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The Existence of the Lauh Method in the Transmission of Warsh Recitation: A Case Study of Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Ouyoun, Morocco

Sartikah¹, Sulalatun Nikma², Adam Ahmad Syahrul Alim³

^{1,2,3} Universitas Sunan Gresik, Indonesia

***Corresponding Author**

sartikah@lecturer.usg.ac.id

Abstract: Quranic memorization scholarship in Indonesia and the Middle East has predominantly focused on Hafs recitation-based methods, leaving the Lauh Method, an oral-written transmission system rooted in Morocco's kuttab tradition, entirely undocumented in Indonesian academic literature. This gap is significant given that the Lauh Method serves as the primary vehicle for transmitting Warsh recitation (Qira'ah Warsy) narrated by Imam Nafi', a canonical tradition with distinct pedagogical characteristics, depriving Indonesian Islamic educational scholarship of a comparative basis for understanding alternative Quranic transmission systems and their institutional sustainability mechanisms. This study aims to examine the existence of the Lauh Method in the transmission of Warsh recitation at Kuttab Ma'had Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Ouyoun, Syarq Maghrib (eastern Morocco), under Yayasan Al Fath, founded by Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir in 1987. A qualitative single case study was conducted through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. Findings reveal: (1) the Lauh Method is authentically practiced through verse-writing on a wooden board (lauh), muraja'ah, and tasmi' to teachers mastering seven canonical recitations; (2) its flexible system enables 30-juz completion within three to five years; (3) the kuttab functions as state-embedded socio-religious infrastructure producing graduates as imams, judges, and police officers across Morocco and Europe; (4) muhsinin sustain full operations through infaq; and (5) post-COVID-19 enrollment declined 55% from 1,000 to approximately 450 students yet the institution survived through philanthropic resilience. This study contributes to scholarship on Warsh recitation transmission, traditional institutional resilience, and Islamic philanthropy in Quranic education.

Keywords: Lauh Method Existence, Warsh Recitation, Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Quranic Transmission, Islamic Philanthropy.

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INTRODUCTION

The quran holds a unique position in Islamic civilization, not only as a sacred text but as a living tradition of oral transmission, meticulously preserved from teacher to student through an unbroken chain of narration (*sanad*) since the time of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. This mode of transmission, known as *talaqqiy*, guarantees the phonological integrity of every letter, vowel, and recitation elongation across centuries and continents. Across the Muslim world, distinct regional traditions of Quranic recitation and pedagogy have emerged, each shaped by the scholarly, cultural, and legal orientations of its community (Al-Kharusi dkk., t.t.; Gent & Muhammad, 2019). Among these, the *Lauh* method of Morocco stands as one of the oldest, most authentically preserved, and least studied Quranic transmission systems in global Islamic education scholarship.

The *Lauh* method (Arabic: اللوح, 'the board') is a Quranic pedagogy indigenous to Morocco in which students write Quranic verses on a flat wooden board using natural ink, memorize the verses through intensive repetitive recitation (*muraja'ah*), present their memorization to the teacher for verification and correction (*tasmi'*), then erase the board and begin the next memorization cycle. This oral-written integration distinguishes it fundamentally from purely auditory memorization methods widely used elsewhere in the Islamic world. Pedagogically, the method operationalizes multimodal learning by simultaneously engaging visual, kinesthetic, and auditory cognitive pathways, a combination that neuroscientific research suggests significantly deepens memory encoding and long-term retention (Faqihuddin dkk., 2024). The *lauh* board itself, typically carved from olive or cedar wood and measuring approximately 50 centimeters, is simultaneously a pedagogical tool and a material symbol of Moroccan Islamic civilization, transmitted across generations within the institution of the *kuttab*

Kuttab Ma'had Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, located in the city of Ouyoun in the *Syarq Maghrib* region (eastern Morocco) and operating under the umbrella of *Yayasan Al Fath*, represents a concrete, empirically accessible instance of this tradition in active practice. The foundation was established in 1987 by Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir, with the initiative of local philanthropists (*muhsinin*), and the founder was formally appointed as the *Yayasan* chairman in 2004. The *kuttab* encompasses four educational levels: *Ibtida'i* (primary), *I'dadi* (junior secondary), *Tsanawi* (senior secondary), and higher education across three institutional branches: *Kuttab Nakhlah*, *Kuttab Masjid Sa'ad bin Abi Waqqash*, and *Kuttab Ma'had Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah*. The institution is grounded in three scholarly pillars: the Maliki school of jurisprudence (dominant in North Africa since the 2nd century AH), *Ash'ariyyah* theology, and the *Warsh* recitation narrated by Imam Nafi' as the official mode of Quranic recitation. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, total enrollment across all levels reached 1,000 students—a figure that underscores the institution's social scale and significance in its community (Field interview data, 2024).

