is taught to write is like a serpent which is given poison to drink.'<sup>3</sup>

Girls must be kept from the study of poetical literature; here there is no concession whatever, such as is made in the literary education of boys.<sup>4</sup>

These views, however, belong rather to the sphere of ethnology than to that of religion, and it would be absurd to regard them as expressing principles inseparable from the fundamental teachings of Islam. The history of Muslim civilization, even in periods which show no deviation from the line of strict orthodoxy, would supply many a refutation of such a theory. When we bear in mind how many women had a share in the transmission of *hadith* works,<sup>5</sup> we see the untenability of the view that in religious circles the art of writing was withheld from women on principle. The daughter of Malik b. Anas was able to correct the errors of those who recited and transmitted her father's *Muwatta*.<sup>6</sup> That the rule against teaching women to write was of universal validity is disproved by the very name of a learned lady of Damascus, viz. *Sitt al-kutaba* ('mistress of the writers') *bint abi-l-Tarh*, who supplied Jūsuf b. 'Aldal-mu'min of Nābulūs with traditions.<sup>7</sup> The learned woman is found even among remote tribes in the heart of the Southern Sahara, where women are apparently not prohibited from cultivating Muslim learning.<sup>8</sup>

'The nomads of this region of the Sahara possess books, precisely as do the settlers; nor do they abandon them even in their wanderings; their migratory habits do not prevent their devoting themselves to intellectual activities, or allowing their children, even girls, to share in such studies.'<sup>9</sup>

Above all, however, it is the position of women in the learned life of Andalusian Islam, as portrayed by such writers as al-Marrākushi,<sup>10</sup> and verified by the facts of literary history, that shows to what a small extent the prohibitory maxims were applied in actual religious practice.

<sup>1</sup> MS in Leyden Univ. Library, no. 640, p. 202.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Mas'ūd, in Ibn Hajar al-Haitami, *Fatāwī hadithiyya*, Cairo, 1307, p. 63, among other warnings against educating girls.

<sup>3</sup> *Mashriq*, x, 1085. Cf. Muhammad ben Cheneb, *Proverbes arabes de l'Algérie et du Maghreb*, ii. (Paris, 1906) 246f., no. 1085.

<sup>4</sup> Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 214, line 1; Ibn Bassām, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> The instances given in the present writer's *Mus. Studien*, II, 405-407, might be largely added to. We take occasion to refer only to the many women mentioned by Tāj al-din al-Subki († A.H. 771 = A.D. 1370) among the sources of his knowledge of tradition; see, e.g., *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyya*, i, 49, lines 16, 17; 61, 16; 69, 7; 72, 16; 74, 12; 76, 8; 80, 3 from foot; 82, 3; 107, 7 from foot, etc. The number of women referred to as sources of tradition by al-Suyūṭī († A.H. 911 = A.D. 1505) in the list of his *Ismā'īl* (in appendix to his *Bughyat al-u'atā'*, pp. 440-461) is surprisingly large.

<sup>6</sup> *Madkhal*, i, 179.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Kaṭāb, *Ṭabaqāt al-Hanābila* (MS in Leipzig Univ. Library, Völlers, no. 708), fol. 149a.

<sup>8</sup> For a notable example from the 17th cent. see *Rev. du monde musulman*, xiv. [1911] 7.

<sup>9</sup> Ismā'il Hamet, 'La Civilisation arabe en Afrique Centrale' (ib. 11). The author contrasts the ignorance prevalent among women in the Northern Sahara with the culture which is widely diffused among those of the Southern tribes (ib. 22).

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. of the Almohades*, ed. Dozy, Leyden, 1881, p. 270.

Besides the women who attained eminence in various branches of science and literature, and especially in poetry, we find several who were active in civic service, as, e.g., 'Muzna (secretary to the Emir al-Nāṣir li-din-Allah [† A.H. 358 = A.D. 969]), the learned, gifted with a beautiful handwriting.'<sup>1</sup> Such examples show at least that the prohibitive sayings referred to were a dead letter in practical life; and they also prove that the education of women actually attained a very high standard, and went far beyond the prescribed limit of the *surat al-nūr*. Hence the endeavours made within recent times in various parts of the Muslim world to raise female education to the level of Western civilization may be justified by an appeal to the past history of orthodox Islam.

