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## The Significance of al-Ghazâlî and His Works for Indonesian Muslims; A Preliminary Study

**Abstraksi:** *Muhammad Abû Hamîd al-Ghazâlî (1058-1111) merupakan figur yang unik dalam sejarah intelektual Islam. Selain otoritas keilmuannya yang dalam, ia juga dikenal sebagai seorang pemikir Muslim yang memasuki hampir seluruh cabang keilmuan tradisional Islam, seperti fiqh, taf-sîr, kalâm, tasawwuf, dan bahkan logika. Demikian dalam dan luasnya kapasitas keilmuan yang dimiliki, sehingga al-Ghazâlî, paling tidak dalam pandangan kaum Muslim Sunnî, dinilai sebagai pemikir Muslim yang paling lengkap menjawab persoalan-persoalan keagamaan dalam Islam. Tidak mengherankan apabila karya-karyanya, khususnya dalam bidang agama, mempunyai pengaruh yang kuat bagi Dunia Islam dalam menafsirkan doktrin-doktrin agama untuk rentang waktu yang sangat lama.*

*Pengaruh pemikiran al-Ghazâlî juga terjadi di Indonesia, sebuah kawasan Muslim yang paling sedikit mengalami proses Arabisasi. Artikel ini menggambarkan pengaruh al-Ghazâlî di kalangan Muslim Indonesia, khususnya di kalangan masyarakat Muslim terpelajar: dari pesantren hingga perguruan tinggi agama (IAIN). Dengan mengamati puluhan karya al-Ghazâlî yang diajarkan di pesantren-pesantren di Indonesia dan besarnya minat mahasiswa Muslim untuk mengkaji pemikiran al-Ghazâlî, penulis mengisyaratkan bahwa dalam hal penyelesaian problem keagamaan umat Islam Indonesia, karya-karya al-Ghazâlî dipandang sebagai rujukan yang paling otoritatif dibandingkan dengan pemikir Muslim yang lain. Secara umum, karya-karya al-Ghazâlî itu dikenal luas dan menempati urutan pertama dalam pengajaran masalah-masalah keagamaan di pesantren, dari tingkat yang paling dasar (ibadah dan amaliyah) hingga yang tertinggi (tasawwuf dan logika). Selain itu, pemikiran al-Ghazâlî juga diadopsi secara literal, untuk kemudian dijadikan sandaran bagi penyelesaian suatu problem keagamaan. Hal ini dapat dibuktikan dengan melihat kenyataan bahwa sampai saat ini, meskipun berbagai karya al-Ghazâlî telah ditulis ulang dan diberi komentar (syarh) atasnya, tidak satupun ulama atau pemikir Muslim Indonesia yang melakukan pendekatan kritis atas pemikiran itu.*

*Pengaruh al-Ghazâlî di kalangan masyarakat Muslim Indonesia ini ber-*

langsung semenjak kedatangan Islam di kepulauan Nusantara, yakni di sekitar abad ketigabelas. Bahkan bisa dipastikan bahwa proses konsolidasi komunitas Muslim di beberapa tempat di Indonesia, semenjak dari awalnya, sudah sangat didominasi oleh para *sûfi* yang akrab dengan ajaran dan praktek *tasawwuf al-Ghazâlî*. Sebuah manuskrip tua yang ditulis oleh Sunan Bonang, salah seorang wali penyebar Islam di Jawa, memperlihatkan keterkaitan pemikiran yang ada dalam kitab itu dengan *al-Ghazâlî*. Manuskrip itu berjudul *Pituduh Seh Bari* (Petunjuk dari Syekh Bari). Buku ini merupakan bimbingan pengamalan peribadatan bagi seorang Muslim melalui pendekatan-pendekatan mistik Islam (*al-Ghazâlî*) dan Jawa. Selain bukti itu, pengaruh *al-Ghazâlî* juga bisa ditemui pada para penulis *sûfi* Melayu seperti *Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî*, *Hamzah Fansurî*, dan *'Abdushomad al-Pallembanî*.

