Malay Text Minhat Al-Qarib by Tuan Tabal (D. 1891): A Reading on Fiqh munakahat and Ibadat

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Abstract: Tuan Tabal is one of the most prominent Muslim scholars (ulama') in the Malay world. He contributed greatly in the area of Islamic studies by producing several kitabs (books) which are used as textbooks. This paper examines the contributions of Tuan Tabal in the area of fiqh based on one of his books, entitled Minhat al-Qarib al-Mujib wa Mughni al-Raghibin fi al-Taqrib, which is known as Minhat al-Qarib. It was found out that the kitab contained three branches of Islamic knowledge which were merged together in his writing. This fusion of knowledge (aqidah, fiqh and tasawwuf) generates new writing approach in Malay world. This paper concludes that Tuan Tabal is influenced by al-Shafi’i’ school of thought as evident from the discussion on Jurisprudence aspect in his book.

Key words: Tuan Tabal, Malay text, Jurisprudence, Fiqh, Religious education

INTRODUCTION

The expansion of Islam to the whole community in the world is aimed at broadening the minds of the society from an intellectual and moral perspective together. History led the world to admit the contribution of Islam in producing a great civilisation, which has proven to bring peace and harmony for the entire world [1]. The spread of Islam, which shone throughout the Malay Archipelago right from the seventh century and continued to do so even more brightly after the thirteenth century [2], gave birth to an Islamic culture for its followers. This process can be said to be the result of the hard work of the da’i (Muslim missionary) who expand the teachings of Islam, but did everything for the sake of finding God’s pleasure [3].

In Malaysia, the most dynamic state in term of Islamic activism is Kelantan. Currently Kelantan is under opposition ruling of the Pan-Islamic Party of Malaysia (PAS) for the fifth term back-to-back won in general election [4, 5]. The state is regarded as a unique Malay state which has a history of giving birth to its own famous figures, be it figures of politics, literature, culture or religious. Being concentrated to the development of religious in the state, Islam did not hold back the progress of the Malays [6, 7]. This drew the interest of many historians to investigate and study the development of the intellect, religion, literature as well as culture of the societies of old, which started and expanded since the past few centuries [8]. The state of Kelantan was actually a great centre for the development of literature, because a lot of research found proof of its great treasury of knowledge and literature, whether in the royal houses, pondoks (traditional informal-type schools), or among the community or people themselves. The rapid development of Islam in Kelantan began when Pattani (currently part of Thailand) was still a part of Kelantan, which was during the early era the nineteenth century [9]. At that time, a
number of renowned Muslim scholars were born, who produced a number of writings which were well-known in the Malay language. For example, Ab Razak Mahmud stated that [10]:

“Seven prominent Muslim scholars of the state of Kelantan were known to have played a huge role in the expansion of the traditional studies of Islamic knowledge, the existence of the ‘knowledge culture’ as well as the building of an Islamic way of life in Kelantan, in the period of the last two centuries up to the 20th century... the seven Muslim scholars are Tok Pulai Chondong (1792-1873) or his real name Haji Abdul Samad bin Faqih Haji Abdullah bin Imam Hashim, Tok Wan Ali Kutan (1820-1913) or his real name Haji Wan Ali bin Abdul Rahman bin Wan Ghafur, Tuan Tabal (1840-1890) or his real name Haji Abdul Samad bin Muhammad Salih al-Kelantani, Tok Kenali (1870-1933) or his real name Haji Muhammad Yusuf bin Ahmad, Haji Abdullah Tahir Bunut Payung (1897-1961), Dato’ Haji Muhammad Nor Ibrahim (1905-1987) and Haji Hassan Idris (1926 - now).”

Apart from this, [11] also mentioned in his writings that:

“The activities of spreading knowledge especially those concerning the teachings of Islam and philosophy in the early stages were significantly carried out by three prominent Muslim scholars. The three Muslim scholars are Tuan Haji Abdul Samad bin Muhammad Salih (1816-1891), who was more well-known as Tuan Tabal, Haji Wan Ali bin Abdul Rahman and Haji Muhammad Yusuf bin Ahmad or more known as Tok Kenali.”