## 7. Education in ethical and political writings.—

The problem of elementary education has not been ignored in the literature of ethics and politics. The somewhat mechanical precepts of the older theological writings have been furnished with a deeper foundation in ethics and philosophy, and enriched with the ideas of a more worthy conception of life. As in ethics and philosophy generally, so also in education, we must recognize the powerful effects of that Hellenistic influence which we have already noted in some matters of detail. Reference was made above to an educational excursus which Avicenna († A.H. 428 = A.D. 1037) incorporated in his tractate on government (*risālat al-siyāsa*).<sup>2</sup> But Avicenna dealt with little more than the formal elements of the question, and it was really al-Ghazālī († A.H. 505 = A.D. 1111) who first brought the problem of education into organic relation with a profound ethical system. Starting from the Hellenistic idea of the infant mind as a *tabula rasa* susceptible of objective impressions,<sup>3</sup> he urges upon parents and teachers their solemn responsibility for the principles which they may stamp permanently upon the young soul. The child is given them as a trust, and it is their part to guard it well and faithfully. They must not only fill the young mind with knowledge, but—and Ghazālī lays special emphasis upon this—must seek to stimulate the child's moral consciousness, and train him to the proprieties of social life.<sup>4</sup>

It is somewhat remarkable that in the discussion of problems in the theory and practice of education the literature of Western Islam (the Maghrib) takes the lead. In the East, it is true, Ghazālī's vigorous dissertation makes up for the more abundant products of the West, and has, moreover, had a great influence upon the latter. As early as the 4th cent. A.H., however, we find a reference to a work called *Kitāb al-tafḍīl fi ta'dīb al-muta'allimīn* ('On the Education of Pupils'), by 'Alī b. Muhammad b. Khalaf al-Qābisī († A.H. 403 = A.D. 1012), of Gabes in Southern Tunis,<sup>5</sup> who enjoyed a high repute as one of the Malikiite traditional school.<sup>6</sup> The present writer has, however, sought in vain for any further mention of this presumably pedagogical work of al-Qābisī. In regard to the legal provisions bearing upon education, again, the great authority

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Dabbī*, ed. Codera, no. 1590 (*Bibl. Arab. Hisp.* vol. III.).

<sup>2</sup> Published in the Arab magazine *Mashriq*, ix.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Arabic proverb *Al-ta'allum fa-l-ṣiḡhar kal-nagah fa-l-hajar* ('Learning in youth is like engraving upon stone'), Jāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 102, line 10 from foot.

<sup>4</sup> This most important treatise by Ghazālī has been translated into English and appreciatively criticized by D. B. Macdonald, 'The Moral Education of the Young among the Muslims,' in *IJ* xv. [1905] 280-304; cf. also al-Ghazālī, *Lettre sur l'éducation des enfants*, tr. by Muhammad ben Cheneb, in *Rev. africaine*, xiv. [1901] 241 f.

<sup>5</sup> Balawi (likewise a native of the Maghrib), *Kitāb Atif-ba*, i, 76, line 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1835-40, no. 457 (tr. de Slane, London, 1848-71, ii. 263). Abu Bakr ibn Khālir (*Bibl. Arab. Hisp.* ix. x.), p. 296.

is Abu-l-Walid ibn Rushd the elder († A.H. 520 = A.D. 1126), qadi of Cordova, and grandfather of the famous philosopher of the same name (i.e. Averroës). Abū Bakr ibn al-'Arabi († A.H. 543 = A.D. 1148), qadi of Seville, who expounded his educational ideas in a work entitled *Marāqī al-zulfā* ('Stages of approach,' i.e. to God), is also frequently indebted—even in his language—to Ghazālī's treatise. The *Marāqī* is apparently lost, but numerous excerpts are quoted in a work by another Maghrib writer, the *Madkhal al-shar'* al-sharif ('Introduction to the Sublime Law' of Muhannad ibn al-Hajj al-'Abdari († A.H. 737 = A.D. 1336-7). This work, which has in view the reform of Muslim life on the basis of the ancient Sunna, devotes a number of sections to the subject of education and training, and has on this account been used as one of the sources of the present article. It is worthy of remark that in the scheme of education set forth in 'Abdari's quotations from the *Marāqī* of Ibn al-'Arabi, the latter lays great stress upon hardening the body: the young should sleep in hard beds, and be trained in physical exercise; they should be urged to bodily activity, and inured to pain by corporal punishment. He also pleads strongly for games and hours of recreation.

