THE ORIGIN OF FIQH SCHOOLS IN AL-ANDALUS: FROM QAIRAWAN TO MEDINA

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Abstract

The development of Islam in Mashriq at the beginning of second/eighth century until third/ninth century was becoming golden age of knowledge. In al-Andalus, that period was used to find intellectual identity on Iberian peninsula. The scholars of al-Andalus did intellectual journey (riḥla 'ilmīyya) to Mashriq through several intellectual cities. From Shām, Andalusian scholars followed al-Auzā’ī school, which officially became the official school of the Umayyad dynasty in the early days of ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil. The provocative cities and the cause of conflict in al-Andalus was Iraq region such as Baghdād. As capital city Abbasid dynasty, that became rival of the Umayyad, Baghdād and other Iraq cities were not well-intentioned for learning. Some scholars who learned from Iraq and then returned to al-Andalus were forbidden to spread their ideas, schools and books that they brought from Iraq. This led Andalusian scholars to seek the center of knowledge in Medina, the city that was considered supporting Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus. This intellectual network of Medina caused many scholars in al-Andalus became followers of Mālikī school. Mālikī school then dominated in al-Andalus by replacing al-Auzā’ī school. The scholars also took the route of knowledge from Qairawān, as agency area before going to Medina. The scholars of Mālikī school that supported by the Umayyad’s government got authority to ban and censor other schools and books that were incompatible with Mālikīyya. The society of al-Andalus under the rulers of Mālikī school only used and got the Qur’an and Muwaṭṭa’ Mālik as the only references of knowledge. The fiqh network in al-Andalus will determine the types of scientific studies, books and also style of thought that can be studied and learned over ther.

Keywords: al-Andalus, Mashriq, mazhab Mālikī, fiqh, Muwaṭṭa’ Mālik.

1 ISLAM AND KNOWLEDGE IN AL-ANDALUS

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The development of Islam in Mashriq at the beginning of 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century reached a golden age. While some areas of Africa and al-Andalus were still fought to find its own intellectual identity on the Iberian and Africa peninsula. This situation caused a very deep gap between the level of knowledge and culture in Mashriq and Maghrib. The conquest of al-Andalus by Ṭāriq bin Ziyād at 93/713 indicated the distance of a century from Prophet's migration to Medina. The conquerors of al-Andalus belonged to none of companions (ṣaḥābah) of Prophet PBUH, while the number of their successors (tābi‘īn) was only 28 people. This situation was far away from the conquest of Iraq with the number of 291 companions and 596 successors, in Syria with the number of 108 companions and 35 successors, in Egypt with the number of 31 friends and 5 successors, and in Africa with a total of 25 companions and 24 successors (Husain, 2007, p. 188-189).

The earliest historical codification of the early Mashriq was Iraq at 40 H and most recently in Egypt at 128 H. The earliest historical codification in al-Andalus dated from 238 AH. This suggested that the oldest distance of knowledge codification between Mashriq and al-Andalus was 118 years, whereas the most a short distance was 36 years (Husain, 2007, p. 193). This comparison among conquerors and codifications on Mashriq and al-Andalus did not make a simple and detached area of knowledge development. To bridge the gap, the scholars of al-Andalus performed intellectual journey (riḥla ‘ilmīyya) to Mashriq through several intellectual cities such as Iraq, Damascus and Medina. In addition of scientific and cultural factors and backgrounds, this journey was also ordered by the rulers of al-Andalus. Al-Maqqarī recorded there were two major paths of the journey, the people of al-Andalus which went to Mashriq and Mashriq people who went to al-Andalus (Al-Maqqarī, 1997). This journey further would determine reality and reflection of people's knowledge in al-Andalus.

The development of knowledge and teachings of Islam, especially hadith and jurisprudence in al-Andalus, could be seen from the role of qāḍī. They learnt hadith and taught it to others through their mission (Öztoprak, 2013a). A person must be a jurist and muddith so that later he could be recommended to be qāḍī. They studied hadith and then developed it to the study of jurisprudence. It started since the time of ʿAbd al-Malik bin Ḥabīb (d. 238/852), which spread hadith to al-Andalus (Öztoprak, 2013b). The scholars in al-Andalus had various social roles such as intellectual, religious life guards of society, lawyers, and also they became merchants and craftsmen. They functioned as a mediator between the political elite, the tribe and the general public, particularly through religious and legal activity (Rozi, 1983).

