

The Works of Imam Al-Ghazzali: A Brief Survey

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Abstract

Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali was a prolific writer, scholar and thinker whose ideas were concerned almost every corner of the society. Imam al-Ghazzali has been credited with various titles, among them are, the Imam of his time, the mujaddid (the reviver or the Islamic reformer), Taiful Ummah, (purity of ummah), and the most famous title is Hujjat al-Islam (Proof of Islam). Imam al-Ghazzali's life has been divided into three main periods, namely, before, during, and after seclusion. Initially he was mainly jurist and theologian, but radically transformed to become a personal Sufi during the seclusion period, leading to his subsequently becoming an active public Sufi. Al-Ghazzali actively tried to reform every class of society through his teachings, writings, and by sharing his personal spiritual experience. It is evident that with all his efforts and achievements, he offered a great and abiding contribution in reviving the spiritual dimension of Islam, furnished and served it to the Muslim world. His works almost deals with all the issues, and improvements of the Muslim Ummah.

The writing of this article aims to examine the work of al-Ghazzali and connect it with the political, religious, social, cultural, theological, jurisprudence, philosophical, economic and moral situation in the life of al-Ghazzali. The method in this article used is the historic-analytical and descriptive.

Key Word: prolific writer, historic-analytical, mujaddid, Hujjat al-Islam, spiritual journey, seclusion, dimension

Introduction

A great difficulty in the study of al-Ghazzali's thought is that, while al-Ghazzali undoubtedly wrote many books, but the leading modern Muslim and Western scholars have shown that numerous writings attributed to Ghazzali are spurious, and some have been attributed to him which he did not write. Dr. Abdul Rahman al-Badawi counted 457 titles of the books attributed to al-Ghazzali, some of which are of doubtful attribution and some of which are erroneously attributed to him. He has also identified the location of al-Ghazzali's manuscripts in libraries all over the world.¹ Many of these are taken from lists of his works and no copies are known to exist. In other cases the same book appears under different titles, and a great deal of work has still to be done on manuscripts before scholars know exactly what is extant and what is not. Further, at least from the time of Mohi-ud-Din Ibn al-Arabi (d. 581 A. H/1185 A. D), allegations have been made that books have falsely attributed to al-Ghazzali.² The works whose authenticity has been doubted are mostly works expressing advanced Sufistic and philosophical views

¹ <http://www.ghazali.org/articles/dbm1.pdf>. Accessed 19/03/1017.

² Watt, William Montgomery, [1949], *A Forgery in al-Ghazzali's Mishkat?* JRAS, pp. 5-22; Watt, William Montgomery, [1952], *The authenticity of the works attributed to al-Ghazali*, JARS, pp. 24-45

which are at variance with the teaching of al-Ghazzali in the works generally accepted as authentic. There are difficulties, owing to the richness of his thought, in establishing conclusively the existence of contradictions. Ibn Tufail (d. 581/1185), however, who called attention to contradictions, also suggested that al-Ghazzali wrote differently for ordinary men (lower level) and for the elite (higher level), or in other words, that he had esoteric views which were not divulged to everyone.³ This complicates the problem of authenticity but there is no reason for thinking that, even if al-Ghazzali had different levels of teaching for different audiences, then the higher levels directly contradicted what he maintained at the lower levels. An alternative supposition, that he adopted extreme philosophical forms of Sufism in his last years, seems to be excluded by the discovery that *Ildjam al-awamm*, in which he holds a position similar that of the *Ihya'*, was completed only a few days before his death.⁴ Upon dealing with the works of al-Ghazzali, many scholars have done a good job like Shibli Numani, Richard Gothil in his article entitled *A Supposed Work of al-Ghazali*, Muhiy-ud-Din, A. H. Muhammad, in his article entitled *Al-Ghazali: Recollection of His Works*, W. H. T. Gardner in his good work entitled *An Account of Ghazzali's Life and Works*, Dr. Che Zarrina Sa'ari in his article entitled *A Chronology of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's Life and Writings* and George Hourani in his two article entitled *The Chronology of Ghazali's Writings* and *A Revised Chronology of Ghazali's Writings*. These works have their own status and values but the ambiguity and doubt of authenticity remains still here, i.e. William Montgomery Watt has wrote the article entitled *The Authenticity of the Works Attributed to al-Ghazali*, in which he take the references of Asin and Macdonald where these two Orientalist scholars rejected some works of al-Ghazzali wholly, as well as some parts of his works, because these scholars considered these books of al-Ghazzali is spurious and illegally ascribed to him, although the subject matter of these rejected works are same as in his other most well known and famous works.

Authentic Works of Imam Al-Ghazzali

In the present state of scholarship the rare methodology is to concentrate on the main works briefly with undoubted authenticity and to accept other works only in so far as the views expressed are not incompatible with those in the former. Besides a list of works given by various Muslim and Orientalist scholars regarding to the works authored by al-Ghazzali, has been consulted and these scholars are like Allama Shibli Numani, Mustafa. Abu Sway, Haroon Khan Sherwani, George. F. Hourani, W. Montgomery Watt, Eric Ormsby, and others. The lists of works are below mentioned surveyed briefly:

1. Al-Ta'liqah

Al-Ghazzali wrote his first book, *Al-Taliqah*, when he travelled to Jurjan to study under Abu –Nasr Al-Isma'ili. It seems that this book was simply a collection of notes on the lectures that he attended during the above mentioned journey.⁵ *At-Ta'liqah* was lost and our knowledge of it is restricted to secondary sources. These sources provide a simple historical account of the book without dealing with its contents except simply mentioning that it was about *Fiqh* according to the Shafi'te school of jurisprudence.

