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## **OSMANLI - ARNAVUT MEDRESELERİNDE EBHERİN ISAGOJİ ESERİNİN OKUTULMASININ İNCELENMESİ**

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### **Özet**

Müslüman filozoflar birçok bilim gibi Mantığı da Antik Yunanlılardan, özellikle Aristoteles'den ödünç almıştır. Aristoteles'in Mantık hakkındaki düşünceleri ve görüşleri öğrencileri tarafından "Organon" adlı eserinde toplandığı görülmektedir. Porporius isminde bir mantıkçı "Organon"a bir "Esagoge) yazdı. Diğer eserler gibi bu da Arapça'ya çevrilmiş ve Müslüman Mantıkçılar tarafından da yorumlanmıştır. Bu gelenekte yazılan eserler arasında en çok bilinenleri Esiruddin Eb'heri'nin "Isagoji" veya "Risaletul Esirijje fil Mantik" adlı eseridir. Bu eser, Arnavut medreselerinde dahil olmak üzere İslam dünyasının birçok medresesinde Mantık derslerinde en önemli eserlerden birisi olarak kullanılmıştır. Bu eser, Mantık alanındaki diğer eserlerle birlikte, geçen yüzyılın sonuna kadar var olan Arnavut medreselerindeki öğretim programının bir parçası olmuştur. Bu makalede öncelikle Ebheri'nin Isagoji eseri tanıtılıp analiz edilecek ve daha sonra bu eseri Arnavut medreselerinden olan Presevo'daki Hafız Necati'nin medresesinde okutulan ve İslam bilimlerini daha iyi anlamak konusunda incelemeye çalışacağım.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mantık, Aristo, Isagoji, Ebheri, Osmanlı - Arnavut medreseleri, Hafız Necati Medresesi.

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## A STUDY AND ANALYSIS OF THE WORK ESAGOGE OF EBHERI AND ITS STUDYING IN OTTOMAN - ALBANIAN MADRASAS

### Abstract

Muslim philosophers borrowed Logic like many other sciences from the ancient Greeks, especially from Aristotle. Aristotle's thoughts and opinions on Logic were gathered by his students in a philosophical work named "Organon". In the third century Prophyrius Tyrius, the Neo – Plotinian philosopher wrote an introduction to the first part of "Organon", to the Category part which he titled 'Esagoge'. The best known of which was the one of Esiruddin Eb'heri (1276), whose work is known as "Esagoge" or "Risaletul Ethirijje fil Mantik". This work, along with other works in the field of Logic, was part of the teaching program in Albanian madrasas, which existed till the end of the last century. In this paper, first I will introduce and analyze the work Esagoge of Ebheri and then I will try to talk about learning this work in Albanian madrasas, focusing on the Hafiz Nexhati's Islamic school in Presevo.

**Keywords:** Logic, Aristotle, Esagoge, Ebheri, Ottoman - Albanian madrasas, Madrasa of Hafez Nexhati.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Logic has been defined as a science that intents studying forms and laws of rightful thinking<sup>1</sup>. Logic deals with notions, judgments (premises) and conclusions of the individual. Many scholars have defined it as "the key of all knowledge" or "a base of every science". Even though before him intellectual activity existed, Aristotle<sup>2</sup> (384 – 322 B.C) is considered to be the founder of Logic as a separated discipline. We should mention that Greek thinkers before the Socratic era had used many logical forms and premises in their natural and human – social researches. The works of the members of the "Elea" school and the works of sophists of the ancient Greece are evaluated as a preparation for founding the Logic. Therefore, Aristotle as an inheritor of this philosophical knowledge, with the aim to systematize thinking as a separated discipline and to prevent the individual's wrong thinking, set certain rules. Therefore, he was the first one in the history of human thinking to set notions and premises of the right judgment. Actually for Aristotle, Logic is not a science, but it is a tool or knowledge that must be learned before we deal with any of the other sciences, so it is a tool<sup>3</sup> that we can

<sup>1</sup> About definitions on logic also look: Peter Smith. An introduction to Logic. Cambridge University Press, 6th printing) 2013. Patric J. A concise introduction to Logic (electronic version)

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle was born in Stagira of Chalcidice in the ancient Greece and was educated in the academy of Plato. He is known as one of the greatest philosophers of all times. He is author of many works which were prepared - after his death by his students – on Logic, philosophy, theology, moral, poetry, politics, etc... for more see Ferguson John (1972). Aristotle. New York Tayne Publishers. Ackrill, J. L. (1981). Aristotle the Philosopher. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>3</sup> Ancient Platonists thought that Logic is a branch of philosophy but also its tool. While Peripatetics hold the view that it is only a tool of philosophy. On the other hand, Stoics hold the attitude that Logic is only a branch of Philosophy. Muslim logicians were also preoccupied whether Logic is a branch of philosophy or it is only a tool of it. In the classical texts of Muslim logicians, we find both statements, some of them hold the idea that Logic is a part of Philosophy while some others think that it is only a tool for learning it and thinking about it. But Ibn Sina thinks that Logic is a part of Philosophy but it is

use to learn other sciences. The Logic of Aristotle was a formal logic. Therefore, in his systemizing of knowledge Logic is not in the list of sciences.