The role and the function were running through several decisions and legal doctrines issued by qāḍī through his developed school and opinions. This could be seen from schools and scholars that they traveled on intellectual journey. Therefore, by knowing each local school in the paths of journey and their thinking, the knowledge that could be studied, one will understand more comprehensively the essay of the book and also the style of thought over there. This paper will discuss each schools derived from intellectual journey of scholars of al-Andalus. Their journey to any particular area brought various knowledge of jurisprudence and its impact on knowledge, tradition and authority in al-Andalus in 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century. Area schools of intellectual journey would begin with schools of Shām as the first fiqh area coming in al-Andalus. Medina and Iraq became the second school of fiqh origin that evolved after Sham got authority and knowledge degradation, while Qairawān became a bridge connection between al-Andalus and Mashriq in the intellectual journey.

1.1 Shām School

The text included in the sections or subsections must begin one line after the section or subsection title. Do not use hard tabs and limit the use of hard returns to one return at the end of a paragraph. Please, do not number manually the sections and subsections; the template will do it automatically (Einstein, 1916, p. 245).

The scholars during the early Umayyad reign in al-Andalus derived much from Shām. Therefore, most of them embraced Auzāṭi school (Amīn, 2012, III, p. 491). The founder of this school was ʿAbd al-Rahmān bin ʿAmr bin Yaḥmid al-Auzāṭi. He was born at 88/706 in Baʿlabakk and taken by his mother to Beirut. He died in 157/773. Al-Dhahabī said that Auzāṭi became the official school in al-Andalus until around 220/835. After that, the school was diminished from time to time until it was succeeded by the Mālikī school. In Damascus itself, Auzāṭi school still existed around the year 340/951 (al-Dhahabī, 2003, IV, p. 120-130; Asākir, 1995, XXXVIII, p. 147).

The first man who spread hadith in al-Andalus, according to Ibn al-Faraḍī (d. 403/1012) was Ṣaḥṣa’ah bin Sallām (d. 180/796) originating from Syria. He learned to Imām al-Auzāṭi and gave a fatwa at the time of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I (756-778) until the time of Hishām bin ʿAbd al-Rahmān (788-796). His students included ʿAbd al-Malik bin Ḥabīb, Uthmān bin Ayyūb and others (Ibn al-Faraḍī, 2008, I, p. 278). W.M. Watt said that in the early days of ʿAbd al-Rahmān I, the number of politicians more than jurists. Al-Auzāṭi, who became
leader of jurists in all areas of Umayyad before its fall, should be followed by all residents, including al-Andalus as Umayyad area. Likewise, when Umayyad in Damascus fell and al-Andalus became independent regions (Watt & Cachia, 1977, p. 63-64).

Beside Ṣaʿṣaʾah, Azzaʾī scholars was Zuhair bin Mālik al-Balwī (d. circa 250/864). Zuhair was considered as a follower of the last Auzāʾī school in al-Andalus. He had argued with ʿAbd al-Malik bin Ḥabīb, one of the leaders of the Mālikī school, because Zuhair followed Auzāʾī and he was discredited from social interaction and knowledge. Zuhair lived among regions Bājah (Beja) and Faḥṣ al-Balūṭ or Batrūj (Valle de los Pedroches) where he gained a special place of his grandfather there, ʿAdī bin Jadḥīmah, at the time of ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān I (Ibn al-Faradī, 2008, I, p. 216). After 132/750, al-Auzāʾī who did not move from his place in Beirut received the reconciliation of the Abbasid dynasty. This caused many scholars and politicians in al-Andalus were not interested yet in following him. The pupils were still many who came to listen to lectures of al-Auzāʾī while others went to Medina and other places (Watt & Cachia, 1977, p. 64).

1.2 Medina School

Abbasid in Mashriq, which replaced Umayyads, moved the central government to Baghdad and made Ḥanafī as the official school of government. As a result of the policy of the Umayyad rival, center of Auzāʾī school in Damascus was dim and had to deal with Ḥanafī school. In addition, al-Auzāʾī himself received reconciliation from the Abbasid dynasty. This political situation caused the people in al-Andalus faced with two choices of seeking knowledge to Baghdad and Shām or to other cities like Medina. Some of them later sought knowledge to Umayyad rival center in Baghdad, some went to Medina. They who did not act intellectual journey beyond al-Andalus learned from the scholars who had come from Mashriq.