From these statements, it is clear that one of the most important figures who played a role in the educational and writing development in the Malay World was Tuan Tabal. Tuan Tabal was distinguished as a Muslim scholar and at the same time as a Sufi. His expertise in the area of tasawwuf and a few other religious areas of study was acknowledged by other Muslim scholars especially those of his birthplace, Kelantan [12]. As many of his works are still not collected, studied, explained and presented in an academic and arranged manner, it is therefore necessary that this initiative is taken in order to recognise the works of this prominent Muslim scholar.

**Tuan Tabal:** A History of His Life: Tuan Tabal’s name is Haji Abdul Samad bin Muhammad Salih al-Kelantani. He was born around 1840 and died in 1891 [13]. However, his exact date of birth is still not found. Most historians debated between two different dates which were years 1816 and 1840. Some are of the opinion that 1840 is more accurate than 1816 [14].

A few studies stated Tuan Tabal’s full name as Haji Wan Abdul Samad bin Wan Muhammad Salih bin Wan Abdul Latif al-Fatani [15]. There are no disagreements or debates concerning his real name and his name was well-known to the people of the time. He was born in the village of Tabal and died in Kota Bharu [10]. He was put to rest in the resting land of his family in Banggol. The name Tuan Tabal was originally coined from the name of his birthplace, which is situated in what is now Southern Thailand. It had become a tradition of the Muslim community of Kota Bharu, in appearance of a Muslim scholar among them, to name that particular scholar after the name of his birthplace [10].

According to some researches, Tuan Tabal was the firstborn child of 8 siblings. His other brothers and sisters were named Maimunah, Salamah, Said, Haji Yusuf, Haji Abdul Rahman, Haji Uthman and Haji Taib. His mother whose name was Tok Cu Mah lies in Pattani, while his father who was more well-known as Haji Wan Leh, was put to rest in Pangkalan Kubor, Tumpat, Kelantan [14].

It is undeniable that Tuan Tabal is included in the extended family of several renowned Muslim scholars of Pattani, such as Sheikh Daud bin Abdullah al-Fatani, Sheikh Zainal Abidin bin Muhammad al-Fatani, Sheikh Muhammad bin Ismail al-Fatani, Sheikh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain al-Fatani and others [15]. His father was a great imam in the village of Tabal [16]. Thus, Tuan Tabal’s early exposure to the Islamic teachings was done by his own father. As a result of this early exposure, Tuan Tabal was influenced to lead the life of a pious and devout follower of Islam.

His migration to Kota Bharu happened sometime in 1870. To describe it briefly, Tuan Tabal was arranged to be married by Tok Semian to his daughter named Wan Kalsom or also known as Wan Som, who was known to be his second wife. With his wife, Tuan Tabal was gifted with six children who were named Wan Muhammad/Ahmad, Wan Musa, Wan Omar, Wan Abdullah, Wan Aishah and Wan Fatimah. The most well-known among his children were Haji Wan Muhammad, Haji Wan Musa and Haji Wan Abdullah. However, some researchers stated that after Tuan Tabal’s second marriage, which was to Wan Kalsom, he married a third wife by the name of Hajah Barum which was arranged by Engku Embong [17]. This is yet to be proven.
With Hajah Baru, Tuan Tabal fathered Pak Da Che Mat ‘the Singer’ and Che Wook. Che Mat worked as a clerk at the Syari’a Court while Che Wook married Haji Mahmud of Pasir Hor. After marrying Wan Som, Tuan Tabal continued to live permanently in Kota Bharu, building a praying hall (musolla) at Lorong Tok Semian, which was situated not far away from the Great. Tuan Tabal lived during the same age as Tok Wan Ali Kutan, but they lived in different places, although both were originally from Kelantan [18]. In fact, both of these Muslim scholars were famous as Kelantanese writers of the jawi script during the 19th century. Tok Wan Ali worked in Mecca, while Tuan Tabal did his work in Kelantan. Tuan Tabal was destined to not live a long life. He was said to have died at the age of 51, but an accurate date of death is yet to be found. However, several writers after his age (including his own great grandson) concluded that his death took place sometime during the year 1891.