Melalui generasi-generasi awal Muslim Nusantara inilah karya-karya *al-Ghazâlî* dikenal luas oleh masyarakat Muslim kemudian. Dalam kurun yang lama, karya-karya seperti *Ihyâ' Ulûm al-Dîn*, *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah*, *Min-hâj al-'Âbidîn*, *Kitâb al-Arba'in fi Usûl al-Dîn*, dan lain-lain menjadi bahan pengajaran keagamaan di pesantren-pesantren. Karya-karya ini juga tersimpan baik di perpustakaan-perpustakaan perguruan tinggi Islam (IAIN) di seluruh Indonesia, karena hal itu berkaitan dengan mata kuliah yang diajarkan di institusi ini. Dengan sendirinya, berbagai topik pemikiran keagamaan *al-Ghazâlî* mengilhami banyak mahasiswa untuk melakukan kajian mendalam dalam bentuk skripsi atau thesis. Bahkan, menurut data yang diperoleh dari Departemen Agama, terdapat 171 judul karya tulis untuk tingkat S1 membahas mengenai pemikiran *al-Ghazâlî*. Pada tingkat program pasca-sarjana juga menunjukkan fenomena yang tidak jauh berbeda. Berbagai hasil studi atas pemikiran *al-Ghazâlî* telah dilahirkan dari IAIN, khususnya IAIN Jakarta dan Yogyakarta.

Secara umum, menurut penulis, ada beberapa faktor yang menjadikan *al-Ghazâlî* mempunyai daya tarik bagi masyarakat Islam Indonesia. Pertama, perjalanan hidup dan pengembaraan intelektualnya yang sangat dramatis: menjadi ahli kalâm, filsuf, lalu memasuki dunia *tasawwuf*. Kedua, sebagai akibat yang pertama, pemikiran-pemikiran keagamaan yang ditulisnya itu merupakan ungkapan tulus seorang pencari kebenaran. Hal ini telah menjadikan pemikiran keagamaan *al-Ghazâlî* bercorak otobiografis. Ketiga, hampir seluruh bangunan pemikiran-pemikirannya bernada sufistik, suatu model penghayatan yang sangat menghiasi pemahaman keagamaan Muslim Indonesia umumnya. Dengan demikian, daya tarik pemikiran *al-Ghazâlî* adalah keberhasilannya dalam mengintegrasikan antara ajaran formal keagamaan dengan penghayatan internal yang bersifat spiritual.

## أهمية الغزالي وكتبه بالنسبة لمسلمي إندونيسيا: كبحث أول

**الخلاصة:** محمد أبو حامد الغزالي يعتبر صورة فريدة في تاريخ المثقفين الإسلاميين. فغير قدرته العلمية العميقة فإنه معروف كأحد المفكرين الإسلاميين الذي تناول تقريبا كل الفروع العلمية الإسلامية التقليدية مثل الفقه والتفسير وعلم الكلام، والتصوف بل كذلك المنطق. هكذا اتساع مجال قدرته العلمية التي يملكها حتى يعتبر الغزالي على أقل ما يقدره المسلمون السنيون بأنه في تقييمهم كمفكر مسلم شامل في أجوبته للمسائل الدينية في الإسلام. وليس بغرابة إذا كانت أعماله وبالأخص فيما يخص بالمجال الديني ذات نفوذ قوى لدى العالم الإسلامي في التفسير عن المبادئ الدينية طيلة أمد بعيد المدى.

إن تأثير فكرة الغزالي يحدث كذلك في إندونيسيا، كمنطقة إسلامية الأقل إدراكا. محرجى التعريب. هذه المقالة تصور نفوذ الغزالي في الوسط الإسلامي الإندونيسي ولاسيما لدى المجتمع الإسلامي المثقف من المعاهد حتى المدارس الدينية العليا (الجامعات الإسلامية الحكومية). فبمتابعة عشرات من أعمال الغزالي التي تعلم في المعاهد الإسلامية الإندونيسية ومدى كثرة اهتمام الطلبة المسلمين بدراسة الأفكار الغزالية، فالكاتب يشير بأنه في حالة حل المشاكل الدينية لدى