The Qira'ah of Warsh (Warsh' an Nafi') is one of the seven canonically accepted qira'ah in Islamic scholarship, transmitted by Uthman ibn Sa'id al-Mishri, known as Warsh (c. 110–197 AH), from his teacher Imam Nafi' al-Madani (d. 169 AH), whose chain of transmission itself reaches back to the Companions of the Prophet. Today, Warsy remains the dominant qira'ah in Morocco, Algeria, much of western Tunisia, and Sub-Saharan Africa, representing one of the two major global Qur'anic traditions alongside the Hafsh qira'ah used throughout the rest of the Islamic world (R and L in the warsh transmission (compared to the hafs transmission), t.t.). The persistence of Warsy in Morocco is no coincidence: it is systematically linked to the historical dominance of the Maliki school in the Maghreb, which created an institutional ecosystem where fiqh and qira'ah were transmitted together through the same scholarly networks. Consequently, the Kuttab, as the primary vehicle for the transmission of the Qur'an, became the guardian of the Warsh recitation not merely as a style of recitation but as a marker of Moroccan Muslim identity and its intellectual heritage.

Beyond their purely pedagogical function, kuttabs in Morocco occupy a significant structural position within the formal governance of the country's Islamic affairs. In Morocco, under the constitutional authority of the King as Amir al-Mu'minin, prospective imams seeking official training through state institutions must complete memorization of the Qur'an as a primary prerequisite for admission, subject to a competitive selection process administered by religious authorities under the Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs. This institutional policy creates sustained social demand for kuttab graduates: they do not merely produce religiously devout individuals but also qualified candidates for formally recognized positions of religious leadership. Alumni of the Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah Kuttab have gone on to careers as teachers, police officers, judges, and mosque imams not only in Morocco but throughout Europe, evidence of the Kuttab's capacity to produce graduates with high social mobility and professional capital that extends beyond purely religious roles (Head of the Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah Kuttab, interview, Morocco, 2024). Furthermore, the religious reforms announced by King Mohammed VI in 2004 were designed to include the over 3.8 million Moroccans living abroad, on the grounds that they constitute part of a shared transnational religious field—through the sending of religious personnel delegations, the funding of mosques and Islamic associations, and the provision of imam training programs across multiple countries (Bruce, 2018).

The key feature ensuring the institutional sustainability of the kuttab is its funding model, which is rooted entirely in Islamic philanthropy (infaq and waqf) rather than in tuition fees or government funding. Students at the Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah Kuttab receive full provision of lodging, food, and learning materials at no personal cost, all funded by voluntary charitable contributions from muhsinin (benefactors) in the surrounding community. This model

reflects the deeply ingrained religious motivation within Moroccan Muslim society, where supporting Quranic education is considered one of the highest forms of sadaqah jariyah. Research on the resilience of the Islamic economy confirms that the Islamic economic system, including philanthropic instruments such as ZISWAF, demonstrates greater resilience compared to the conventional economy due to its risk-sharing mechanisms and stable social safety nets (Nabila Nabila dkk., 2026). This philanthropic ecosystem explains why kuttabs have survived and continue to operate even under the severe economic disruptions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Qur'an memorization education in Indonesia has experienced rapid growth. Since the Musabaqah Hifzil Qur'an (MHQ) in 1981, the development of Quran memorization institutions in Indonesia has been like an unstoppable flood—spreading across nearly the entire archipelago, from elementary school through higher education, in both formal and non-formal settings (Noer, 2021). The methods commonly used in Indonesian Quran memorization institutions are predominantly auditory-oral. Common methods include talaqqi, that is, submitting new memorization to the teacher, as well as the sabqi, sabaq, and manzil systems, which divide memorization into three categories: new memorization, memorization being reviewed, and old memorization; all accompanied by murāja'ah to reinforce memorization until it reaches the level of mutqin (Fathah, 2021). This methodological monoculture, while effective within its local context, leaves Indonesian Islamic educators largely unaware of the rich pedagogical and institutional models embedded in the Moroccan kuttab tradition. The scarcity of Indonesian-language academic literature on the Lauh Method, particularly its interaction with the transmission of the Qira'ah Warsy, its social embeddedness within Moroccan society, and its philanthropic sustainability model, constitutes a significant scholarly gap that this research directly addresses.