For Aristotle Logic is just a tool or a form of science, therefore it only takes place in the introduction of knowledge and sciences and this is the main reason that all his writings and meditations on Logic were collected in the work which was called Organon, meaning the tool / instrument. In the beginning this work consisted of seven parts Categories (lat. *Categoriae*), Interpretations (lat. *Peri Hermeneias*), The First Analytic (lat. *Analytika protera*), The Second Analytic (lat. *Analytika Hystera*), Topics / Polemic (lat. *Topika*) and Sophistic Arguments (lat. *De Sophisticis Elenchis*). Later on logicians added to this work two more works of Aristotle, Rhetoric (lat. *Rhetorica*) and Poetic (*Peri Poietikes*) and also the work Esagoge (Eisagōgē) of Porphyries (Porphyry). So that, the classical collection on Logic was drafted in 9 chapters, which later for many centuries was studied in many different schools in the world. The theme of these works deals with the terminology, principles, judgments, judgments forms of arguments and denials, and more than everything it deals with an analogy. Even though after him there were many other attempts on the field of Logic, like those of the Stoics, who divided Logic from Metaphysics and put it in the same category with the form and the language, nevertheless the concepts of Aristotle on Logic continued to have a great impact in the Western world as much as in the Islamic world.

## **2. The Logic of Aristotle in Muslim thought**

At the beginning, when the Muslims turned to Greek science and knowledge, the interpreters were inclined more to translate works on the fields of medicine and astronomy. After some time, when the intellectual and doctrine polemics came to light between Muslims and the followers of other religions (Sweetman, 1954:64-82), especially after the appearance of the school of Mu'tazila, philosophy and in particular logic found great supporters between them. There are many factors that made Muslims turn to Greek knowledge in general and Logic in particular, and some of them are:

1. In the countries where Islam spread on, Christians, Hebrews and other people who held Iranian religions, defended their religious doctrines with the logic method that they had borrowed from the Greeks. In this situation, Muslims were bound to systematize arguments about their religion and so they turned to the Greek Logic.

2. Qur'anic and prophetic preaching's for gaining knowledge, science, thinking, the right use of reason, and many other prophetic hadiths that suggest and encourage Muslims to learn the knowledge of others.

3. During that period, apart from doctrinal and religious debates, the need was also felt for increasing the intellectual and speculative level, and especially it was needed to

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also a tool that makes us think and according to him, there is no divergence on this. Even though with Muslim scholars we find the statements of ancient Greek philosophers, we see that later on dominates the idea that Logic is only a tool, even in many cases it is defined as 'a tool of knowledge'. (Islam Ansiklopedisi, Voice "Mantik", electronic version).

sophisticate the methods of disputing. This was also a very important factor that made Muslims deepen in the Greek knowledge. (Emiroğlu, 2006:48-49)

4. Muslim logicians and philosophers had concluded that Arabic language hadn't got the necessary semantic capacities for transformation of the Greek philosophical concepts, therefore they approached deeply to the Logic of Aristotle and made a great attempt in adapting the terminology of Logic, which resulted in establishing of a very rich tradition in the field of Logic in the Islamic world. (Safa,1378: 67)

We have to mention that Greek logic entered in the Islamic world through the translation of the works of Aristotle in the 4 century Hijrah (X century BC), and the researches share the opinion that the first complete book of Aristotle was the translation of the first three chapters of Organon together with the introduction (Esagoge) of Porphyries, which was translated by the well-known interpreter Abdullah Ibn Mukaffa. (Walzer,1949:55) Among other interpreters of the Greek logic in the Arabic – Islamic world are also considered Juhanna (Jahya) b. Bitrik, Abdullah b. Naime el Himsi, Hunejn b. Is'hak, etc. All the works of Aristotle were translated in Arabic, even those that were doubted to be written by him.