³ Miskiyah, Ibn,[1939], *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, George N. Atiyeh, Damascus: (No Publisher), pp. 69-72

⁴ Hourani, George F. [1959], "The chronology of Ghazali's writing," *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 79, pp. 225-33

⁵ *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyah al-Kubra*, Vol. 6, (Ascertainment by Abdul al-Fatah Muhammad al-Jallu and Mahmud Muhammad al-Tanaji), p. 195

2. *Ihya 'Ulum ad-Din* (revival of religious science)

This work is the master-piece of *Imam* al-Ghazzali. He wrote and completed this book in 489-90/1096-97, in the tranquillity of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and the Dome of Rock in Jerusalem. It has been translated in English into four volumes by Moulana Abdul Karim, in Urdu published by *Dar al-Isha 'at*, in India and it is in Arabic-Iraqi edition into sixteen volumes published at Cairo in 1356-57/1937-39. Murtada az-Zubadi also wrote a commentary upon it entitled *Itahaf as-Sada al-Mutaqeen bi Sharah Ihya Uloom al-Deen* with analysis, annotation, and appendices and it has been published by the Royal Press Faud I of Egypt. Nothing has influenced the Muslim mind so much as this work. It has thrown light almost on every aspect of human life. A great scholar, Shaykh Abu Muhammad Kazaruni, has gone to the extent of saying, "even if all the knowledge in the world were to be destroyed, he would reconstruct it again with the help of *Ih 'ya ulum-ad-Din*."⁶ This work takes into account not only the moral and spiritual life of man but also social, political and cultural. Its purpose is to reform the society and make man what he ought to be. It reflects the fertility and brilliance of al-Ghazzali's mind, his nobility and sublime soul, his rich experience of man and affairs, and his zeal to bring about a radical change in the society. This work is the product of al-Ghazzali's great thought and efforts, for eleven years long he had discarded his hearth and home, and was wandering from place to place. He was in search of truth, the path to find communion with God. This work is a reconciliation of religion and philosophy. Both these are non-scientific subjects abstract in thought, profound in meaning, and difficult for common man to understand. Al-Ghazzali has made them intelligible to all. He drew the essence of both and evolved a high system of morality. This work which is flooded with Quranic injections, Prophet's saying and his follower's examples and deed's, possesses five specialties. First is its popularity. No Islamic scholar's book has been a treasure house of wisdom and knowledge, and a guide to so highly spiritual life. Its main feature is the way in which higher thought is explained to the common-man, which is its second quality. Philosophy is abstractions which Abu Ali Sina (d. 1037) and others had made more complicated, but al-Ghazzali would say no philosophy would be intelligible unless explained historically. Creativity, love, justice and beauty would be appreciated better through illustrations in which case history became philosophy teaching through examples. Third aspect of the work is its high ethics. It is a code of conduct which makes man a super being. It caters to all temperaments, all avocations of all the humans. Some may love the world, some may hate the world, some may take to service, and some may go for charity. Each of these would feel he is right and that others should follow him. Al-Ghazzali took notice of these variations and felt that the training of each of these should be in accordance with their temperament. The fourth aspect is that the entire mansion of ethics and morality is built over the foundation of religion. Religion is the conduct of man on one side and God on the other. Thus religion is the vital link between man and God and al-Ghazzali desired to make this link strong, deep and enduring. Al-Ghazzali would say *Shari'ah* deals fundamentals, and for the rest you frame proper code of conduct. The fifth aspect of this work is its remonstrance against monasticism. Rejection of the world is not the purpose of Sufism. It calls for active life mainly in three areas, love and devotion to God, service to humanity and development of good character. Al-Ghazzali is never for retreat or renunciation, disheartened spirit or helplessness. He divides good conduct into two categories, one active and the other passive. Active conduct is courage, boldness, action, initiative, determination, perseverance,

⁶ Shibli, Numani, [2008], *Al-Ghazzali*, Azamgarh (U.P): Dar-al-Musnifeen, Shubli Academy, p. 45

freedom, dignity and so on. The passive conduct is patience, poverty, contentment, renunciation, repentance, meditation and so on. These were the qualities which the divines of the day preached to the people, but al-Ghazzali said active and passive, both were essential, were complementary, and both need to be blended to make good character. He never separated secular from spiritual but blended them so as to evolve a moral personality.