Tuan Tabal’s Education: After receiving basic education from his father and a number of other teachers at the Tabal mosque, Tuan Tabal, as a teenager, travelled to Besut, Terengganu to seek religious studies [16]. He studied Arabic Nahw (syntactic) and Saraf, Fiqh Shafi’iyyah, Tasawwuf (mystics) and Usuluddin. Apart from studying the areas of Tasawwuf, Tuan Tabal also gained knowledge of Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), Usuluddin, Tafsir, Hadith and Arabic Nahw and Saraf. He also studied Mantik (logic), Balaghah (rhetoric), ‘Arud and others. After a few years of study in Besut, Tuan Tabal journeyed to Mecca to continue his studies at a higher level. Some sources state that Tuan Tabal also, during his childhood, received education in a pondok at Pattani in Southern Thailand before continuing his studies at Mecca [13].

In Mecca, one of Tuan Tabal’s teachers was Sidi Ibrahim, who was a student of Sidi Ahmad Ibn Idris, the founder of the Ahmadiyah tariqat from Northern Africa. As a result, Tuan Tabal is often regarded as one of the first Muslim scholars to spread the teachings of this tariqat in the Archipelago based on the fact that he acquired the knowledge of the tariqat from the second level of the source and he himself was of the third level according to the chronology.

Tuan Tabal returned to his home from Mecca around 1860. In his village, he started to teach the knowledge which he received when he was in Mecca. His classes were conducted in a halaqah (a circle), or according to the pondok system which was at the time most welcomed by the public.

Tuan Tabal’s Written Works: Tuan Tabal was not only famed for being a good teacher and educator of the community, but he was also known for his foresightedness. For this reason, he worked hard to translate and prepare suitable educational books and papers which are until now used as textbooks and teaching and learning materials in the pondok halaqah education system and others [14]. Abdul Razak Mahmud stated that Tuan Tabal produced seven religious textbooks. The books are entitled Minhat al-Qarib, Jala’ al-Qulub, Munabbih al-Ghaflin, Bidayat al-Ta’lim, Kifayat al-Awwam, Bab Harap and Manhaj Ahli al-Awbat fi Bayan al-Tawbat [10]. Abdul Razak Mahmud listed these seven religious textbooks written by Tuan Tabal and it can be seen that most of the books were related to tasawwuf. Therefore, Tuan Tabal was well-known because of his works which were written on tasawwuf and also his involvement in the practice of the Ahmadiyah tariqat. According to Abdul Razak Mahmud [10]:

“Tuan Tabal’s fame was not a result of his big pondok or the great number of his pupils, but it was due to the great influence of the tasawwuf and Ahmadiyah tariqat teachings which he carried together with his written works. He produced seven such textbooks which have been published until now and most of them are related to tasawwuf.”

Apart from that, the book entitled Minhat al-Qarib can be illustrated as Tuan Tabal’s primary work as it gathered all the disciplines of knowledge which he competence. The text discusses a combined number of important basic disciplines of knowledge such as Tawhid (theology), Fiqh and Tasawwuf. Since his written works covered various disciplines, as researchers we tried to choose one of the aspects which make up the contents of his book and illustrate the strong ability towards the knowledge he studied. Therefore, the following discussions will focus on Tuan Tabal’s primary work, followed by the discussion on the aspects of Islamic jurisprudence found in the book.

Introduction to the Book of Minhat al-Qarib: This piece of work written by Tuan Tabal is included in the group of yellow texts. The ‘yellow’ texts or kitabs are books which are printed on yellowish-coloured pieces of paper. It is widely used for educational purposes such as in pondok schools, traditional religious schools, pesantren, mosques and praying halls. A big number of these books are big-sized and not bound according to
volume. Now, these 'yellow’ books have been reprinted using normal white-coloured paper according to their volumes [19].

As mentioned, it is also known by its shorter name, *Minhat al-Qarib*. It was used by Tuan Tabal and his successors to teach in the Pondok school he set up in Kelantan. This book contained 327 pages of writing and was considered a thick volume compared to the standard ‘yellow’ text written during the early years of the 20th century. It begins with a chapter on *Tawhid*, followed by *Fiqh* and ended with a chapter on *Tasawwuf*.

From a physical sense, this book was written using large-sized pages which were rather yellowish in colour. The words were neatly type-written in a neat box. One of the few elements of decoration that can be seen is on the first page, in which the words are type-written in a leaf-patterned border. On the first page or at the beginning of the book, the illumination used is a geometrically-shaped dome. At the start of every chapter, the titles are decorated with an interesting but simple cloud-shape. Finally, at the end of the book, the words are arranged to form the shape of an upturned dome.