Even though the Arabized Aristotle did not reflect rightfully the real and complete Greek Aristotle, it was an attempt to transfer the concepts and thoughts from one language into another whose structures were very different from each other. Nevertheless, we should accept that in most of the cases Arabian translations of Aristotle were much more faithful than many European translations of his works. (Rescher, 1964:122) Translations from Aristotle on the field of Logic (Organon) had played a fundamental role in the creation of Muslim thought, this influence came even into the knowledge of "Kalam" (Islamic theological discourse).

The translated Logic of Aristotle, with all the comments and extensions that were made to it by Muslim logicians, went deep into the philosophical and theological thought of Muslim thinkers, even the logical structure of Aristotle had a great influence on the methodology of "Usul-al Fiqh (Basis of Fiqh). We should also mention that perhaps Islamic theologians (mutekel'ims) mostly used the Greek logic to defend the basis of their belief<sup>4</sup>. (Madkour, 1374: 95).

Apart from the influence of the Logic of Aristotle as a basic element on the method of Muslim thinking, we can freely say that more than the half of what is today considered as Islamic philosophy is a product of the philosophical heritage of Aristotle. Even the neo-Platonic philosophy, which has a great influence on the establishing of philosophical Muslim thinking, had penetrated into the Muslims thinking in the name of Aristotelian philosophy.

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<sup>4</sup> According to Madkour, Muslim mutekel'ims starting from Mutezila, Esh'ariyya, in particular Imam El Haremeyn Juveyni and Abu Hamid Ghazali in their intellectual-kalamist activity were deeply influenced by the Logic of Aristotle and were necessarily well-versed of it. Prof. Madkour concludes that the first who had found the influence of the Greek Logic at the Islamic Mutekalims was Ibn Khaldun, who states that Al-Haremeyn Juveyni was the first to introduce Aristotle's methodology in the theological Islamic knowledge, a conclusion that – according to Madkour – was proved in the detailed study of the orientalist Macdonald. (for more see: Madkour, 1375.)

The influence and the importance of the Aristotle's Logic is such great that it was concluded "if the translation of the Aristotle works wouldn't have been made, maybe today we wouldn't have great Islamic philosophers such as Kindi, Farabi, Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd, and as a result, we perhaps wouldn't also have western philosophers such as Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, perhaps westerners might not even got used with the heritage of ancient Greek philosophy". (Khansari, 1383:13)

Even though Muslim thinkers, highly estimated Aristotle, they didn't hesitate to put his philosophy as the object of their critics. Even though the first Muslim philosophers such as Farabi and Ibn Sina had criticized here and there the logic of Aristotle, the strictest critics of his work were Shahāb ad-Dīn" Yahya ibn Habash Suhrawardī (1154-1191) philosopher and mystic and theologian Taqī ad-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyyah (1263 – 1328). According to Ibrahim Madkour, Suhrawardī had disagreements on two very important themes. The first: According to Suhrawardī, it is too much difficult to implement the idea of Aristotle related to "quantity" because his idea on this issue relies on the concepts of the essential and quiddity, concepts that are related to metaphysics. How can we define the essential qualities of a particular thing? Then, how can we ensure that we have defined all the qualities of that thing? Therefore, reduction of a thing is enough to that level so we can distinguish and recognize it from the other things. Therefore, we could easily use reduction in many other subjects. Here Suhrawardī refers to the methodological role of reduction and this approach of him is a totally new approach in the science of Logic. The second: He also shows his disagreement on four forms of destiny which, according to him should be only one form. Nevertheless, Suhrawardī had disagreements with Aristotle on definitions. On the other hand, Ibn Taymiyyah didn't have any deep logical critic of Aristotle. He played a devastating role and thought that we should as soon as possible deny the logic of Aristotle and the logicians. He was an ardent disputant whose disputes didn't have any intellectual deepness but were mostly based on discrediting attacks on Aristotle, through which he attempted to discredit Muslim philosophers. Madkour, 1374:55-56). Constructive critics on the Greek logic and particularly on the Aristotelian logic also had the contemporary Muslim philosophers such as Mohammed Iqbal (Iqbal, 2006:16,18,164), Muhammed Abid El-Jabri (El-Cabiri, 2001:266-293) and Hasan Hanafi (H. Hanafi, 1380:9-14). While the reasons that in the history of Islamic thought had critics on the logic of Aristotle are diverse and there are many different opinions on this issue<sup>5</sup>.