3. *Mustasfa min Ilm al-Usul*

It has been written on ‘Principles of Legal Theory of Muslim Jurisprudence,’ (*Ilm al-Usul al-Fiqh*) in early age by al-Ghazzali.⁷ It is a celebrated work of al-Ghazzali on *Usul al-Fiqh* is considered one of the four major works on this subject: the Mutazalite qadi Abd al-Jabar’s (d. 415) *al-Um’ad*; Abu al-Husain Muhammad bin Ali bin al-Tayyib (d. 436/1044) al-Basri’s *Sharah al-Umad* (commentary on *al-Um’ad*); Imam al-Harmayyin Abu al-Mali (d. 485) al-Juwayni’s *al-Burhan*; and the last one by al-Ghazzali’s *al-Mustasfa min ilm al-Usul*. Since this book is very popular so it has been reprinted in many times. This book is into two volumes and the first volume is translated in English entitles *Abu Hamid Al-Ghazali’s Juristic Doctrine in al-Mustasfa Min Ilm al-Usul* by Hammad, Ahmad Zaki. He has been done a PhD degree upon it from the University of Chicago in 1987 A. D.⁸ As al-Ghazzali says: “In the prince of my youth..... I composed many books on the particulars and principles of law (*fi furu’il-fiqhi wa usulih*), then I came to the science of the way of the after-life and acquaintance with the inner secrets of religion.”⁹ These assertions justify us in placing works of *fiqh* in the earliest period of al-Ghazzali’s career as an author, unless there is evidence to the contrary. One of them can be assigned to the years of youth at Nishapur; for the others there is no clue to whether they belong to Nishapur, the camp-court or Baghdad.

4. *Al-Mankhul*

It is related that when Imam al-Ghazzali had written this book *Al-Mankhul*, he showed it to his master Imam al-Juwayni who observed: “you did have buried me while i am still alive. Why did you not have patience to wait until I was dead? For your book has thrust my writings out of sight.”¹⁰ This is only surviving book that could have been written during this period was *Al-Mankhul min Ta’liqat al-Usul*. Allama Shibli Numani consider it as the earliest book of Imam al-Ghazzali, where Imam al-Ghazzali was not bind to follow any one of the earliest schools of jurisprudence and so his critic is very clear for early Great *Imams* of Islam.¹¹ Here, at least one Orientalist and one medieval Muslim scholar doubted that *Al-Mankhul* was written by Al-Ghazzali. The former, Brockelmann, claimed that *Al-Mankhul* was written by one of al-Ghazzali’s student without specifying the reason that led him to such claim. The latter was Ibn Hajar Al-Haytamiyy (d. 973 A. H./1565 C. E.) who said in his book *Al-Khayrat Al-Hisan Fi Manaqib Al-Nu‘man* that *Al-Mankhul* could not have been written by Al-Ghazzali because it included harsh criticism of Abu Hanifah while al-Ghazzali praised him in *Ihya’ Ulum al-Din*.¹² Yet, it seems that Ibn Hajar Al-Haytamiyy was not sure of his position because he narrated a defence of Al-Ghazzali by Hanafites who explained that these insults were committed by Al-Ghazzali when he was a student and thus

⁷ <http://www.ghazali.org/books/azhmd-p2.pdf>. Accessed 31/12/2016.

⁸ File://localhost/G:/JLT%20%E2%80%93%20ghazali_org.mht. Accessed: 6/12/2017

⁹ *The Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazali*, p. 49.

¹⁰ *Tabaqat as-Shafiyah al-Kubra*, Vol. 6, p. 197.

¹¹ Numani, Shibli, [Ed. 2008], *Al-Ghazzali*, Azamgarh (U.P): Dar ul-Musnifeen Shibli Academy, p. 48.

¹² *Al-Ghazzaliyy: A Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p. 29

forgivable.¹³The authenticity of *al-Mankhul* could be proven doubtful from the cross-references that al-Ghazzali made to *Al-Mankhul* in his book *Al-Mustasfa*, Vol. I., which he wrote after returning to teaching at the Nizamiyyah of Nishapur, at the request of some students of jurisprudence who wanted him to write a book on the fundamentals of jurisprudence (*Usul al-Fiqh*) that would include more details than *Al-Mankhul* which is concise and brief. The fundamentals of jurisprudence (*Usul al-Fiqh*), the subject matter of *Al-Mankhul*, deals with the methodology by which the different questions of jurisprudence are answered. In *al-Mankhul*, al-Ghazzali ranked jurisprudence as the most important field of knowledge. Yet, he stated that jurisprudence was a branch (*Far'*) that could not be totally apprehended without understanding and mastering the fundamental (*Asl*).¹⁴

5. *Shifa' Al-Ghalil Fi Usul Al-Fiqh*

This book is mentioned in *al-Mustazhiri* under this title. It is referred in *Mustasfa* vol. II, Cairo edition, as a work which treats questions of *Fiqh* in detail. There are many man-uscripts of *Shifa' al-Ghalil fi Al-Qiyas wa al-Ta' lil*,¹⁵ one was edited by Hamad Al-Kabisi. Although this book was unique in comparison to other books on the fundamentals of jurisprudence, still it did not rise to the level which *al-Mustasfa* reached later. The latter incorporated logic as a separate entity, which marked an especially important stage in the development of Al-Ghazzali's thought.

6. *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalal (Deliverance from Error)*

According to Shibli Numani in this book al-Ghazzali wrote the changes of his religious beliefs and the reality of Prophethood.¹⁶This book has been translated into English by William Montgomery Watt entitled *Deliverance from Error*. According to Al-Subki, Al-Ghazzali spent about eight years (470-478/1077-1085) in Nishapur with Al-Juwayni.¹⁷At the time of Al-Juwayni's death al-Ghazzali was at least 20 years old. The importance of these dates and Al-Ghazzali's age stem from an account of Al-Ghazzali's thought in his autobiographical work *Al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*, which, although written towards the end of his life, included useful information about the development of his epistemology during his early life. At the beginning of *Al-Munqidh*, he describes of his state of mind starting with the prime of his youth when he reached puberty (*al-Bulugh*), before becoming twenty until he became more than fifty years old. It is obvious that his timeframe covers the period when Al-Ghazzali wrote his book *Al-Mankhul min Ta'liqat al-Usul*. In *al-Munqidh*, Al-Ghazzali showed that early in his life he was aware of the difference between the various religions, sects and schools of jurisprudence. This awareness prompted him to investigate the creed of every sect and to explore the secrets of every denomination. In addition, he studied the Batinites, Zahirites, Philosophers, Dialectical Theologians (*Mutakallimun*), *Sufis* and Manicheans (*Zanadiqah*).¹⁸Al-Ghazzali realized at a very early stage that one major reason for these differences was authority. For him it was parents and teachers who were responsible for such differences. Al-Ghazzali saw that children of Christians were raised as Christians, children of Jews were raised as Jews, and children of Muslims