This led the scholars of al-Andalus to seek the center of knowledge to other areas. Medina was considered more suitable because of the support of the Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus (Al-Maqqarī, 1997, II, p 10; III, p. 230). Intellectual networks of Medina had caused many scholars in al-Andalus became Mālikī followers. The Mālikī school then became more dominant in al-Andalus and replaced the pre-existing school of Auzāʾī. The leaders of al-Andalus scholars who took from Malik such as al-Ghāzī bin Qais, Shabṭūn and Yahyā bin Yahyā al-Laithī later became qāḍī there. Many qāḍīs of Mālikī then led Hishām bin ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān (171-179/788-796) made Mālikī as the official school of the government. This was strengthened by al-Hakam bin Hishām (179-206/796-822) which determined the fatwa throughout Cordoba and al-Andalus region with Mālik opinion (Al-Maqqarī, 1997, III, p. 230).

There were similarities between textual styles of Mālikī and Auzāʾī schools (Watt & Cachia, 1977, p. 64). Those who came to Medina studied Muwaṭṭa Mālik that contain about many of Medina people in their worship practices and interaction since the time of Prophet PBUH until the period of Mālik. There were many scholars of al-Andalus who learned from Mālik such as Yahyā bin Yahyā al-Laithī, who later became the most popular spreader of Muwaṭṭa Mālik in Mashriq and Maghrib (Raisuddin, 1992). Since Mālikī was becoming an official school of government in al-Andalus, the other schools were prohibited and not allowed to enter or learn (Hourani, 1970). When Mālikī was becoming an official school of government in al-Andalus, the other schools were prohibited and not allowed to enter or learn (Hourani, 1970). In 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century, Mālikī school made the basics of their schools and Muwaṭṭa Mālik as the main reference with the various opinions produced from their predecessors. Other Mālikī legal opinions and others that did not based on Muwaṭṭa Mālik were considered as illegal (Fierro, 2011, p. 75-76). This period was also a period of Mālikī introduction and it replaced Auzāʾī school that no longer matched with Umayyad dynasty in al-Andalus (Masud, 1991).

1.3 Iraq School

Path of intellectual journey to Baghdad, that became provocative section and caused some conflicts later in al-Andalus, was still needed and demanded. As capital city of Abbasid dynasty, Iraq was considered unfit to be a learning decision. In addition, textual styles (ahl al-hadith) of Auzāʾī school in al-Andalus whichever became the official school of government were very different from the school of rationalist (ahl al-ra'y) of Ḥanafī school in Baghdad. So it was also with other schools in Baghdad like Shāfiʿī school. Political conflict and rivalry between both Islamic dinasties ultimately affected the intellectual conflict. Some scholars who learned from Iraq and then returned to al-Andalus were forbidden to spread ideas and books that he brought from that area. This was because the knowledge and culture of Iraq was not feasible and not suitable for al-Andalus (al-Ishbīlī, 1988, I, p. 567). Among the scholars who did intellectual journey to the Iraq was Baqi bin Makhmāl. From this place, he brought a lot of books that did not match with Mālikī school as Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaiba, Tārīkh Khālīfah bin Khayyāʾ and others.
Baqi bin Makhlad (d. 276/889) studied in al-Andalus for the first, and then he went to Basra in searching knowledge, especially on hadith. He taught Musanaf Ibn Abi Shaibah that considered had contradiction with Muwatta’ Malik by jurists of al-Andalus. Conflict between Baqi bin Makhlad and Malik scholars caused him to report to Muhammad bin ’Abd al-Rahman (238/852-273/886) until he was allowed to spread his ideas and books in al-Andalus (Rasuudin, 1991). Baqi who rejected orthodoxy of Malik scholars and sole opinion of Muwatta’ Malik and his offer to read and consider other books in addition to Muwatta’ Malik led to a strong reaction from Malik scholars. He also had conflict and enmity with Malik scholars such as Muhammad bin Wajdah and Qasim bin Ashbagh. Students of Muhammad bin Wajdah, which was also a hadith spreader in al-Andalus, were never reported from Baqi. This is because Baqi dan Ibn Wajdah were in enmity and hostility (Ibn al-Faradhi, 2008, I, p. 143-146). Ashbagh bin Khalil (d. 273) had strict attitude in Malik opinion and did not like hadiths. He said it was better his body chest was filled with wild pig than Musnad Ibn Abi Shaiba, the book narrated by Baqi bin Makhlad (la an yakuna fi tábūtī ra’s khinzir aḥább ilayya min an yakuna fihi Musnad Ibn Abi Shaiba). He was also at war with Baqi, even though both of them were neighbors. His son, Qasim bin Ashbagh, was forbidden to hear hadith from Baqi (Ibn al-Faradhi, 2008, I, p. 129-131)