الأمة الإسلامية الإندونيسية فأعمال الغزالي تعتبر المراجع الأكثر وثوقاً بالمقارنة بالمفكرين الإسلاميين الآخرين. على وجه العموم، فإن أعمال الغزالي تلك عرفت على مجال واسع ولها المرتبة الأولى في التدريس في المعاهد الدينية ابتداء من الدرجة الأساسية (العبادات والمعاملات) إلى الدرجة العليا (التصوف والمنطق). وغير ذلك فإن تفكير الغزالي كذلك يتخذ حرفياً لجعله فيما بعد سندا لحل القضايا الدينية. وهذه الحالة يمكن البرهنة عليها إذا نظرنا إلى الوقائع الموجودة إلى هذه الآونة، رغم أن كتب الغزالي قد طبعت مرارا ووضعت لها شروح بيد أنه لم يوجد عالم أو مفكر مسلم إندونيسي واحد تجرأ بإلقاء نقد على تلك الأفكار.

إن نفوذ الغزالي في المجتمع الإسلامي الإندونيسي ظاهر منذ دخول الإسلام إلى الجزر الإندونيسية والملايوية، يعنى حوالى أوائل القرن الثالث عشر الميلادى بل يمكن تأكيده بأن سير اندماج المجتمع المسلم في بعض المناطق الإندونيسية منذ البداية قد استولى عليه الصوفيون القرييون إلى تعاليم وتطبيقات تصوف الغزالي. هنا نسخة خطية قديمة كتبها سونان بونانج (Sunan Bonang) أحد الأولياء الناشئين للإسلام في جاوة، قد أظهر العلاقة الموجودة في تلك النسخة بالغزالي. هذه النسخة الخطية تحت عنوان فيتودوه ساكا سح بارى (Pituduh Saka Seh Bari) (توجيه من الشيخ بارى). هذه النسخة تعتبر إرشادا إلى العبادات الإسلامية عن طريق التقريب الصوفى الإسلامى (الغزالي) والجاوى. غير هذا الدليل، فإن نفوذ الغزالي قد يرى لدى الكتاب الصوفيين الملايويين مثل نور الدين الرانيرى (Nuruddin ar-Raniri) وحمزة الفانسورى (Hamzah Fansuri) وعبد الصمد الفلمباني (Abdussamad Palimbani).

عن طريق الأجيال الإسلامية الإندونيسية الأولى هذه، عرفت أعمال الغزالي بتوسع لدى المجتمع المسلم الآتى فيما بعد. فى أمد بعيد، فأعماله مثل إحياء علوم الدين وبداية الهداية ومنهاج العابدين وكتاب الأربعين فى أصول الدين وغيرها قد

صارت موادا دراسية علمية في المعاهد الإسلامية. وهذه الأعمال كذلك تخزن بدقة في مكتبات المدارس الإسلامية العليا (الجامعات الإسلامية الحكومية) في كل أنحاء إندونيسيا. والسبب لهذه الحالة اتصال المواد الدراسية في كليات تلك الجامعات بهذه المواد. وفي واقع الأمر، إن مختلف الأفكار الدينية الغزالية تملأ عقول قلوب كثير من الطلبة للقيام بدراسة متعمقة في صورة أطروحة ورسالات. بل بناء على المعلومات النابعة من وزارة الشؤون الدينية أن هنالك ١٧١ عنوان كتاب قد كتبها طلاب المرحلة الأولى عن فكرة الغزالي. وفي برنامج مرحلة الدراسات العليا للدكتوراة تشير كذلك إلى هذه الصورة التي لا تختلف كثيرا، ومختلف الدراسات عن فكرة الغزالي قد أخرجتها الجامعات الإسلامية الحكومية، وبالأخص الجامعتان الموجودتان في جاكرتا وجكياكرتا.

حسب رأى الكاتب هنالك بعض عوامل جعلت الغزالي له جاذبية لدى المسلمين الإندونيسيين. أولا: سيرة حياته عبارة عن تحولات ثقافته المثيرة التي جعلته أهل الكلام وفلسوفا ثم دخل في عالم التصوف. ثانيا: كتيحة للسبب الأول فأفكاره الدينية التي كتبها تصور إخلاص تفكير أحد باحثي الحقيقة. فهذه الحالة قد جعلت الفكرة الدينية الغزالية ذات صبغة السيرة الذاتية لنفسه. وثالثا: كاد أن يكون كل بنائه التفكيري ذا صبغة صوفية، وهي لون حياة عميقة السترين بالفهم الديني الإسلامي الإندونيسي عامة. فبذلك، إن جاذبية الفكرة الغزالية هي نجاحه في الجمع بين التعليم الديني الرسمي وحماسة معاشته الذاتية.