¹³ *Al-Ghazzali*, pp. 41-42; Badawi, Abdur-Rahman, [1979], *Mu'allafat Al-Ghazzali*, 2nd ed. Al-Kuwait: wakalat al-Matbu'at, pp. 7- 9.

¹⁴ *Al-Ghazzali*, pp. 41-42; *Al-Ghazzaliyy: A Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p.32; Al-Ghazzali, *Al-Mankhul*, p.3.

¹⁵ <http://www.ghazali/JLT-org.mht>; <http://www.ghazali-org/biblio/works.htm>. Accessed 26/01/2017.

¹⁶ *Al-Ghazzali*, p. 49.

¹⁷ *Tabaqat Al-Shafiyah al-Kubra*, Vol. 6, p. 196.

¹⁸ *Zanadiqah* also means atheists, but generally in medieval sciences it referred to Manicheans who were not atheists but a believer in religious or philosophical dualism.

were raised as Muslims.¹⁹As a result, Al-Ghazzali wanted to infer prescient knowledge, the knowledge that was based on the authority of parents and teachers. He had a thirst to perceive the reality of things which led him to break away from imitating others. Al-Ghazzali realized that in order to reach truth, he needed to seek the reality of knowledge, as it is.

6. *Al-Wasit*

This book *al-Wasit (The Medium)* is considered one of the five major works in Shafi School of jurisprudence. It is mentioned in *Jawahir al-Quran*, p. 22 and *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*, vol. I. p. 108 as a work of *Fiqh* of al-Ghazzali's earlier life. It is a summary of *al-Basit*. It has been edited by Ahmad Mahmud Ibrahim into 7 volumes from Cairo and published by Dar al-Salam.²⁰

7. *Al-Wajiz Fi Fiqh al-Shafi'i*

This book has been edited by 'Ali Mu'awwid and 'Adil 'Abd al-Mawjud into two volumes and published by Dar al-Arqam from Beirut and another edition from Cairo in 1317/1899-1900, and it is mentioned in *Jawahir al-Qur'an*. It is a summary of Shafi'te law. It was perhaps made as a text-book for students.²¹It was composed in al-Ghazzali's earlier life. But Bouyges has an opinion that it is much later than this period, i.e. between the *Ihya'* and the *Jawahir*²² but it is rejected by Hava Lazarus Yafeh in *The Studies of al-Ghazali*, published at Jerusalem,1975, pp. 210, 378-379, 407 and also by Badawi in his *Mu'allafat*, p. 25. *Al-Wajiz* was written as the third after *al-Basit* and *al-Wasit*.

8. *Al-Basit*

It is mentioned in *Jawahir al-Qur'an*, ed. Cairo, 1326/1908, Vol. I, p. 108, a work of Ghazzali's earlier life related to *Fiqh*. It is regarded as a summary of Imam al-Haramayn's *Nihayah al-Mat'lab*, perhaps made as a text-book for students.²³

9. *Al-Qistas al-Mustaqim*

This book is translated with introduction and notes by D. P Brewster, and Published by SH. Muhammad Ashraf from Lahore in 1978 C.E. This is a polemic work directed against the particular of Islamic thought of the Isma'ilis. It reveals the state of Islamic theology a crucial period of its formulation and it demonstrates the methods which were adopted by one of the foremost exponents of that theology, one who become known as "the Proof of Islam" (*Hujjat al-Islam*) by his admirers. In this book al-Ghazzali has given answers to his opponents with the Quranic verses.

9. *Jawahir Al-Qur'an*

In this book al-Ghazzali asserted the position that one could have a true vision, as a source of knowledge, while asleep. He argued, similar to his position in the *Ihya'*, that this form of knowledge is the equivalent of one forty-sixth of prophecy.²⁴Moreover, he held that such knowledge is always revealed in metaphorical language that represents transcendental knowledge. Since not everyone knows the meaning of these metaphors only those who

¹⁹ *Al-Munqidh min al-Dhalal*, pp. 78-82.

²⁰ *Chronology of al-Ghazzali's Works*, p. 229.

²¹ *Chronology of Al-Ghazali's Works*, p.227.

²² *Chronology of Al-Ghazali's Works*, p.228.

²³ *Chronology of Al-Ghazali's Works*, p. 227.