Nevertheless, the Logic of Aristotle found a non-compromising support at Muslims and was systematically taught in their schools and madrasas. Also the tradition of its learning

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<sup>5</sup> Some of the reasons of disagreements of Muslims on the logic of Aristotle are: a) The attempt to keep the Muslim thought out of the influence of foreigners; b) The concern that it might replace the Islamic thought; c) The fear or wonder from the form of the introduction of Logic in the Islamic world (at the beginning by non-Muslim interpreters) and its basic concepts (categories, dialectic, analytic, induction, rhetoric, etc. d) The lack of coordination of some of the basic principles of Logic with the ancient methodology of "Kalam"; e) The approach that Logic shrinks the thought and blocks the path of satisfaction. (mystical approach); f) The attitude that it is not necessary to rely the knowledge on Logic and g) The emotional attitudes (such as dogmatism, prejudices, pejorative approach on the others etc.) (Emiroğlu, İslâm Ansiklopedisi, Mantic voice, p. 23).

went parallel to learning of Islamic religion in different regions. In Ottoman madrasas also there was an extra care about learning the Logic. In the teaching plan – programs<sup>6</sup> in the Ottoman madrasas we can see that along with other knowledge's such as the Qur'an, Tefsir, Hadith, Fiqh, Akaid etc, logic was also taught and according to the researchers, a great importance was given to it. Nevertheless, we can't escape the fact that in the Ottoman – Muslim thinking tradition, logic and philosophy in general had many strong opponents. (İzgi: 1997:117). The methodology of teaching Logic and its issues in the Ottoman madrasas is not different at all from the Greek – Muslim one.

*The themes of Logic writings that were taught in Ottoman madrasas were composed of two main themes: "The Logic of concepts" (Tasavvurat) and the Logic of "judgments" (tasdikat). In general, the studying of words and the discussion on the understandability of phenomena within the logic of concepts was arranged at the beginning of the works on Logic because such a thing was meant as an introduction in any other knowledge, where five notions and the discussion on knowing and its aim belonged. Later on, there were ranged the principles of logic of judgments (tasdikat), and their aim was analogy and argument. Meanwhile, five arts that included the theory of analogy were left on the last part. This way the nine parts of classical Logic were ranged in a different form (along with the classification at the ancient Greek, A.R.). In this form the system of Logic at Ottomans had become a cliché of the previous period of Logic. (Emiroğlu, Islam Ansiklopedisi, Mantık: 23)*

Meanwhile, the main Logic works that were taught in Ottoman madrasas were: Esagoge of Ebheri, Kistasu'l Efkar fi tahkiki'l Asrar of Muhammed b. Eshref Samarkand, Metali'ul Anvar of Urmevi and Sherhu-sh Shemsije of Mullah Fanar. Since the work Esagoge of Ebheri was the main one and had the greatest influence in the thought of Muslims of Ottoman Empire (where Albanian Muslims were included too), then in this paper I will present only this work and the history of its teaching at Albanians.

Since Esagoge of Ebheri was written as a continuation of the tradition of Esagoges in the Logical heritage of Muslims, it would be good that at the beginning to present shortly the first work of this kind, which was The Esagoge of Porphyries

### 3. The Esagoge of Porphyries

As we mentioned previously the work Esagoge (Eisagōgē) of Porphyries<sup>7</sup> was later added to the work Organon of Aristotle. Porphyries wrote this work while he was staying in Sicily invited by a Roman overlord. Actually, this treatise is a comment on the universal

<sup>6</sup> On the teaching programs in Ottoman madrasas see: Mefail Hızlı. Osmanlı Medreselerinde Okutulan Dersler ve Eserler. T.C. Uludağ üniversitesi ilâhiyat fakültesi dergisi. Cilt: 17, Sayı: 1, 2008 s. 25-46; Mustafa ŞANAL. Osmanlı devleti'nde medreselere ders programları, öğretim metodu, ölçme ve değerlendirme, öğretimde ihtisaslaşma bakımından genel bir bakış. Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi. Sayı : 14 Yıl : 2003/1 (149-168 s.)

<sup>7</sup> Porphyry (304-234 BC) was a Neoplatonist philosopher, a student of Plotinus who had prepared and edited the works of his teacher.

concepts known in Aristotle's work, which are: genus, species, difference, accident and the special accident.

In the works of Logic in Arabic language and in the ones of the Latin Middle Ages, these five concepts were known as 'five essential ideas'. Porphyries in this treatise talks about the existence of five essential concepts and the relationship that they have with each other, but he doesn't go further into deeper analysis. Relying on the data and ideas of Aristotle given in different works of Logic and metaphysics and using a simple language and a style that goes with Logic, in this work he explained further the five essential concepts of Aristotle. We have to mention that these concepts are not made by Porphyries as many people think (Emiroğlu, 2006-37). Even though this work didn't have any special innovation, it had the good luck that it was commented and interpreted by many commentators of the works of Aristotle. By this short work, Porphyries became as well-known as his professor Plotinus and laid its impact in the subsequent courses of philosophy in the East and West. The Esagoge gained so much fame and importance that in the Middle Age it turned to the main reference in the subject of Logic. It also spread in the East and at the beginning, it was translated in the Syrian language and Pahlavi (the old Persian language) and later on in Arabic language and so it had a wide spread between Muslim philosophers<sup>8</sup>.