1.4 Qairawan School

Besides the paths of Shām, Iraq and Medina, there were also scholars who take the path of knowledge from Qairawan, as interdependent areas before going to Mashriq. For example there were Baqi bin Makhlad and Muhammad bin Wajdah for the first settled in Qairawan before going to Iraq. As said by al-Šabbagh (2011), they learnt from the most popular scholar there, namely Saḥnūn bin Sa’id (d. 240/854), who issued al-Mudawwana, a book about some questions and answers from Malik school. Qairawan became transit and media of knowledge between al-Andalus and Mashriq region. There were ideological relations between al-Andalus and Qairawan residents and also some scholars with their students who ever been visit central thought of Qairawan. Both regions were interdependent each other in various thoughts. Qairawan became a long history for the enrichment of academic movements for the Maghrib region, especially al-Andalus.

Saḥnūn was from Hims, Shām he started to go to Africa in 171/787. He then went to Egypt in 178/795 to learn and then go to Hijāz. Due to the costs and needs, Saḥnūn could not go to Malik bin Anas in order that he only learnt Malikī school from the friends and followers of Imam Malik. He returned to Qairawan in 191/806. Before he left to study Malikī school, there were a number of thirty Qairawan scholars who all studied to Malik directly about jurisprudences and fatwas. With the arrival of Saḥnūn from Mashriq, he spread the idea of Malikī school throughout Maghrib and became the most famous scholars there (Mahfūz, 1994, III, p. 12-13). He became qādir at 234 H and died six years later (al-Ifrīqi, n.d., p. 101-104).

Book of al-Mudawwana as Saḥnūn’s work contained questions and answers on various issues of schools (Al-Šabbagh, 2011, p. 180). In addition to the intellectual journey, the scholars of al-Andalus also made correspondence with Qairawan scholars on various problems in al-Andalus. Ibn al-Faradhi on his book, Tārīkh ‘Ulamā’ al-Andalus, also mentioned repeatedly about the biography of scholars of al-Andalus who learnt from Saḥnūn (Ibn al-Faradhi, 2008). Qairawan position that became one path of intellectual journey was caused by geographical location, where it was the closest area to al-Andalus and the most advanced and knowledgeable in the Maghrib (Al-Šabbagh, 2011, p. 178-179)

2 CONNECTION OF INTELLECTUAL NETWORKS IN AL-ANDALUS

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The intellectual networks of Shām, Iraq, Medina and Qairawan colored the formation of knowledge and culture in al-Andalus in 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century. This period was considered as a period of knowledge formation as well as negotiation between ideology and power of knowledge. The hegemony of Malikī as official school of al-Andalus implemented the policy of jurists and theologians, namely Malikī school and Sunnī theology. Scholars of Malikī school, supported by Umayyad, gained authority to ban and censor schools and books that were inconsistent with the Malikī. Residents in al-Andalus under the authority of Malikī only used the Qur’an and Muwatta’ Malik as the only reference of knowledge (al-Maqdisī, 1991, p. 236).

With such biased and unfair policies, Malikī scholars, approved by the emirs, forbade the entry of books brought from Iraq and also everything that disagreed with the Malikī school. This situation threatened non-Malikī scholars who were studying at Mashriq or have returned to al-Andalus. The scholars must struggle to
spread their ideas and writings, even if they were forbidden. For example Baqi bin Makhlad, as Shafi'i followers, boycotted by the Maliki scholars such as Muhammed bin Waqqas and Qasim bin Asbagh. At first, Baqi still spread his ideas and book brought from Mashriq. But eventually he was reported by Maliki scholars to Muhammed bin Abd al-Rahman bin al-Hakam for disturbing the stability of the political, social and intellectual sphere. He was accused of spreading an unofficial school and Maliki school filed for him a detention. Amir Muhammed at that time did not necessarily receive objections and complaints from Maliki scholars. He then invited Baqi and also the Maliki school at a forum to test Baqi’s knowledge. In the end, Baqi excelled in the forum and then the amir ordered that he was allowed to keep on spreading his ideas. In addition, the books of Baqi and books which he brought from Iraq were included in the library’s book list. However, Baqi was still provoked and permanently incited by Maliki scholars after that (al-Marrakesh, 1983, II, p. 109-110).