The script used in Tuan Tabal’s writings is a mixture of the Jawi script with a touch of Arabic influence and the first stage of the Malay spelling. Sometimes we can find words which are spelled according to the second stage of the Malay spelling. However, the major part of the spelling of words is from the first stage. Some examples of these words are as follows: The second stage Arabic-influenced Jawi scripture ‘maka’ is spelled (الله). ‘Hamba’ is spelled as (الله). The first stage Malay-influenced Jawi spelling includes ‘masak’ spelled as (الله) and ‘oleh’ (الله). Meanwhile, an example from the second stage of the Malay-influenced Jawi scripture is ‘ditilikkan’ spelled as (الله).

From the linguistic aspect, the text was written using the classic Malay language. Sometimes we can find a small influence of the Arabic language in the writing style. This is not impossible as the education received by the author of this book greatly influences the style of their writing. Some of these Arabic influences that can be seen are the use of terms such as *majrub*, *majhul* and others. The writing of this work is also closely linked with translations from the flowery Arabic language which was adjusted and made suitable according to the context of the Malay language. Some of the words that we can usually find in these ‘yellow textbooks’ are *arakian*, *hatta* and *sayugia*; Tuan Tabal’s works also contain these influences.

In the introduction, the author briefly discusses the synopsis for this book. Tuan Tabal included several verses from the *Quran* and the *Hadith* in his explanation on several wisdoms. He also inserted the opinions of some great Muslim scholars such as the sayings of Imam al-Ghazali, Abdul Qadir Idrus and others.

Next, Tuan Tabal starts on the topic of his book by presenting a chapter on *al-Aqidah*. In this chapter, he gives an explanation on the basic matters of Islamic theology. He explains several concepts such as the compulsory characteristics of Allah as well as the impossible characteristics, together with the characteristics for the Prophets and Messengers of Allah. This chapter also states the compulsoriness of believing the six pillars of *Iman* and the consequences of not doing so. This chapter is considered the shortest chapter as it is only two pages long. However, several matters that concern *Tawhid* (theology) are inserted among the chapters on *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) such as *Riddah* or apostasy.

After his short chapter on *Aqidah*, Tuan Tabal continues with his writing in the area of *Fiqh* which covers many aspects on *Ibadah* such as prayers, fasting, *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), *umrah*, *taharah*, *izinja’*; a chapter on *mu’amalah* (matters in business transactions) such as *riba*, *wadi’ah*, *al-Ariah*, buying and selling; *munakahat* (marriage matters) such as getting into marriage, *talak* (divorce), *khulu’,* *li’an* and other matters. His discussions on these matters can be seen from page 7 to page 224. The chapter on *Fiqh* is entitled Kitab al-Taharah and ends with a discussion on the status of a mother who gives birth to a son but her son treats her as a slave mother. This phenomenon is discussed under the topic *Fasl fi Ahkam Ummahat al-Awlad*.

After that, the author continues a discussion on the topic of *Tasawwuf* which starts on page 224 right until page 327. For this subject, he starts with a chapter entitled Bab Tawbat and ends with a chapter on the *adab* of *zikr*.

Finally, Tuan Tabal ends his book by giving praise to Allah for his success in finishing the book. Some of the contents of the closing chapter are humble and apologetic words from Tuan Tabal in case any mistakes were made in his writings. He also stated the names of the primary resources which he used in writing his book, which are *Ihya’ Ulum al-Din*, *Minhaj al-Abidin*, *Bidayat al-Hidayat* written by Imam al-Ghazali, *Kitab Bahr al-Mawrud* and *Syarah Wasiat Matbuliah* written by Sheikh Abdul Wahab al-Sha’arani.
Islamic Jurisprudence in the book of Minhat al-Qarib: 
The biggest discussion in the book of Minhat al-Qarib centres on the aspect of Fiqh or Islamic Jurisprudence, which make up about 4/7 of the book. The discussions on Fiqh in this book are more in detail and in depth compared to other Fiqh books of the same era, because it covers a wide variety of topics including Fiqh Ibadah, Fiqh and marriage matters, Fiqh on business transactions and Fiqh Jinayah (crimes). This situation puts Minhat al-Qarib as the most comprehensive book on Fiqh ever written during the era it was produced. However, this article will not discuss each and every chapter written on Fiqh in this book. Instead, the article will focus on only several aspects, such as Fiqh Ibadah and munakahat, which are examined quite thoroughly in the book.