<sup>1</sup> If a child is kept from play, and forced to work at his tasks without intermission, his spirit will be depressed; his power of thought and his freshness of mind will be destroyed; he will become sick of study, and his life will be overclouded, so that he will try all possible shifts to evade his lessons.<sup>1</sup>

Ghazālī likewise had spoken emphatically on the evils of overpressure. Next in order after 'Abdari comes another Maghrib authority, Ibn Khaldūn († A.H. 808 = A.D. 1405), renowned as a writer on the philosophy of history, who devoted great attention to educational problems, and especially to the spirit of primary education, its gradation, the methods of teaching the Qur'an and philological subjects, and even the question of school-books (*mutūn*);<sup>2</sup> a lucid account of his educational ideas will be found in D. B. Macdonald's *Aspects of Islam*.<sup>3</sup> A work treating of married life (*muqni' al-muhtāj fī adāb al-ziwāy*) by the Maghrib writer Abu-l-'Abbās b. Ardūn al-Zajlī († A.H. 992 = A.D. 1584) contains a long chapter on the education of children; this was published recently by Paul Paquignon.<sup>4</sup> Reference may also be made to a compendium of the maxims relating to education, the work of a Maghrib author whose name is not given; it is based largely on the treatise of 'Abdari, and has been published in the original, together with a French translation, by the Algerian professor, Muhammad ben Cheneb.<sup>5</sup>

A word may be added, for fullness' sake, regarding the educational 'guide' of Burhān al-dīn al-Zarnūjī (c. A.H. 600 = A.D. 1203), introduced into Europe under the title of *Enchiridion Studiosi*.<sup>6</sup> This work, the author of which was a native of the East, deals, not with primary education, but with the study of theology, and gives pious counsels for the successful prosecution thereof. From the educational standpoint the sixth chapter is worthy of attention, as it contains suggestions regarding the first steps in study, the amounts to be mastered in the early stages, the repetition of what has been learned, etc. The author, conformably to time-honoured maxims, advises students to begin a study so far as possible on a Wednesday, as it was on that day that God created light.<sup>7</sup>

8. Modern movements towards reform.—So long as the social life of Islam remained impervious to Western influence, and even to-day in circles that are still unaffected by it, the

<sup>1</sup> In *Madkhal*, iii. 312 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Prolégomènes*, ed. Quatremère, Paris, 1858, iii. 248; tr. de Slane, Paris, 1862-68, iii. 271 ff.

<sup>3</sup> New York, 1911, pp. 309-316.

<sup>4</sup> *Revue du monde musulman*, xv. [1911] 118-123.

<sup>5</sup> 'Notions de pédagogie musulmane,' *Rev. africaine*, xll. [1897] 209-285.

<sup>6</sup> ed. Caspari, Leipzig, 1838.

<sup>7</sup> *Ta'im al-muta'allim tarīq al-ta'allum*, with a commentary by Shaikh Ibn Ismā'il 'Alī (dedicated to Sultan Murād III. [1674-1696]), Maimaniyya Printing Office, Cairo, A.H. 1311, p. 31.

instruction of the young proceeded mainly on the lines laid down in the older theological writings (see above, § 2). The best descriptions of this traditional stage are found in the works of E. Lane<sup>1</sup> and Snouck Hurgronje<sup>2</sup> (for Arabic countries), and H. Vámbéry<sup>3</sup> (for Turkey proper).<sup>4</sup> But, while this primitive and patriarchal form of instruction still holds its place—even amid the influences of foreign culture with which it will have nothing to do—there has meanwhile arisen in various Muslim countries a system of education which comes more and more into harmony with modern requirements. The new movement was initiated by the Egyptian pasha Muhammad 'Alī, the founder of modern Egypt, whose educational reforms, begun in 1811, were at first, it is true, of a somewhat circumscribed character. A further advance was made in 1824 by the erection of training schools in various departments, and the movement was partially organized and consolidated in 1836.<sup>5</sup> On this basis all branches of education have made rapid progress in Egypt. In Turkey, the reform of primary education was inaugurated in 1845, under Sultan 'Abdulmajid, by the institution of the so-called *Rushdiyya* schools, while in 1868 his successor, 'Abdul 'Aziz, established a lyceum in Galata-Serai.<sup>6</sup> But, in spite of ceaseless efforts to raise the standard and widen the scope of education throughout Turkey, the results still fall far short of a general diffusion of knowledge, and in many parts of the Ottoman Empire there has been no advance whatever upon the crude institutions of primitive times. It should be added, however, that in Turkey and elsewhere the more liberal-minded Muhammadans, in default of adequate institutions of their own, send their children of either sex to non-Muslim schools established by European and American agencies.