The translation of it from Syriac into Arabic language was made by Abu Uthman Dimeshki (y. 914). While the most well-known Esagoge at Muslims was the Esagoge of Esiruddin Ebheri (y. 1265)<sup>9</sup>.

#### 4. Esagoge of Esiruddin Ebheri

The work "Risale-i Ethirije fi'l Mantik" or Esagoge (Arabic: إيساغوجي, translated as *Īsāgūgī*) like mostly known, written by Esiruddin Ebheri was considered as an adaptation of the work of Porphyries, as a comment and translation of it. (Atademir, 1948:464). In this work are collected almost all the themes of the logic of that time and this is the reason why so many commentaries are written about this work. Esagoge of Ebheri sum up all the themes of Aristotle's Organon and Esagoge of Porphyries but the themes are ranged according to the works of Farabi and Ibn Sina, while the concept of connotation is treated before the five essential concepts treated by Porphyries. While the only similarity of the work of Ebheri and

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<sup>8</sup> Among Muslim philosophers who wrote and commented the Esagoge of Porphyries are: Jakub b. Is'hak El Kindi, *Kitab fi'l med'hal bi - istifa'l-kavli fi*, *Risale fi'l-medhali'l mantiki bi'htisharin ve ixhaz dhe Risale fi'sh - shavti'l -hamse*; Ibnu't Tadjib Es Serhasi, *Ihtisharu Kitabi Isaguxhi*; Muhammed b. Zekerijja er Razi, *Kitabu Isaguxhi and Ebu Nasr Farabi, Kitabu Isaguxhi ej el-Medhal*. We should mention that also Ibn Sina starts the part of Logic of Shifa with an Esagoge (Introduction), where he discusses the ideas and thoughts of Porphyries.

<sup>9</sup> There are not many data about the life of Esiruddin Ebheri. Some researchers hold the stand that he was born in Mosul, while some others say that he was born in Isfahan or Zanzan but they agree that he was a member of family from Samarkand. There are also doubts on the dates of his birth and death. He got his first studies in Mosul and later on he continued his learning in Khorasan and Baghdad. Apart of Esagoge he wrote 11 other works and some of them are: *Hidajetu-l Hikme*, *Tenzilu-l -efkar fi ta'dili'l - esrar*, *Keshfu'l haka'ik fi tahriri-d - deka'ik*, etc. We have to mention that in the Islamic literature he is known as a philosopher, astronomer, mathematician, logician and theologian. For more about his life and work see: *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, voice: Ebheri, Esiruddin). *Ünlü Türk Mantıkçısı Ebherî ve Mantık Kuralları Risâlesi*", translated by Hüseyin SARIOĞLU. *İlmî Araştırmalar*, XI (İstanbul 2001), 151-165.

the one of Porphyries is the treatment of essential concepts of Esagoge by Porphyries even though very shortly. Being loyal to the Aristotelian tradition on Logic, Ebheri like Ibn Sina, starts his work by analyzing the language and words rather than objects. Then he treats types of words and definitions of the definition of five words and he turns to species, special accidents, differences, analogy, categorical analogy and the hypothetical one, hypothesis and after he discusses about the characteristics of each one he turns to argumentation, to supporting arguments in the right knowledge and later discusses about the truth, the hypothetical and the book ends with the definitions of dialectic, rhetoric, poetic and sophistic analogy.

Inside the book we can find parts of Logic ranged in systematical order, where we find the description, definition and a short analysis of all the concepts of Logic. Also, after each definition and description there is an example of it.



Resim 1: The facsimile of the first page of the book “Esagoge of Ebheri”, taken from the library of Mullah Fejzullah Salihu from Presevo, Albanian region in the southern Serbia.