²⁴ *Al-Ghazzaliyy: A Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p. 124

posses knowledge of the hidden relationship between this world and the other one can interpret them. Once again, he asserted that to unveil the secrets of the other world one should resort to discipline and self-mortification. (*Ilm al-Usul al-Fiqh*). In another section in *Jawahir al-Qur'an*, al-Ghazzali pointed to insight (*Basirah*) as a source of knowledge. He said, "It appeared to me through clear insight and beyond doubt, that man is capable of acquiring several sciences that are still latent and not existent."²⁵ The meaning of this statement is that he perceived sciences other than those existing at the time. These sciences are latent, yet they are within reach of human beings. Though the concept of latent sciences which are not discovered yet is an interesting idea in itself, the emphasis here is on his use of insight as a source of knowledge which is consistent with his position in the *Ihya*.²⁶

10. *Maqasid Al-Falasifa*

It has been published at Cairo in 1355 A. H/1936 C.E. in three parts and is also quoted by Ghazzali in *Munqidh* pp.84-85, and makes it plain that the book was written as a background to *Tahafat*, which means it was completed hardly later than 486 (ended) January 20, 1094, in view of the evidence on the dates of *Tahafat* and *Mustazhiri*. As it was written in Baghdad (like *Munqidh*) it could not have been started earlier than 484/1091-92.²⁷ It must have been written during the less than two years when Ghazzali was studying philosophy in his spare time with the primary aim of understanding it. This hefty treatise, whose title means "The Intentions of the Philosophers," is a neutral exposition of philosophical doctrine, principally that of Ibn Sina. The *Maqasid al-Falasifa* has never been translated into English, though it should be. This work is divided into three sections: Logic, Metaphysics, and Physics (or Natural Science). Usually metaphysics is treated last, not only because that was the traditional order, from Aristotle's first *Editor*, but because divine science to place physics before metaphysics and yet, he reverses the order because metaphysics, which is the final end and goal of all the sciences, is simply more important.²⁸ This reshuffling may indicate a certain impatience on his part to arrive quickly at the heart of the matter.

11. *Tahafut Al-Falasifa*

Tahafut al-Falasifah was completed on Muharram 11, 488/January 21, 1095. This date was recorded on a manuscript of the work discovered in Istanbul, quoted by Hourani. Al-Ghazzali's second work on philosophy, mockingly entitled "The Incoherence of the Philosophers," offers a sustained attack on specific theses of the *Falasifa* which al-Ghazzali considered both heretical and downright fallacious. The philosophers are the only group, by the way, to whom al-Ghazzali explicitly applies the charge of "unbelief" (*Kufr*) in such works as the *Faysal al-Tafriqa*.²⁹ Al-Ghazzali targets twenty doctrines in both metaphysics and natural sciences for demolition. His treatment is quite technical, his argument highly intricate.

²⁵ Ali, B. Sheik, *Imam Ghazali*, p. 113.

²⁶ Al-Ghazzali, [1971], *Ihya al-Ulum al-Din*, Vol. 2, (Tr. English), Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy, p. 231.

²⁷ *Chronology of al-Ghazali's Works*, p. 279.

²⁸ *Al-Ghazzaliyy: A Study of Islamic Epistemology*, p. 98.

²⁹ Al-Ghazzali, Abu Hamid Muhammad, [2002], *Faysal al-Tafriqa: On the Boundaries of Theological Tolerance in Islam: Abu Hamid al-Ghazali's Faysal al-Tafriqa*. (Tr. English), Sherman A. Jackson. London: Oxford University Press, p. 111.

12. *Al-Mustazhiri Fada'ih al-Bataniyyah wa Fada'il al-Mustazhiriya*

This book is better known as *al-Mustazhiri*, and was named after the reigning 'Abbasid Caliph, al-Mustazhir Bi 'llah (r. 487-512/1094-1118)³⁰ who had commissioned Al-Ghazzali to compose it. The motive behind its composition lay in the Caliph's bid to show up the errors of the Ismail's, who constituted a threat to the Abbasid Caliphate, and to legitimize his reign by his (al-Ghazzali's) sound arguments. *Al-Mustazhir* is believed to have been composed in 487/1094, shortly before al-Ghazzali's departure from Baghdad in 488/1095, as a result of his spiritual-crisis. In terms of its authenticity, no scholar doubts its ascription to al-Ghazzali. There were two target audiences for whom this book was written: the first constituted the masses, including scholars and lay persons; and the second was the Caliph al-Mustazhir himself, where al-Ghazzali counsels the caliph in chapter ten of the book.

15. *Al-Maqсад Al-Asna fi Sharah Asma Allah Al-Husna*

This book is edited by Muhammad Mustafa Abu Al-'Ula, and published by Maktabat al-Jindi, at Cairo in 1968. The writings that followed the *Ihya'* continued to reflect Al-Ghazzali's position towards reason and other sources of knowledge. In the introduction of *Al-Maqсад al-Asna fi Sharh Asma' Allah Al-Husna* (the sublime aim in the interpretation of Allah's Beautiful Names) he emphasized the inability of reason to attain transcendental knowledge, namely, knowledge of Allah and the reality of his attributes. He added that such knowledge, which he acquired through "unveiling" (*Mukashafah*), does not conform to the ideas, on this subject, that were presented by the scholars before him.³¹ He knew that it is rather a difficult task to change the customs and beliefs that people are accustomed to. Nevertheless, he believed that whoever has "seen" the Truth and knows Allah, cannot but convey such knowledge.