In the 2nd/8th century up to the beginning of the second half 3rd/9th century, Maliki schools in Africa were also suppressed by other school in near al-Andalus (al-Marrakesh, 1983, I, p. 109). This was caused that Abbasid made Hanafi as official school. Thus, the Islamic region from Hijaz to Africa, controlled entirely with Hanafi school. The main scholar of Qairawân, Shanun bin Sa’id, at that time also suppressed by the Hanafi school ruled by Aghaliba descendants. Nevertheless, he still taught knowledge and became an intermediary for the scholars of al-Andalus who want to learn Maliki (al-Barmakî, 1900, V, p. 234-236; al-Dhahabî, 2003, X, p. 54-55). The rivalry between Maliki in Maghrib and Hanafi schools in Mashriq influenced the study of Islamic knowledge, ranging from tafsr, hadith until jurisprudence. In the study of jurisprudence, scholars at al-Andalus had to use Maliki school in their daily life in order to avoid similarities with their rival in Mashriq.

3 SCHOOL NETWORKS AND STYLES OF KNOWLEDGE IN AL-ANDALUS

The network of jurisprudence schools in al-Andalus later would determine the styles of knowledge study, the essay of the book and also the styles of thought there that allowed be studying and learning. The entry of Maliki school to al-Andalus was influenced by political, emotional, socio-cultural and intellectual factors. Political factors that determine the dominance of Maliki in al-Andalus was an opposition of Umayyad on his rivalry, Abbasid that made Hanafi their official school. The emotional factor was caused by Maliks tendency to the Umayyad and his dislike of Abbasid that hunted the descendants of the Prophet and wiped out the remnants of Umayyad family. Socio-cultural factors, as suggested by Ibn Khaldun, were a rural community equation (badawi) and the level of technology and knowledge between Hijaz and al-Andalus. Intellectual factor was similarity of textual thought between Hijaz and al-Andalus. Maliki school in al-Andalus then affiliated with Medina and helped scholars of schools in the surrounding areas such as Qairawân (Akmaluddin, 2017).

In addition, Auzâ’i school was no longer having ideological and intellectual support. This school had already lost its authority and tradition when the Umayyad dynasty in Mashriq collapsed and al-Auzâ’i was considered in favor of Abbasid dynasty. Although for some time had been the official school of al-Andalus, Auzâ’i school had been replaced by stronger school and legitimized authority, namely Maliki school. This was because Auzâ’i school in Mashriq weakened and had powerless in the obstacle championed by Hanafi which supported by Abbasia and descendants of Aghaliba. However, Auzâ’i school was closer to Maliki with a little more developed and sophisticated (Watt & Cachia, 1977, p. 64).

Auzâ’i school was considered wider and not so strong as Maliki school by taking the opinion from unknown hadis, as well as mursal and maqtu’h hadith in its book. For example planting trees inside jamî’ mosque which according to Auzâ’i school was allowed. But, it was not allowed by Maliki and his followers (Ibn al-Faradî, 2008, I, p. 278-279). Therefore, many mosques in Cordoba planted and surrounded by trees and fruits like olives, palm and orange to decorate mosques or shelter. It happened during the policy of Sa’ba’ah bin Sallam, as prominent scholar in Auzâ’i school. These trees were seen on other areas such as al-Muriyya (Almeria) and Ghamita (Granada). Other fruits were figs (fû), apple, almond and others. Such mosque conditions were not found in Mashriq (Torres Balbás, 1945, p. 22). Sights like this also were not found when Maliki became the official school in al-Andalus (al-Maqdisî, 1991, p. 236-237). However, figs, as staple food of the population in al-Andalus, became obligatory zakât. The involvement of the Maliki as the official school of al-Andalus had a significant impact on the determination of Islamic knowledge. In regard to power relations and knowledge, Michel Foucault says that the power is not repressive, but productive (Shiner, 1982). This is evidenced by the standardization of schools for the strengthening of the basic religion of Islam and the unity of umma in which the people of al-Andalus at that time needed the one and the whole knowledge. The societies over there were without religious intellectual knowledge and should be given a single and authoritative knowledge. For example in dealing with various heresies that occurred in the mid-century 3rd/9th in al-Andalus such as acculturation with the local community, and other inter-religious
marriages, scholars had their roles. Mālikī scholars later issued a stance on the dangers of heresy, threat, punishment and torment at the end of the day as written in the book of work of 'Abd al-Malik bin Ḥabīb, Kitāb al-Taʾrikh and al-Ghāya wa al-Nihāya. Muslim identity was also eroded by the Jews and the Christians who were settled there before. Scholars with the rulers of al-Andalus played an important role in defining identity, trust and community in social and religious dynamics (Safran, 2001).