Therefore, the work Esagoge of Ebheri by its structure and content is more similar to the Esagoge (introduction) of Ibn Sina than the Esagoge of Porphyries (Bingöl, 2010: 169) but nevertheless, this work also treats the five essential concepts of the Esagoge of Porphyries and we could say that it is a continuation of this tradition in the field of Logic. It is worth to mention that after Ebheri, all the studies and comments are focused on his work and it was

commented, translated and edited in many languages of the world. The most well-known comment on it was “El Feva’idul – Fenariyye” of Mullah Fenari and “El-Mutala” of Muhammed el-Ensari el-Kahiri. It was also translated into Latin by P. Thomas Novariensis and was edited in Rome in 1625. We should also mention that this work was also commented by the Bosnian scholar Mustafa Ejubovic (1651-1704), who after finishing his studies in Istanbul, had translated and made it possible to be taught in the madrasas of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (D. Kundakçi, 2012:692). In Bosnia, the Logic of Aristotle has been taught in madrasas but also in the schools of Orthodox churches (Ibrulj, 2009:111) that can also be said about madrasas and Orthodox churches in Albanian regions.

About the tradition of teaching of this work in the madrasas of Balkan, was also written by the well-known contemporary researcher Shehab Ahmed. He says: “From Balkan to Bangladesh, students of madrasas studied similar texts such as: The essential works of Logic such as the Esagoge of Ebheri.” (Ahmed, 2015:76). In madrasas of the Ottoman Empire, till the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, this work was the main text on the subject of Logic (Islam Ansiklopedisi, voice Esagoge), while in Albanian world it continued to be taught even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>. We should also mention that this work was also taught in the Az’har University till 50s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **5. The Logic of Aristotle in Ottoman-Albanian Madrasas**

Together with the spread of the Ottoman Empire in Albanian regions, were built religious and education institutions of this Empire such as mosques, masjids and madrasas, which were columns of education in the Empire (Demir, 2013:23). There is no doubt that the madrasas of our regions functioned according to organizational and teaching plans and programs of the Ottoman Empire madrasas. Also teaching texts, teaching methodology and organization of Albanian madrasas were not such different from the Ottoman madrasas.

Researching through the libraries of Albanian Muslim scholars of old generations as well as the edited books and handwritings in the archives of Albanian libraries, prove that books which were taught in the madrasas of Islamic world have been taught in our regions too<sup>11</sup>.

*According to ijāzetnāms and other sources we have discussed, we have found out that among the works that were taught through Rushdiyas and idādiyas particularly in our*

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<sup>10</sup> Personally, I still don’t have any data if this work was commented and translated by any Albanian scholar. Students of madrasas in Albanian regions, had the chance to learn this work along with the comment in Turkish language or in Albanian, that were done by their teachers. As far as I know no one has done written comments. Interviewing some of the preachers, ex-students of the old madrasa of Presevo I found out that their preacher – teacher translated into Albanian those parts that they were not able to understand in Arabic or Turkish language. While the copies that the preachers of Presevo owned are different editions printed in Istanbul.

<sup>11</sup> Among the books inherited by my grandfather, Mullah Rexhep Rexhepi and other preachers also, are the books that were taught in madrasas such as: “Emsile” (no author), Bina (no author) Maksud Multeka of Ibrahim. Mohammed el-Haleb, Izzi of Izeddin Abdulwehab b. Ibrahim ez-Zingani, and many other books. Also in the libraries of old preachers, who have already passed away (such as Hafiz. Nexhati Ahmeti, Mullah Fejzullah Salihu and Mullah Nazmi Mehmedi) exist the main books that were studied in the madrasas of that period not forgetting to mention many other books of Islamic traditional knowledge.

madradas are works such as: *Isāgocī* – a work on Logic in Arabic language whose writer was Mufeddal b. Omer el-Ebherī (died in 663/1265) and, “*Fenārī*” which is a comment on the work “*Isagūci*” of Ebheri, and this comment was done by Şemsuddīn Muhammed b. Hamza el-Fenārī (died in 834/1430). The work is known as “*El-Fevāidu ‘l-Fenāriye*” or “*Şerh el-Isāgocī lil-Fenārī*”. A handwritten copy of this work is being saved in the archive of Kosovo, a copy that was made by Muhammed b. haxhi Hasani in 977/1570. (Mehmeti, 2008:106).

The madrasa of Presevo, known as the madrasa of hafiz Nexhati, founded by hafiz Nexhati Mehmeti – who was an inheritor of a rich tradition of preachers and scholars – was educated in the well-known “Medah” madrasa of Ataullah Effendi in Skopje. (see: Bislimi, 2011:33-61) He achieved to educate three generations of students; most of them were remarkable preachers and scholars of this region. The most distinguished of them was Mullah Fejzullah Salihu (known by local people as Mullah Fejza) who was the teacher of a considerable number of students<sup>12</sup>.