16. *Miyar al-'Ilm fi fann al-Mantiq*

The *Miyar al-'Ilm fi Fann al-Mantiq* written by Imam al-Ghazzali, and it has been published first at Beirut in 1964 by Dar al-Andalus and later edited by Ahmad Shams al-Din and published by Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya at Beirut in 1990. Al-Ghazzali had finished writing *Mi'yar* while he was at Baghdad in 488/1095, but before travelling to Damascus at the end of 488/1095.³² However, al-Ghazzali actually started writing *Mi'yar* much earlier than *Mihakk an-Nizar* but *Miyar* still unresolved and was still under revision and correction during finishing the writing of *Mihakk*. Al-Ghazzali wrote *Mi'yar* while doing his own reading and reviewing seriously and actively books on philosophy, including logic, in his spare time as a lecturer at *Madrasah Nizamiyyah*, Baghdad within 484-488/1091-1095. At first, al-Ghazzali planned to write *Mi'yar* as a part or the last part of *Tahafut*, but eventually he made it as a separate book as he had stated it in *Tahafut*. *Mi'yar* is genuine work of al-Ghazzali in the field of Islamic pure logic. Its writing methodology is in line with the methodology of modern scientific writing. Its content is compiled systematically. The essence of *Mi'yar* content can give an understanding upon the thinking and research methodology, and explain the rules of constructing syllogisms and analogies. The existence of various scientific editions of *Mi'yar* signifies the importance of the theory and application of pure logic in the development of scientific thought.

³⁰ McCarthy, Richard Joseph, [1980], *Freedom and Fulfilment*, Boston: Twayne Publishers, p. 175.

³¹ Al-Ghazzali, Abu Hamid Muhammad, [No Date], *Majmmuawa Rasail Imam Ghazzali*, (Tr. Urdu), Maulana Nazir Marsi and Compiled by Muhammad Naveed Sadiqi, Deoband: Faisal Publishers, Vol. I, pp. 231, 242.

³² "The Chronology of Ghazali's writings," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. No.79, p. 227.

17. *Bidayat Al-Hidayah*

Bidayat Al-Hidayah (The Beginning of Divine Guidance) has been published by (Ida 'rah) Al-Halabi at Cairo in 1912, and edited by Muhammad Al-Hajjar published by Dar al-Sabuni from Damascus in 1986 and translated into Urdu by Moolvi Ghulam Ahmad in the compiled work *Majmmoawa Rasail Imam Ghazzali*. In this book al-Ghazzali wrote a chapter on the gradual introduction of guidance. The introduction of this chapter is an exact repetition of a similar text in his *Qawa'id al-'Aqa'id* which stresses discipline and self-mortification as prerequisites for the attainment of peremptory knowledge.³³ This introduction is another proof of the consistency during this period regarding the method or the path that al-Ghazzali advocated for the attainment of knowledge.

18. *Al-Risalah Al-Laduniyyah*

Al-Risalah Al-Laduniyyah published from Beirut by Dar Al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, in 1986 into three volumes. In this book Al-Ghazzali appeared to be defending metaphysical transcendental knowledge (*al 'Ilm al-Ghaybiyy al-Laduniyyah*) upon which elite *Sufis* depend (for knowledge). In terms of certitude, he ranked this kind of knowledge higher than that which is acquired through conventional education.³⁴ This position was based upon the source of knowledge (i.e., Allah) and not its mode (i.e., rational vs. *Shari'ah*). Regarding the relationship between the rational sciences and those of the *Shari'ah*, he stated that he who really knows both two fields finds that the distinction that divides them into two fields disappears in many cases. He considered many rational sciences to be part of the *Shari'ah* to be part of the rational sciences.³⁵ In the title of this book and every *Sufi* treaties it is used in relation to a verse mentioned in the *Qur'an*.³⁶ The meaning of which is: "So they (Prophet Moses and his attendant) found one of Our servants, on whom we had bestowed mercy from Ourselves and whom We had taught knowledge from Our own presence (*ladunna*)". Thus, *Sufis* are striving to acquire this kind of knowledge which al-Ghazzali calls *al-'ilm al-Ghaybiyy al-Laduniyyah*, directly from Allah through intuition.

19. *Mishkat al-Anwar*

*Mishkat al-Anwar (The Niche for Lights)*³⁷ has been translated and added an introduction by (William Henry Temple and Gairdner) and it is widely recognized al-Ghazzali's most mystical work. It has been translated into Urdu by Habib Ar-Rahman Sadiqi Kandhalvi and included it in a compiled work, *Majmmoawa Rasail Imam Ghazzali* by Muhammad Naveed Sadiqi. It is structured around the exposition of the "Light Verse" of the Holy *Qur'an*.³⁸ Al-Ghazzali maps this verse onto the human mind by analogy, where the different items (niche, lamp, glass, oil, tree, light) represent grades of intellection. He explores this taxonomy, linking it closely to *Sufi* mysticism. In the *Mishkat*, al-Ghazzali made clear that the highest mode of certainty is mystical and experiential in character not arrived at by syllogistic reasoning but instead by a light poured into the soul. This very same

³³ *Majmmoawa Rasail Imam Ghazzali*, Vol. II, (Tr. Urdu), p. 322.

³⁴ *Imam Ghazali*, p. 89. CF. Al-Ghazzali, [1986], *Al-Risalah al-Laduniyyah*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, Vol. III, p. 87.

³⁵ *Imam Ghazali*, p. 96.