A single and homogeneous knowledge was undertaken by al-Andalus scholars as a strategic move to base systematic and comprehensive knowledge. Thus, a time without knowledge of the community will move and become knowledgeable and civilized society. But it lasted so long that a single and authoritative knowledge became repressive and authoritarian. By this, many Mālikī scholars at the end of the 3rd/9th century were to manipulate previous scholars’ opinions to reinforce fatwa and decisions that had been made (Hendrickson, 2013). They were then trapped in isolated knowledge and did not greet knowledge beyond the school. This led schools other Mālikī in al-Andalus were getting excluded and having to compete to deal with class conflict with the Mālikī scholars. They also had to compete in the fight for influence in the community, ulama and rulers.

The orthodoxy of knowledge by the Mālikī school at the end of the third century later dominated and replaced their authoritative and comprehensive school of thought in the second century. Therefore, the development of schools other than Mālikī was considered as a threat to their social status, positions and scientific authority. With the orthodoxy of Mālikī school, other Mālikī schools then came and offered a new perspective of more knowledge that opened to be criticized and discussed. The emergence of scholars from Iraq such as Baqī bin Makhlad was considered as a new milestone in history, but was considered as an obstacle by the leaders of the Mālikī school. Baqī bin Makhlad as well as those who had same attitude with him were considered to raise a critical awareness of the society of the actions of taqiḍ and orthodoxy of Mālikī school.

According to Maribel Fierro (1998, 2016), Mālikī scholars of al-Andalus Maliki will act in different ways on various books they do not like as sensors and control knowledge. For example by destroying or burning a book, deleting its contents, controlling access and writing a rejection book on an unwelcome book. Therefore, some of the books belonging to other Mālikī scholars like Baqī bin Makhlad such as Musnad, Muṣannaf and his exegesis were not found until now. Thus, the fiqh schools in al-Andalus determined the tendentious and ideological pattern of knowledge. This trend will be countered by the class struggle and group of other schools so that they can be accepted as recognized and legitimised community (Al-Bukhtī, 2011; Kaddouri, 2012; Nurī, 1983).

4 CONCLUSION

The origins of the jurisprudence school in al-Andalus in 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th century can be traced in the intellectual journey of the scholars of that time. This journey is not only based on the existence of knowledge itself, but political, social, geographical and ideological factors are also influential in the journey. These factors ultimately determined the path chosen by the scholars of al-Andalus and then formed knowledge there when they returned from Mashriq. The relation of conflict between the jurisprudence schools in al-Andalus influenced other schools of knowledge, such as hadith and theology. This conflict was eventually won by Mālikī which fought Auzā’ī school that existed since the beginning of the conquest of al-Andalus. Victory of Mālikī school delivered to hegemony over other schools and became license authority and single tradition. With the influence of the power, they then acted banning and censoring schools that were not in accordance with the legal doctrine Maliki. However, it should be noted that initially the power was productive and unpressive. By the time, the power of the Mālikī school was repressiv, tendentious and authoritarian. They emphasized on reproduction and imitation of opinion to Mālikī school.

These circumstances led to conflicts with other schools, censorship and banning of the teaching, and also books and their knowledge. The opposition of Mālikī later protested against the hegemony of intellectual and class struggle to keep reviewing their schools and spreading the books and the knowledge. This situation led to the arbitration of knowledge by the Umayyad emirs which eventually led to peace and agreement between the parties in conflict. However, the process of hegemony and counter-hegemony was ongoing process to the next centuries until the fall of Granada in 1429 which marked the end of the Islamic dynasty in al-Andalus.

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