These preachers say that among other works that they have learned and studied, was also the Esagoge of Ebheri. On the subject of Logic (Mantik) they also mention the book “*Mugni’t-tullab*” as a comment on the Esagoge. According to them, this work like other books has been read in Arabic language, then it was commented and described in Turkish and Albanian languages. They were more focused on reading and studying of the comment of Esagoge, so the book *Mugni’t-tullab*<sup>13</sup>.

We used to learn Mantik (Logic) – they say – in order to make the difference between good and bad, the truth and the untrue, and the right from deviation. What they still remember from this book was the description of the word Esagoge, which they describe this way: Is (ايس)-ente, agu(اغو) – ene and eji or ji (اجى) – fi hadhel meqan. (which means: Es-you, ago-I and goge – here)<sup>14</sup>. Such a thing we can also find in the book “*Mugni’t-tullab*”, but of course such a description or interpretation of the Esagoge is wrong, because as it has been said previously, Esagoge is the Arabic accent of the Greek word “Eisagoge” meaning the introduction. Such unsustainable interpretations can also be found in many comments and analysis that were done on this work throughout history.

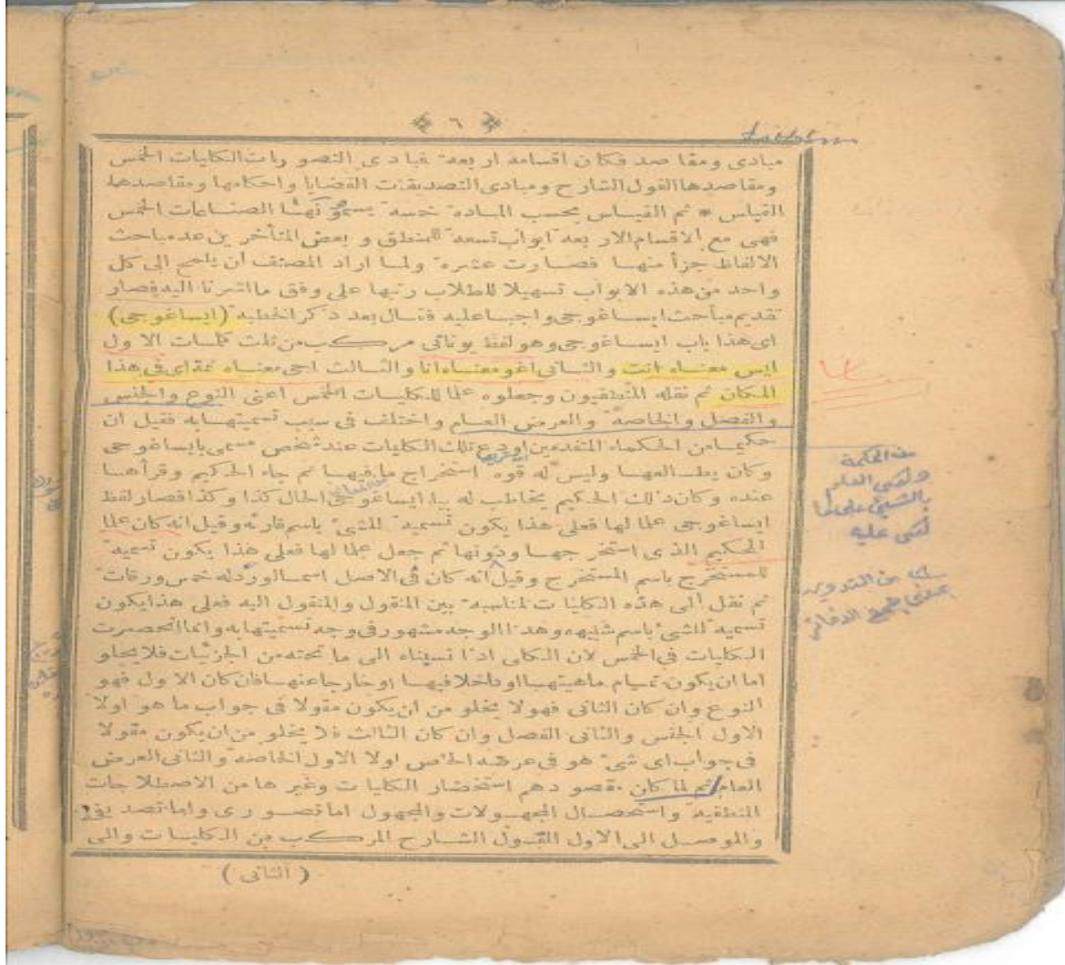
*In the margins of some editions of this work, even though this name is attributed to every preparatory book or to every introduction of a book that is hard to be understood, nevertheless it is mentioned that Esagoge is a terminology of the subject of Logic. Then, even though in some sources, it was mentioned that the meaning of this word is “Introduction”, in*

<sup>12</sup> I have interviewed Mullah Shenasi Fejzullahu, Mullah Xhemal Musliu, Mullah Behxhet Idrizi and Hafiz. Avni Ahmedi from the municipalities of Presevo and Bujanovac.