A review of the existing literature reveals a striking lack of empirical research specifically examining the Lauh Method in the context of the transmission of the Warsy Qira'ah in identified Moroccan kuttabs. The work that comes closest to this topic is the proceedings by (Abidin & Ismail, 2025) which describes ten memorization steps using the Lauh Method in Moroccan kuttabs, with the advantage lying in the layered memorization process that produces strong and solid memorization, yet the study does not address the specific Qira'ah used, does not analyze the institution's socio-religious ties, and does not address post-pandemic challenges (Abidin & Ismail, 2025). On a different level (Fajriansyah dkk., 2024) describe board-based memorization methods in the contexts of Sudan and Mauritania, and confirm that the lauhah method has been proven to produce many huffaz in various African countries; however, this study focuses on adapting the method to the Indonesian context and does not include field institutional data from the African kuttabs themselves (Fajriansyah dkk, 2024).

Meanwhile, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on Morocco's education system as a whole has been noted March 16, 2020, marked a crucial turning point in the history of Moroccan education when all schools and universities were closed in accordance with lockdown policies, signaling a major shift in educational practices for an entire generation yet no study has documented the specific impact of the pandemic on the number of kuttab students using quantified primary field data (Alaoui dkk., 2024). This gap is addressed by this study: based on in-depth interview data collected directly at the Moroccan kuttabs under study, a dramatic decline in the number of students from 1,000 to 450, representing a 55% decrease, was recorded as a measurable impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, an empirical fact entirely undocumented in the existing literature. None of the aforementioned works simultaneously combine the four distinguishing dimensions of this study: (1) direct fieldwork in specifically identified Moroccan kuttabs; (2) a focus on the transmission of the Qira'ah Warsy as the primary analytical lens; (3) an investigation of the kuttab's social-religious and philanthropic sustainability ecosystem; and (4) empirical documentation of the impact of COVID-19 using quantified data obtained through primary interviews.

The COVID-19 pandemic (2020–2022) introduced an unprecedented disruption to educational institutions globally, with UNESCO (2020) reporting that more than 1.6 billion learners across 190 countries were affected by school closures. For traditional Islamic educational institutions whose core pedagogy depends on face-to-face oral transmission, as is fundamentally the case for talaqqiy-based Quranic education, the disruption was qualitatively more severe than for text-based institutions capable of transitioning to online delivery (Basilaia & Kvavadze, 2020). In the Indonesian context, Susanto and Desrani (2022) documented that pesantren faced existential challenges to their oral transmission traditions during the pandemic, including the impossibility of maintaining talaqqiy-based methods under lockdown conditions. In the Moroccan context, the economic devastation of the pandemic in the already vulnerable Syarq Maghrib region drove a dramatic enrollment decline at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah: from a pre-pandemic total of 1,000 students across all branches and levels to approximately 450 post-pandemic (averaging 150 per branch), a 55% reduction that significantly exceeds the 20–30% decline ranges reported for Indonesian pesantren (Hariyanto dkk., 2023). Critically, however, the kuttab did not close: its philanthropic funding model ensured operational continuity even as enrollments fell, demonstrating the resilience that Islamic philanthropy provides to traditional educational institutions under crisis conditions.

Against this background, this study identifies three primary research novelties that distinguish it from prior works. First, it is the first study in Indonesian academic literature to empirically document the mechanism of Warsh recitation transmission through the Lauh Method based on direct

fieldwork at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Ouyoun, Syarq Maghrib. Second, unlike studies treating kuttab as a historical artifact, this study investigates it as a living, crisis-tested socio-religious institution with concrete social output data, graduates serving as judges, police officers, and mosque imams across Morocco and Europe, and a fully articulated philanthropic financing model. Third, the quantification of post-COVID-19 enrollment decline (a 55% reduction, from 1,000 to 450 students) provides a rare empirical data point on the pandemic's impact on traditional Quranic education in North Africa, a geography almost entirely absent from Indonesian academic discourse.