It will be readily understood that, in countries under European rule having a Muslim population, the various Governments have greatly promoted the cause of education by the establishment of distinctively Muslim schools, as, e.g., in India,<sup>7</sup> and, since the English occupation, also in Egypt. In the Muslim colonies of France and Holland likewise,<sup>8</sup> the respective administrations have devoted great efforts to the task of bringing the native educational methods nearer to the standards of modern culture. It is a remarkable fact that the Muhammadan subjects of the Russian empire (Tatars) are spontaneously and independently making strenuous and successful efforts to develop a modern system of education,<sup>9</sup> and, under the leadership of enlightened co-religionists, are able, in all social and intellectual concerns, to combine an unswerving loyalty to their faith with an earnest striving after progress on modern lines. The advance thus being made in various branches of education embraces also the instruction of girls, which is coming to be recognized more and more

<sup>1</sup> *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, i. (London, 1871) ch. ii. ('Early Education'), p. 73 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mekka*, ii. 143 ff. For East India, cf. the same writer's *De Atjehers*, Leyden, 1894, ii. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Sittenbilder aus dem Morgenlande*, Berlin, 1876, p. 120 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, ed. Langlès, Paris, 1811, iv. 224 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Dor, *L'Instruction publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1872; Yakoub Artin Pasha, *L'Instruction publique en Égypte*, Paris, 1890. The latest statistical information regarding Muslim and Coptic education in Egypt is given in a little work entitled *Al-ta'lim fī Miṣr*, Cairo, A.H. 1329, by Shaikh 'Alī Jusuf.

<sup>6</sup> The main particulars are given by Carra de Vaux, *La Doctrine de l'Islam*, Paris, 1909, p. 210 ff.

<sup>7</sup> On the present state of Muslim education in India, see *Revue du monde musulman*, xv. [1911] 118-123.

<sup>8</sup> J. G. Hockman, 'L'Enseignement aux Indes Orientales Néerlandaises,' in *Bibliothèque Coloniale Internationale* (Institut Colon. Intern., Brussels), 9th ser., vol. I.

<sup>9</sup> See Molla Aminoff, 'Les Progrès de l'Instruction publique chez les Musulmans russes,' in *Rev. du monde musulman*, ix. 247-263, 295; Sophie Bobrovnikoff, 'Moslems in Russia,' in *The Moslem World*, ed. Zwerner, I. (1911) 16 ff.

as a matter of vital moment for the Muhammadan world. The more important phases and incidents of the whole movement are chronicled in the *Revue du monde musulman* (Paris, since 1906), which deals with all Muslim countries, and has now completed its sixteenth volume.

Among specifically Muhammadan tendencies making for educational reform, we may mention the Bābī movement, which arose in Persia in 1844 (see art. BĀB, BĀBIS, vol. ii. p. 299 ff.), and which, as Bahā'ism, has since then been constantly extending its influence. From the outset the principles of this sect have embraced an endeavour to raise primary education to a higher level and to relieve it of its long legacy of prejudice—aims which have been most strenuously pursued by the Bahā'ī. Their more exalted conception of woman and of her function in family life, and their abolition of the restraints placed upon the female sex by ancient convention, are naturally coupled with efforts to improve the education of girls.

With the progress of primary education the development of the higher grades of instruction goes hand in hand. In many parts of the Muslim world, indeed, the latter has outstripped the former. A considerable number of colleges for the study of special subjects—military, medical, legal, and technical—and designed primarily to meet economic and political requirements, have been established, and in some centres these are combined to form a kind of university (*dār al-funūn*).<sup>1</sup> A large institution, designed to perform the function of a university, was quite recently erected in Cairo<sup>2</sup> (President-Rector, Prince Ahmed Fu'ād Pasha, great grandson of Muhammad 'Alī). In Aligarh, India, the endeavour to form the academy founded there in 1875 into a university is within sight of success—a movement which, with Agha Khān at its head, finds generous support among adherents of Islām throughout India.<sup>3</sup> Teherān likewise has a college which does its work under the style of a *dār al-funūn*. By way of providing stepping-stones towards such higher institutions, effective progress is being made in Turkey and Egypt with the system of preparatory or *īdādi* schools.

These institutions are all conducted according to detailed instructions of the respective Governments, and the instructions are printed and made public. Various reforms, especially in regard to the system of examination and granting diplomas, have been recently effected by the Government in the great *madrassa* of the Azhar mosque in Cairo, in which the study of the various branches of theology is pursued on traditional lines; as also in the schools associated with that *madrassa* at Tanṭa (the Ahmediyya mosque), Damietta, and Alexandria.<sup>4</sup> The need for reform in higher theological education has asserted itself also in more sequestered localities.<sup>5</sup> Among other agencies aiming at the diffusion of culture among Muhammadans, mention may be made of the Khaldūniyya institution at Tunis,<sup>6</sup> which takes its name from the Ibn Khaldūn referred to above. All these manifold activities are but so many endeavours

<sup>1</sup> As regards Turkey, cf. M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 127 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. du monde musulman*, xiii. [1911] 1-29. The courses given in Cairo University by native and European scholars (Guidi, Littmann, Nallino, etc.) in Arabic have now been published.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* xiii. 570-578; as to the objects of the university, cf. *ib.* xiv. [1911] 100 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. Arminjon, *L'Enseignement, la doctrine, et la vie dans les universités musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris, 1907.