The Aspect of Fiqh Munakahat: In his discussion on the topic of munakahat, Tuan Tabal divided the topic into several chapters in order to explore the related issues related to the topic. Researchers have found that there are 12 individual chapters which are discussed separately on the aspect of munakahat. In the first chapter which is mentioned as the introductory chapter, there are two small subtopics that discuss the laws on marriage, ‘awrah, the pillars of nikah (marriage), the tying of the marriage knot, reasons for prohibition from marriage, khulu’ (separation due to disobedience), jima’ or sexual intercourse and marriage to infidels. Next, in chapter 2, the author discusses the issue of khiyar (divorce) and whether it results in fasakh or separation done by the qadi. Meanwhile, Chapter 3 revolves around the dowry for marriage or the also known as mahar. There are two subtopics which discuss this matter, which are mut’ah and walimat al-urus.

Chapter 4 talks about nushuz or wives who commit disobedience towards their husbands. Some of the contents of this chapter are about taking turns with the wives and self-nushuz. Next, in Chapter 5, one can read on the topic of khulu’. In Chapter 6, the author talks of talaq or divorce. This is divided into two issues which are the laws for talak and ta’lik talak. In Chapter 7, the author talks about raja’ and also discusses the matter of illah and zihar.

In Chapter 8, the author specifically discusses only li’an and there are no subtopics or extensions included in this section. Next, Chapter 9 explores the matter of iddah, or period of waiting for a divorced woman or widow and includes a small section on the laws for women who are under ‘iddah. The tenth chapter focuses on istibra’. This chapter does not have an extension either as the explanations are not too lengthy. The next chapters on rida and foster mothers also do not discuss additional issues. The final chapter in the munakahat chapter is on nafkah. There are two small issues in this chapter which are nafkah for relatives and hadanah (guardianship).

The Aspect of Fiqh Ibadah: The five pillars of Islam are the basic principles in jurisprudence of Ibadah. Tuan Tabal emphasised that the pillars of Islam are five, as stated in Hadith that are sahih (authentic), which are:

C Testifying that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is His messenger.
C Performing the prayers five times a day.
C Fasting in the month of Ramadan.
C Making the payment for zakat.
C Performing the pilgrimage to Mecca.

All these matters are discussed in detail in the chapter of Fiqh Ibadah. It discusses the correct way of performing an Ibadah whether it is theoretical or practical, including specific conditions. For example, the subject on performing the prayers is touched upon both in theory and practical so as to make it easy for understanding and carrying it out. This Ibadah of performing the prayers involves aspects of actions, speech or words and khushu’ or concentration in completing it. Apart from that, each aspect of this Ibadah states the objective and benefits or advantages of carrying it out.

The five primary compulsory prayers are five times in total for a whole day and night. The Subuh prayer is performed when the fajr of Subuh rises and is called the Fardu Subuh. During the afternoon, when the sun has slipped from its position from straight above our heads, we perform the Zuhr prayers. Next, in the late afternoon when the shadow of a tall stick that is buried in the ground starts to get longer right until when the sun sets, the Fardu ‘Asr must be carried out. After that, right after the sun sets until the red light of the evening fades is called the time for Maghrib prayers. The final fardu prayers for the day is the Isya’ prayers, which is performed starting from the decease of the red glow of the sun until the fajr of Subuh rises. Apart from these fardu prayers, there are other fardu prayers such as the Friday prayers and the sunat prayers which are discussed in the chapter of fiqh.

The primary ibadah of fasting discussed is fasting during the month of Ramadan. This ibadah is mandatory on every Muslim who is a mukallaf. This ibadah is discussed in the Islamic Jurisprudence by explaining the
mandatory law of performing the fast, the pillars of fasting and the compulsory conditions and the conditions that makes the fast valid or accepted. It also involves the things that cancel the act of fasting, the problems on the people who are not able to fast due to certain reasons and the kifarah or punishment that must be carried out by people who refrain from fasting [20]. The discussion also includes the hikmah or advantages of fasting as well as the sunat matters that are encouraged to be done during the fasting month of Ramadan. Apart from fasting during Ramadan, there are other types of sunat fasting that are encouraged in Islam.