This study argues that the continued existence of the Lauh Method at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah is not merely the result of its pedagogical effectiveness, but is fundamentally sustained by an interconnected ecosystem of three mutually reinforcing pillars: the epistemological authority of the Warsh transmission chain (*sanad*), the socio-religious legitimacy derived from the kuttab's structural role in Morocco's formal mosque governance system, and the enduring philanthropic commitment of the muhsinin community whose *infaq*-based financing shields the institution from market-driven crises enabling the kuttab to remain resilient even amid the severe enrollment decline triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic.

Based on these novelties and the central argument above, this study aims to: (1) describe the mechanism of Warsh recitation transmission through the Lauh Method; (2) analyze the flexible memorization system and seven-qira'ah competency standards of faqih teachers; (3) examine the kuttab's socio-religious role in the Moroccan community ecosystem; and (4) document the post-COVID-19 challenges and the philanthropic resilience sustaining the kuttab's continued existence.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative approach with an intrinsic single case study design (*Creswell, t.t.*). The case study design was selected because it is the most appropriate framework for answering 'how' and 'why' questions about a contemporary phenomenon that is deeply embedded in a specific socio-cultural and educational context, namely, the living transmission of Warsh recitation through the Lauh method at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Ouyoun, Morocco. In a single intrinsic case study, the case itself is of inherent interest and value to the researcher, not merely as an illustration of a broader theoretical proposition but as a phenomenon worthy of investigation in its own right. This design is particularly suited to studies in which the researcher seeks to develop a nuanced, context-specific understanding that would be impossible to achieve through experimental manipulation or statistical generalization. The present study did not manipulate any conditions or variables; rather, participants were observed and interviewed in their natural educational environment, consistent with the naturalistic inquiry orientation recommended for studies of traditional

pedagogical systems (Utubira & Lakoruhut, t.t.).

The research was conducted at Kuttab Ma'had Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, one of three institutional branches of Yayasan Al Fath, located in the city of Ouyoun, in the Syarq Maghrib region (eastern Morocco). This site was selected through purposive site selection based on four criteria: (a) it is an actively functioning kuttab that authentically practices the Lauh method using Warsh recitation at the time of the study; (b) it operates across four educational levels Ibtida'i (primary), I'dadi (junior secondary), Tsanawi (senior secondary), and higher education making it a comprehensive and institutionally complex case; (c) it is under the umbrella of Yayasan Al Fath, founded in 1987 by Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir, providing a traceable institutional history; and (d) the institution's key informant the person-in-charge (penanggung jawab kuttab) was willing and available to participate in extended in-depth interviews. Purposive site selection is the standard approach in qualitative case study research, as the goal is to select information-rich sites that illuminate the research phenomenon rather than to achieve geographic or demographic representativeness (Kegler dkk., 2019).

The overall research procedure was executed in three sequential and interconnected phases. Phase One (Preparation, approximately four weeks): The researchers formulated research questions derived from the identified scholarly gap in Indonesian academic literature regarding Warsh recitation transmission; constructed the semi-structured interview guide, structured observation protocol, and document inventory checklist; conducted a systematic preliminary literature review to establish the theoretical and empirical state of the art; submitted a formal request for institutional access to Yayasan Al Fath; and received written ethical clearance from the research institution. Phase Two (Fieldwork, conducted at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Ouyoun, Morocco): The researchers traveled to the research site and conducted all primary data collection activities over the fieldwork visit period, including: extended in-depth interviews with the person in charge of the kuttab as the primary key informant; semi-structured interviews with student informants across multiple educational levels; informal interviews with muhsinin community members; participant observation across morning and afternoon learning sessions on multiple consecutive days; and systematic collection and photographing of institutional documents. All interviews were conducted in Arabic and recorded with participant consent. Phase Three (Analysis and Writing, approximately eight weeks): Raw data were transcribed verbatim; thematic analysis was conducted following the Miles-Huberman-Saldaña model; triangulation verification was performed; member checking was completed with the primary informant; and the final manuscript was drafted in accordance with the target journal's submission requirements.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Institutional Profile of Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah

The first major finding of this study concerns the institutional identity and structural profile of Kuttab Ma'had Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah as a living representative of the Moroccan kuttab tradition. The kuttab operates under the umbrella of Yayasan Al Fath, founded in 1987 by Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir with the financial and moral support of the surrounding muhsinin community, and formally institutionalized with the founder's appointment as foundation chairman in 2004. The kuttab encompasses four educational levels spanning from primary education (Ibtida'i) through higher education, organized across three branch institutions: Kuttab Nakhlah, Kuttab Masjid Sa'ad bin Abi Waqqash, and Kuttab Ma'had Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, making it one of the most structurally complete kuttab institutions documented in the academic literature on Moroccan Quranic education (Abidin & Ismail, 2025). The institutional identity of the kuttab is grounded in three scholarly pillars: the Maliki school of jurisprudence (the dominant legal tradition in North Africa since the 2nd century AH), Ash'ariyyah theology, and the Warsh recitation narrated by Imam Nafi' as the official mode of Quranic recitation. This three-pillar foundation is not merely a formal institutional statement but is actively embedded in the daily pedagogical practices observed during fieldwork, where every recitation correction by the faqih was made with explicit reference to the specific phonological rules of Warsh.

Transmission Mechanism of Warsh Recitation through the Lauh Method

The second and most central finding concerns the operational mechanism through which Warsh recitation is transmitted at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah via the Lauh method. Interview data from the key informant, corroborated by direct participant observation across multiple daily learning sessions, reveal that the transmission process comprises 10 integrated operational steps. The process begins with the faqih assigning a portion of Quranic verses to be memorized by the student, calibrated according to the student's demonstrated capacity. The student then writes the assigned verses on the lauh board using natural ink (dawat), reads the verses aloud repeatedly from the written board until they are fully memorized without reference to the writing, and subsequently presents the memorized verses to the faqih in an oral recitation session (tasmi'). During tasmi', the faqih listens with full attention, immediately correcting any deviation from the specific phonological rules of the Warsh recitation, including naql (vowel transfer), ibdal (hamzah substitution), and the characteristic elongations (madd) specific to Warsh before approving the student to erase the board and begin the next memorization cycle. This ten-step sequence is consistent with the findings of BIS Education (2025), which documented the same basic structure in other Moroccan kuttab institutions,

though the present study adds the critical dimension of Warsh recitation specificity that was absent from that earlier work.

The multimodal character of the Lauh method, simultaneously engaging visual reading from the written board, the kinesthetic physical act of writing with ink, and auditory vocal repetition and oral tasmi's cognitive pathways, provides a neurological rationale for the strong memorization outcomes reported by the key informant. Research in cognitive neuroscience has established that memory encoding is significantly deepened when multiple sensory pathways are activated simultaneously, because multiple encoding routes increase the number of retrieval pathways available during recall (Okray dkk., 2023). This multimodal mechanism distinguishes the Lauh method fundamentally from the predominantly auditory-oral memorization methods used in Indonesian tahfidz institutions, where the kinesthetic-writing component is absent. The video documentation obtained during fieldwork (Video 1 above) provides direct empirical evidence of this multimodal process in action, capturing the distinctive left-to-right Arabic writing motion, the characteristic consistency of natural ink on wood, and the immediate verbal repetition that follows each writing phase.

The Individual-Flexible Memorization System

A third significant finding concerns the absence of a standardized daily memorization quota at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah. Unlike the majority of Indonesian tahfidz institutions, which typically require students to memorize one page (or a specified number of lines) per day as a fixed institutional target, the Lauh method at this kuttab operates on an individually calibrated memorization system. The faqih determines the memorization portion for each student, not by reference to a fixed institutional quota, but by continuous assessment of the student's demonstrated memorization strength, recitation quality, and attendance consistency in previous sessions. Students who demonstrate strong Warsh recitation accuracy, consistent daily attendance, and rapid internalization of its phonological rules can progress at an accelerated pace and complete the full 30 juz of the Quran within three years. Students who struggle with consistency, whether due to personal circumstances, slower phonological processing, or irregular attendance, typically require between 4 and 5 years to complete the same 30 juz. This individual-flexible approach reflects a pedagogical philosophy that prioritizes depth and accuracy of memorization over speed, ensuring that no student advances beyond their current level of mastery and that all memorization is genuinely solid before new material is introduced (Wibowo & Subekti, 2026).