³⁶ *Al-Qur'an* 18:16

³⁷ First published as Monograph, Vol. XIX, from London by the Royal Asiatic Society, (1924)

³⁸ "Allah is the light of heavens and the earth. His light may be compared to a niche that enshrines a lamp, the lamp within a crystal of star-like brilliance. It is lit from a blessed olive tree neither eastern nor western. It's very oil would almost shine forth, though no fire touched it. Light upon light; Allah guides to His light whom He will." (I used here word 'Allah' instead of God), Dawood, N. J. (Tr.), [1999], *The Koran*, New York: Penguin, p. 249.

light had illuminated the prophets (though not to the same degree).³⁹In the *Mishkat*, al-Ghazali tied vision, the intellect, revealed Scripture, and God by reference to the idea of light.

20. *Al-Marshadul al-Ameen (Khalasah Ihya al-Uloom)*

This book is translated into Urdu by Abdul Al-Malik Faheem published by Al-Hasanat Books Private Limited from Delhi, Edition 2015. This book is a brief summary of *Ihya al-Uloom al-Din*. In this book al-Ghazzali discussed in concisely in every subject matter which he was before discussed in his *Ihya al-Uloom*.

21. *Al-Imla' Fi Ishkilat Al-Ihya*

This book, *Al-Imla' fi*

Ishkalat al-Ihya' (The Dictation on the problems of *al-Ihya'*), was written in response to the criticism that the *Ihya* had endured at the hands of traditionalists whom al-Ghazzali did not mention by name. According to al-Ghazzali, they held that his book contradicts the *Shari'ah* in avoiding "unveiling" (*Mukashafah*) as a source of knowledge and, therefore, they tried to censure it. The importance of this book is based on two elements: its subject matter and timing. In *al-Imla'*, al-Ghazzali defends Sufism and the knowledge that can be derived from it. Chronologically, it was written at the Nizamiyyah of Nishapur. It is clear, therefore that, contrary to the many voices which argue that he began to change his *Sufi* method towards the end of his life, and that he adopted the method of the traditionalists who stated that "unveiling" (*Mukashafah*) as a source of knowledge cannot be justified from the point of view of the *Shari'ah*, that Al-Ghazzali made no such changes in his thought during this period. Rather, in his reply to those who were critical of Sufism, al-Ghazzali defended the existence of divine knowledge (*al-'Ilm al-Ilahiyy*).⁴⁰It is certain that this work supports the notion that he remained faithful to his *Sufi* method until the end of that period; where he maintained the same epistemology during the final period of his life.

22. *Iljam Al-Awam 'An 'Ilm Al-Kalam*

This book has been edited by Muhammad al-Mu'tasim Bi'llah al-Baghdadi and published from Beirut by Dar al-'Arabi in 1985. Imam al-Ghazzali wrote *Iljam al-'Awam 'an 'Ilm al-Kalam (Preventing the Common People from Engaging in the Science of Kalam)* in order to explain the creed of the first generation of Muslims (i.e., *al-Salaf*) regarding divine attributes, and to prove that their right position. This book was understood as a criticism of *Kalam* and metaphorical interpretation (*Ta'wil*) of divine attributes which forms the essential stand of the later generation of Ash'rites including al-Ghazzali. Al-Ghazzali wanted to prevent all those included in the definition of common people from engaging in *Kalam* and to accept the position of the *Salaf* regarding the interpretation of divine attributes.

23. *Al-Durrah al-Fakhirah fi Kashf 'Ulum Al-Akhirah*

The *al-Durrah al-Fakhirah 'Ulum al-Akhirah (The Precious pearl in Unveiling the Sciences of the Hereafter)* had been edited by Muhammad Mustafa Abu al-'Ula and published by Maktabat al-Gindi from Cairo in 1968 C.E. This book of al-Ghazzali is less theoretical than the other books. It is concerned primarily with Islamic eschatology, it describes in great detail themes such as death, the Heavens, Hell and the story of Prophet Muhammad's intercession (*Shafa'ah*) on behalf of his own *Ummah* on the day of judgement.

³⁹ *Majmmuawa Rasail*, (Tr. Urdu), Vol. I, pp. 366, 405, 406, 407

⁴⁰ *Al-Ghazzali; A Study in Islamic Epistemology*, p. 146.

24. Minhaj Al-‘Abidin

This book has been edited by Muhammad Mustafa Abu al-‘Ula and published from Cairo by Maktabat al-Gindi in 1972 C.E. This book is the last work known to be written by al-Ghazzali at the end of his life. Like the *Ihya’*, *Minhaj al-‘Abidin* was written to explain the path to the hereafter.

25. Ahyyuhu ‘l-Walad

Ahyyuhu ‘l-Walad, a letter to a disciple, is translated with an introduction and notes by Tobias Mayer and published from Cambridge (London), The Islamic Texts Society, in 2005. This book was written by al-Ghazzali, because he was requested by his disciple for good suggestion, knowledge and advice and al-Ghazzali responds very comprehensively to write this booklet for his disciple’s benefit.