<sup>13</sup> The classical style in Logic was that the sentences were written as shorter as possible and as summarized as possible. Therefore, these works had to be taught by certain teachers that had as well learned at another teacher and so on. It was impossible that these works were understood without the help of a teacher or without reading any comment or any previous margin (hashiye) written on this work.

<sup>14</sup> This was told to me throughout our interview that I made with Mullah Shenasi Fejzullahu, Mullah Xhemal Musliu and hzf. Avni Ahmedi.

some texts are given other meanings as well. It was even pretended that Esagoge was the name of a philosopher or the name of a student of a philosopher, as well as there do exist other ideas that this word is of Syriac rather than Greek language and other unsustainable waffles like these. (Atademir, 1948:467).



Resim 2: The facsimile of the sixth page of “Esagoge of Ebheri”, taken from the library of Mullah Fejzullah ef. Salihu from Presevo

The teaching method of this work as well as other works was this: In some cases, the teacher reads the text in Arabic, then he analyzed it word by word in the philological aspect, and finally he commented it in Turkish or Albanian language. In other cases, the text was read by a student and then it was commented by the teacher. According to these preachers teaching the works such as Esagoge helps the students to understand the texts of Islamic religion because without studying “Mantik” (Logic), Ilmul-beyan (Rhetoric) and other subjects like these we cannot understand as ought Qur’an and Hadith.

The presence of these works in the libraries of every preacher that was educated in the system of old madrasas is a prove of the high position that it had in the syllabuses of those madrasas and this makes me think – particularly if we also have in mind other works on Logic

in their libraries – about the importance that they give to Logic in their education, thinking and then in their religious activity<sup>15</sup>. But through discussions with the last generations of students of the old madrasa of hafiz Nexhati, who today are of old age it was impossible for me to find out the impact of Esagoge and particularly at these people to find traces of the logic of Aristotle. It is also interesting the fact that they were familiar with great philosophers and logicians of Islamic world such as Kindi, Farabi, Ibn Sina, Rrazi Taftazani etc, they even remembered Aristotle (Aristu – as they say). Having in mind the circumstances and political environment of that time where this madrasa functioned, without any doubt we shouldn't have big expectations about the impact of these great logical-philosophical ideas and concepts. But on the speeches and preaching's of these preachers and particularly in the discussions I have made with them, I found out that they are familiar with dialectic, rhetoric, esthetic and analogy. Therefore, they can understand very well classical Arabic works, particularly Arabic classical poetry and prose. We also have to mention that Logic and Philosophy that were taught in that period, in all the madrasas was due to "Kalam" and religious apology.

## **6. Conclusion**

The logic of Aristotle had a wide spread in Muslim madrasas and among Muslim scholars, while his works were translated and commented many times. Therefore, he had the greatest impact on the ways and methods of thinking, argumentation and the establishment of concepts and ideas of Muslim thinkers. Such a thing, without doubt we can barely find in the mystical tradition of the Islamic world. While, the work that made the Logic of Aristotle even more understandable for Muslims, without doubt, was the Esagoge of Porphyries, which was translated, commented and even was turned to a model for the works of many Muslim scholars in the field of Logic. Having this work as a model, Muslim philosophers and scholars wrote other Esagoges, and the most known of them was the one of Esiruddin Ebheri. "Risale-i Ethirije fi'l Mantik" or the Esagoge of Ebheri, which was the most commented and translated work in eastern and western languages and was a teaching text in the madrasas of Muslim people throughout the Islamic World. This work was also taught in madrasas of the Ottoman Empire, as well as in Albanian madrasas. The work of Ebheri had been also taught in the madrasa of hafiz Nexhati in Presevo and his students still remember it and can talk about it. It is very difficult to identify the quantity and quality of the impact of this work in the way of thinking of these preachers.

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<sup>15</sup> Such a thing can't be noticed at later preachers, educated in Arabic countries, especially in Saudi Arabia. Unfortunately, in this theological school prevails a spirit of enmity towards Logic and Philosophy and as a result Albanian Muslims are facing with anachronistic and too radical interpretations of their religion. We shouldn't forget that this school of theology promotes a pathological hatred towards the Islamic mysticism, which throughout history was the most human and peaceful interpretation of Islamic religion.

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