Faqih Teacher Qualifications: Mastery of Seven Canonical Recitations

A fourth finding that distinguishes Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah from comparable institutions documented in Indonesian academic literature is the qualification standard required of its faqih (teachers). Interview data reveal

that teachers at the kuttab are expected to have mastered not merely the Warsh recitation but the full set of seven canonical recitations *al-qira'at al-sab'*, each with its chain of transmission verified through personal study under a qualified teacher with an unbroken sanad reaching the Prophet's Companions. This seven-recitation competency standard serves two institutional functions. First, it ensures that the faqih can detect and correct even subtle deviations in the student's Warsh recitation that would be invisible to a teacher trained only in one recitation. Second, and critically for the kuttab's institutional inclusivity, it enables the institution to accommodate students who arrive with a different recitation background. Students from Indonesia, for example, who are trained in the Hafsh recitation (*'an 'Ashim*), are permitted to continue memorizing in Hafsh rather than being required to switch to Warsh, provided that a faqih with Hafsh competency is available to supervise their recitation. However, the key informant strongly emphasized that any student wishing to learn Warsh, including Indonesian students, should begin from the foundational level under a verified Warsh teacher, because memorizing the Quran without correct sanad-transmitted guidance multiplies errors exponentially rather than linearly.

Socio-Religious Role of the Kuttab in the Moroccan Community Ecosystem

The fifth finding concerns the kuttab's deeply embedded role within Morocco's formal socio-religious governance structure. The key informant confirmed that Morocco's national requirement for mosque imams to possess complete memorization of 30 juz of the Quran, administered through a rigorous competitive selection process under the constitutional authority of the King as Amir al-Mu'minin and supervised by regional religious authorities, directly creates an institutional demand for kuttab graduates. This policy translates into a clear and valorized social pathway: students who complete their Quranic memorization at the kuttab become candidates for formal religious leadership positions in Morocco's mosque system, a position that carries significant social prestige, institutional recognition, and material livelihood (Maghraoui, 2009). Research on traditional Islamic educational institutions confirms that state-level institutionalization of religious qualification requirements is among the most powerful mechanisms for ensuring the long-term social relevance of non-formal Islamic education (Daheri, 2022).

The data on alumni outcomes provide concrete evidence of this social pipeline: graduates of Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah have gone on to serve as teachers, police officers, judges, and mosque imams both within Morocco and abroad, including in European Muslim communities, where the demand for Arabic-literate Moroccan imams trained in the Warsh tradition is particularly high (Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir, personal communication, 2024). These findings are consistent with broader observations about the relationship between hafizh status and social capital in Moroccan Muslim society (Hmimou dkk., 2024) and

with studies demonstrating that graduates of traditional Islamic institutions possess professional mobility that extends far beyond the religious domain.

The key insight from this finding is that when a traditional Islamic educational institution is structurally embedded in a state's formal religious governance framework rather than existing as a purely voluntary-sector enterprise, its social output is institutionally valorized in ways that create self-sustaining demand, making the institution resistant to the marginalization that typically threatens informal religious education in modernizing societies.

Infaq-Based Sustainability Model: The Role of Muhsinin

The sixth finding concerns the financial sustainability model of Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah. Interview data and document analysis confirm that all operational costs, including student accommodation, meals, learning materials, and teacher remuneration, are entirely financed through infaq from the surrounding Muslim community, with no tuition fees or state allocation received (Ahmad bin Abdul Qadir, personal communication, 2024). Donors are motivated by *sadaqah jariyah*: the conviction that supporting Quranic transmission generates perpetual spiritual rewards across generations. This religiously anchored financing model proved critically resilient during COVID-19: while enrollment declined sharply, Muhsinin continued their contributions, preserving the institution's infrastructure, staff, and pedagogical continuity (Basilaia & Kvavadze, 2020).

The Key Insight from this Infaq-based financing, rooted in *sadaqah jariyah*, functions as a structural crisis buffer that commercially financed institutions cannot replicate, because donor activation is tied to religious identity rather than economic calculation (Judijanto, 2026). This offers a transferable model for Indonesian Islamic education policymakers seeking resilient *waqf* and infaq-based financing architectures for traditional Quranic institutions.

Post-COVID Enrollment Decline and Institutional Resilience

The most acute contemporary challenge facing Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah is the dramatic post-COVID-19 enrollment decline. Pre-pandemic, the three branches of Yayasan Al Fath collectively enrolled 1,000 students; by 2024, total enrollment had fallen to approximately 450 students, a 55% reduction that far exceeds the 20–30% decline range reported for Indonesian *pesantren* in the same period (Hariyanto dkk., 2023). The causal mechanism is clear: pandemic-induced economic devastation in the already vulnerable Syarq Maghrib region forced families to redirect children from full-time Quranic education toward immediate labor market participation, eliminating whatever economic buffer had previously sustained their commitment to non-income-generating study (UNESCO dkk., 2021).