26. Al-Iqtisad fi al-I‘tiqad

This book has been translated into English with the title *Al-Ghazali On Divine Predicates and Their Property* by Abdur Rahman Abu Zayd, published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf publishers, Booksellers & Exporters from Lahore and edited in Arabic by Insaf Ramadan with commentary and annotated notes and published by Dar al-Qutaybah from Damascus in 2003/1423 and another edition by I. A. Cubukcu and H. Atay, published by Nur Matbaasi in 1962 C.E from Ankara. At least one PhD research work have done upon it by Morgan Deis Jr, a PhD theses entitled “Al-Ghazali on Divine Essence: a translation from the *Iqtisad fi al-Itiqad*” with commentary and notes from the Department of Middle East Studies/Arabic, University of Utah, in May, 2005 C.E. It was written in 488/1095, while al-Ghazzali was still teaching in Baghdad.⁴¹ The book was compiled just after *al-Mustazhir* and before *Ihya’ ulum al-din* and is said to have been called al-Ghazzali’s chief theological work and has received considerable scholarly attention.⁴²

27. Kimiy’-i-Sa’adat

Kimiy’-i-Sa’adat (Alchemy of Eternal Bliss) was written in Persian by al-Ghazzali and its subject matter is *Tassawuf* or Mysticism. It has been translated into many languages and its full English translation has been done by Muhammad Asim Bilal and revised by Munair Ahmad Mughal, published by Kazi Publications, Lahore in 2001 C.E.

28. Al-Arba‘in fi Usul al-Din fi al-‘Aqa’id wa Asrar al-‘Ibadat wa al-Akhlaq

This book related with the fundamental beliefs and rational knowledge and divine Secrets. According to al-Badawi, a renowned Scholar, “*Al-Risalah al-Qudsiyyah fi Qawa’id al-‘Aqa’id* and *Qawa’id al-‘Aqa’id* are the same book and, as is indicated by the first part of *‘Ihya’ al-Ulum al-Din* written in Jerusalem after Al-Ghazzali left Baghdad.”⁴³

⁴¹ Hourani, George F, [1984], “A Revised Chronology,” *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 104, No. 2, p. 294.

⁴² Hillenbrand, Carlo, [1988], “Islamic Orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazali’s on Government,” *Iran*, Vol. 26, p. 87.

⁴³ *Mu’allafat al-Ghazzali*, pp. 93-97

29. Al-Tafriq Bayna al-Islam wa al-Zindeeq

This book is written by al-Ghazzali in response to the questions raised by various persons about how to differentiate between misbelievers and believer and this book highlights the intentions of atheists and atheism. It is included in *Rasail Imam al-Ghazzali* in volume two by Muhammad Naveed Siddique and published by Faisal Publications from Deoband.

30. Al-Wajiz fi Fiqh Imam as-Shafi

It is a shorter work on Shafi *Fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence) includes contrary opinions of *Imam* Abu Hanifah, *Imam* Malik, and al-Muzni. This book was expanded with commentary (*Sharh*) by Abul-Qasim al-Rafi' ai called *al-Aziz Sharh al-Wajiz*, which in turn was summarized by al-Nawawi in a book called *Rawdar al-Taleban*.

31. Nasihat Al-Muluk

Nasihat al-Muluk was written in Persian, because al-Ghazzali would wish to reach a Persian audience, so his tongue was appropriate instrument for his message. It consists of two sections; the first section is a set of instructions given to a *Sultan* on how he should conduct his relation with Allah as his creator and his dealings with men as his subjects and second section consists on the theory of politics. This book has translated into English by F. R. C. Bagley, into Urdu by Samiullah Qurashi, and into Arabic known as *Tibr al-Masbuk fi Nasihat al-Muluk* by Muhammad Ahmad Damaj and Safi al-Din Abi'l-Hasan al-Ibiri has also translated it into Arabic and into Turkish by Muhammad ibn Ali Known as Ashiq Chelebi and Muhammad Ibn Abdul-Aziz known as Wujudi with Turkish name as *Natijat al-Suluk*.

It is this book of al-Ghazzali, the analysis of whose subject matter vis-a-vis Ghazzali's sense of *Khilafah* is the main them in the current study.

Conclusion

Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali was an outstanding scholar, prolific writer and thinker, who wrote on Islamic polity, sociology, politics, ethics and morality, psychology, philosophy, jurisprudence, Qur'an and Hadith, education, economics, Islamic revival and reform, etc as how Islam be realised at all levels to ensure the justice in society. Everything that which *Imam* al-Ghazzali thought and wrote came with weight and reality of his personal experience. Indeed *Imam* Al-Ghazzali was the brightest star on the horizon of Islamic learning. None had taught ethics and morality what *Imam* al-Ghazzali has propounded on the philosophy of thought; morals, manners, and discussed also other aspects, so it would have been enough to turn man into a better being. He has thrown intensive light on several aspects of life, whether of this world or next, weather of mind or body, whether physical or spiritual phenomenon, whether religion or philosophy, and whether law of nature or law of behaviour. He has examined in depth the realities of life in the light of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* in such a manner as to form the essence of the teachings of Islam. He has presented the teachings of the Prophets, saints, savants, *Sufis* and philosophers and the juristic logical methods, a different comprehensive path of thinking, etc in such a way as to make his works the treasure house of man's rich experience. His greatest contribution as a gift for the humanity is that he auspicates the foundation for revivalism on which stands the whole mansion of revivalist thought. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to call al-Ghazzali a man of knowledge, for he never missed an opportunity to expand his learning. This is apparent when one sees how he involved himself in the realm of 'Ilm/knowledge from his

childhood until his last birth. After his laborious struggle to find the truth, he finally settled for Sufism, a discipline in which, he claimed, one can acquire tranquillity and certainty. His literary productivity was at its most prolific during his retirement; however, he also composed excellent works during his professorship, managing to complete several of these especially during his professorship.

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