The ibadah of paying the zakat requires one to the put aside a part of their wealth to be given to people in great need of it. The types of zakat include zakat fitrah, zakat of wealth, zakat of farm produce, zakat of gold, silver and many others. The zakat which is most emphasised upon is the zakat of fitrah, which is carried out during the fasting month of Ramadan. It can also be said to be a continuation of the ibadah of fasting in Ramadan. Concerning this subject, the ibadah jurisprudence discusses the types of zakat, the justifications for carrying the zakat out and how to perform the paying of the zakat which covers both physical and spiritual aspects. These conditions also cover the adab in paying the zakat [21]. In addition, Tuan Tabal also gives explanations on the people who are allowed to receive the zakat as well as the limits. He also talks of the ibadah of sadaqah or donation by readiness of the heart together with the adab that should be observed by both the giver and the receiver.

Another compulsory ibadah that is discussed is the ibadah of performing the hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca for those with the means and ability. Performing this ibadah is compulsory upon all Muslims. However, it depends on whether the Muslim is able to and has the means to go to hajj or not. For those who are not able to go, it is not an excuse for not performing this ibadah. Instead, they should understand that there are other means of performing the pilgrimage, such as paying someone else like his or her own relatives to go and do it in their place. The chapter also touches upon the conditions, the pillars, the conditions for the ones able to do the hajj, the actions that are compulsory to be avoided during the performance of hajj and many others. Aside from the obligation to do the hajj, Muslims are also obliged to do the umrah. The performance of the hajj and umrah are similar, with the only difference being that the umrah can be done during any given time. On the other hand, the hajj can only be done during the hajj month only. Part from this, the actions or ibadah that must be carried out in an umrah is fewer than that of a hajj. Therefore, the umrah can be completed in a shorter period of time.

In addition to all the compulsory ibadah that have been mentioned, there are many other types of ibadah which are encouraged in Islam. One of them is the act of i’tikaf (stay in the mosque). I’tikaf is the period of confinement which is done in the mosque, together with other sunat ibadah like performing the tahiyyat al masjid, reading the Quran, performing the zikr, being silent without speaking in order to avoid sins of speech and many more. Fiqh Ibadah also discusses the definitions of i’tikaf, its dalil or evidence from revelation as well as the laws. Also mentioned are the benefits and secrets of i’tikaf. Apart from that, Tuan Tabal also explains the conditions, the etiquettes and the prohibited doings during i’tikaf as well as the suitable places that may be chosen for this ibadah.

There are also other ibadah apart from the main ones mentioned, for example the qurban or the sacrifice which is carried out during the hajj month, the Tarawikh prayers at night during Ramadan and the two Eid prayers. Other ibadah also include the qurban or the sacrifice which is the five-times-a-day prayers to the smallest of actions such as picking up rubbish. What is important is that all of our actions are carried out in the name of Allah. The scope of ibadah is too wide, which is from the determined types of ibadah such as the five-times-a-day prayers to the smallest of actions such as picking up rubbish. What is important is that all of our actions are carried out in the name of Allah and with sincerity, so that we may gain His rewards and blessings [22].

CONCLUSION

Tuan Tabal’s contribution on the aspect of Jurisprudence is influenced by his expertise of the Shafi’i Madhab. This Madhab is in fact having the dominant part of followers from the Malay Archipelago from those days until now. This is evident from the discussions on matters of laws, methods in performing the prayers and other ibadah which lean heavily towards the Shafi’i Madhab. Therefore, it is not surprising that this work has contributed to strengthen the practice of this Madhab especially in the areas concentrated around the pondok built by Tuan Tabal and the surrounding districts. This has contributed and spread to other places in the Southeast Asia with the help of Tuan Tabal’s
students who came from many corners of the region to learn and seek knowledge from him and upon their return, spread the teachings to their people. It has been a clear proof that the strength of Tuan Tabal as a scholar and the views and teachings that he brought about is greatly helped by the qualities of the book he produced. Therefore Tuan Tabal is still recognised as renowned and respected ulama’ because he was not only a good teacher of ideas, but a great writer which has greatly benefited the society from his days until now.

REFERENCES