<sup>5</sup> As, e.g., in Bukhāra; cf. *Rev. du monde musulman*, xiv. [1911] 143.

<sup>6</sup> The official organ of this establishment is *Al-madrassa*, edited by 'Abdalrazzāq al-Niṭānī; it contains reports of the courses in the various subjects taught in the Institution.

to arouse, strengthen, and apply in practice, among the Muhammadan peoples, the conviction that their religion does not prohibit them from rising to the demands of a progressive civilization, or pursuing the intellectual life.

LITERATURE.—This has been given fully in the footnotes.

I. GOLDZIHNER.

EDUCATION (Persian).—The Persians, like all other Orientals, attached high value to education, so that Hōrmāzd (afterwards Hormisdas IV.) could reply to his teacher, the sage Buzurjmīhr, that 'wisdom is the best thing, for the sage is the greatest among the great' (*Shāh-nāmah*, tr. Mohl, Paris, 1876-78, vi. 425), and the Pahlavi *Pandnāmak-i Vajōrg-Mitrō* (ed. and tr. Peshotan Behramji Sanjana [under the title *Ganjeshāyagān*], Bombay, 1885, p. 11) makes the same sage say: 'Education makes man noble, . . . education is a corrector of man'; while the 9th cent. *Dinkart* (ed. and tr. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., p. 585) declares that 'men ought to raise themselves to illustrious positions by worldly knowledge and by education, (which enables them) to read and write.' So vital was this matter, especially as regards religion, that even an adult was advised by Buzurjmīhr (*Pandnāmak*, p. 21) to spend a third of every day and night 'in getting religious training and in asking sensible questions of pious men,' the second third being devoted to agriculture, and the remainder to eating, sleeping, and recreation. The legal code of the Avesta, in like manner, enjoins that the 'holy word' (*mādra spenta*) be pronounced to those who come 'seeking (religious) instruction' (*aratu-eināh* [*Vend.* iv. 44]), and it is especially mentioned as a desirable characteristic of children that they be 'of good understanding' (*hvīra* [*Yasna*, lxii. 5; *Yast*, xiii. 134]).

Thus far there is the unity of all generalities; but, when we turn to the data concerning the actual training of children, much confusion confronts us. The reason doubtless is that, just as in modern times, education was not absolutely uniform; and, in addition, the passages on which we must rely are largely concerned (especially in the classical authors) with the early training of royal children; while some accounts, notably those of Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, are not free from the suspicion of exaggeration in the interests of political romance.

The *Vendīdād* states (xv. 45) that the care (*brādra*) of the child should last seven years. Until the age of four (Bahram Gūr, *Shāh-nāmah*, v. 400), five (Herod. i. 136), or seven (Valer. Max. ii. 6), the infant passed his time in the valen's apartments, and his first training was received from women and eunuchs (Plato, *Legg.* 695 A; cf. the pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades Primus*, 121 D). From five until seven the child should be under its father's tuition (*Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, v. 1 [West, *SBE* v. 290]), although, as in the case of Bahram Gūr, who was sent to Arabia in infancy (*Shāh-nāmah*, *loc. cit.*), this rule was not always observed. Real instruction began about the age of seven (Bahram Gūr), or even as early as five (Herod. i. 136; Strabo, p. 733), and lasted until the age of twelve (Bahram Gūr, who, however, seems to have been exceptionally brilliant), fifteen (Artaxshir Pāpakān, the founder of the Sasanian empire [*Kārnāmak-i Artaxshir-i Pāpakān*, ed. and tr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, Bombay, 1896, p. 5]), sixteen or seventeen (Xenophon, *Cyropæd.* i. ii. 8), twenty (Herod. i. 136), or even twenty-four (Strabo, p. 733); but all essential instruction should be given by parents to their children by the age of fifteen (*Pandnāmak*, p. 25). It was a man's duty to instruct his child, for thus it might rise to some superior station in life (*Dink.* ed. Sanjana, p. 263); and he should teach not only his child, but his wife, his countrymen, and himself