Despite this enrollment decline, the kuttab has not ceased operations. The *infaq*-based financing mode functioned as a critical institutional buffer;

muhsinin continued their contributions precisely because their motivation was religious rather than transactional, insulating the institution from the enrollment-revenue linkage that devastated fee-dependent schools (Ichinose & Oda, 2022). This empirical evidence supports and extends the proposition that Islamic philanthropic financing confers distinctive crisis resilience on religious educational institutions operating not merely as a general institutional property, but specifically through the religious meaning system that motivates donors, which remains stable even as student enrollment fluctuates drastically (Salamon & Anheier, 1998).

The Key Insight from these institutions serving economically marginal communities is that they face compounded vulnerability during crises, yet *infaq*-based financing anchored in stable religious motivation rather than economic transaction can preserve institutional continuity precisely when enrollment-dependent funding models fail.

The Existence of the Lauh Method in the Era of Modernization: A Critical Discussion

The eighth and final finding of the fieldwork data reveals a striking paradox: the Lauh method, depending entirely on wood, natural ink, and a qualified teacher, with no electricity, printed books, or digital devices, continues to be authentically practiced at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah in 2024, nearly four decades after its founding. Key informants attributed this survival to three distinct institutional mechanisms: (a) the irreplaceable epistemological value of the *talaqqiy* system, whereby Quranic transmission without direct teacher-to-student verification cannot guarantee recitational authenticity (Rahim dkk., 2016; Sania & Kosasih, 2022); (b) the kuttab's social embedding within the Moroccan mosque system, sustaining ongoing demand for its graduates; and (c) the *muhsinin* community's religiously-motivated commitment, anchored in the method's spiritual authenticity rather than its technological currency. Together, these three mechanisms form a self-reinforcing system of resilience, the empirical foundation of this study's central argument.

This survival provides critical evidence in the broader tension between traditional and digital Quranic pedagogy. Research on technology-based memorization models, voice technology, gamification, and modular approaches has yet to identify any demonstrating effectiveness comparable to *talaqqiy*-based systems for verified, *sanad*-authenticated memorization (Gent & Muhammad, 2019). The 55% enrollment decline nonetheless represents a genuine sustainability threat to the institution and its transmission chain (Susanto & Desrani, 2022). The solution, however, lies not in abandoning the Lauh method for digital alternatives but in addressing the underlying economic vulnerabilities through stronger philanthropic infrastructure, state policy support, and community economic development in the Syarq Maghrib region.

Key Insight is that the continued existence of the Lauh method is not the product of any single factor, but rather emerges from the simultaneous convergence of epistemological irreplaceability, social legitimacy, and philanthropic financing. Efforts to sustain traditional Quranic transmission institutions will succeed only when policy addresses all three pillars together—not as separate and independent problems.

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to examine the existence of the Lauh Method in the transmission of Warsh recitation at Kuttab Ummul Mu'minin Aisyah, Ouyoun, Morocco, through four objectives: describing the transmission mechanism; analyzing the flexible memorization system and the faqih competency standards; examining the kuttab's socio-religious role; and documenting post-COVID-19 challenges and philanthropic resilience. Findings confirm that the Lauh Method remains authentically practiced through a ten-step oral-written multimodal system enabling verified huffazh completion in three to five years; that the kuttab functions as a state-embedded socio-religious infrastructure producing graduates serving as imams, judges, and police officers across Morocco and Europe; and that despite a 55% post-COVID-19 enrollment decline, the institution survived through infaq-based financing sustained by muhsinin commitment.

Theoretically, this study strengthens and extends the theory of Islamic institutional resilience by demonstrating that resilience does not emerge from any single factor but from the convergence of three interlocking pillars: sanad-based epistemological authority, state-embedded socio-religious legitimacy, and Islamic philanthropic financing, a three-pillar framework that challenges single-factor explanations prevalent in prior literature. Practically, this study offers transferable models for Indonesian tahfidz pedagogy, imam qualification policy, and waqf-based institutional financing.

Future research should conduct comparative studies across institutionally and geographically contrasting Moroccan kuttab contexts, such as kuttab institutions in Casablanca, a metropolitan center, and in Fes, a traditional Islamic city, to examine whether the three-pillar resilience framework holds across varying urban, social, and economic conditions.

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