### The Position of Al-Ghazâlî among Indonesian Muslims

It should come as no surprise that Indonesian Muslims, who have belonged to the Sunnî school of Islam since the religion was first introduced to the area, hold the most accomplished of Sunnî theologians, al-Ghazâlî, in such high honour. Al-Ghazâlî's reputation as one of the greatest Muslim thinkers is firmly established among Indonesian Muslims and among their fellows in the rest of the Muslim world. Montgomery Watt regards al-Ghazâlî's popularity as a Muslim historical figure as second only to that of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam<sup>1</sup>. T.J. de Boer is another scholar who notes the great popularity of al-Ghazâlî. He points out "Al-Ghazâlî is without doubt the most remarkable figure in all Islam. His doctrine is the expression of his own personality".<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ghazâlî is regarded as occupying a special position in the history of Islamic thought not only because of the depth of his knowledge, but also because of its extensive range. His mastery of the Islamic sciences is virtually unquestioned, although he has been regarded by some Muslim scholars to have had an inadequate knowledge of *hadîth* (the traditions of the Prophet). Muhammad Rashâd Salîm argues that al-Ghazâlî made use of a number of weak *hadîth* (*hadîth da'îf*) in his books in general and in his *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* in particular.<sup>41</sup> Despite this fact, al-Ghazâlî's works, which cover most fields of the religious sciences, still enjoy great popularity among the majority of Muslims.

The position of al-Ghazâlî's works among Indonesian Muslims is very important. His works holds as important role in propagating Islamic orthodoxy. With regard to al-Ghazâlî's Islamic theology, al-Ghazâlî is known to have been an Ash'arite scholar; therefore, his works tend to support Ash'arism. In terms of law and jurisprudence (*sharî'ah*), al-Ghazâlî's works tend to propagate the teachings of the Shâfi'î school, since he himself belonged to this school. Al-Ghazâlî's position has probably been so important in the history of the development of Islamic life in Indonesia because most, if not all Indonesian Muslims, have associated themselves with the Sunnism of these two particular schools of thought.

Therefore, the fame of al-Ghazâlî among Indonesian Muslims has been more widespread than that of al-Ash'arî, the founder of Ash'arism. Unlike al-Ghazâlî, al-Ash'arî seems to have been known as merely the one who established the school of *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah* (the people of orthodoxy and unity). Meanwhile, al-Ghazâlî



has been known as the one who successfully introduced this school to them through his works. Mas'udi may not have exaggerated in saying that al-Ghazâlî has made Ash'arism so popular that it is the only theological system which is widely accepted in most of the Sunnî Muslim world, including Indonesia.<sup>4</sup>

The mystical characteristics of some of these works have likewise been a key factor in making them so interesting to Indonesian Muslims, who have been historically well acquainted with esoterism. It is therefore not surprising that al-Ghazâlî's fame as a sûfî thinker has outweighed his reputation as an expert in several fields of Islamic science.<sup>5</sup>

As well as promoting Ash'arism through some of his works, he is also known, as mentioned above to have propagated the Shâfi'î school of Islamic law.<sup>6</sup> Al-Ghazâlî wrote several books dealing with his understanding of legal issues, such as *al-Mustasfâ min 'Ilm al-Usûl* (the Clarification of Islamic Jurisprudence).

Al-Ghazâlî's thought was gradually introduced into Indonesia as the teaching of Islamic sciences became more widespread in the country. The process of the adoption of Islamic sciences by Indonesian Muslims can be seen as being marked by two different stages. The first stage was the coming of foreign Muslims introducing Islam to Indonesians. This process took place roughly from the time when Islam was first introduced to the people of this archipelago up to the 16th century A.D. During this period Indonesian Muslims learned Islamic beliefs from preachers who put emphasis on mystical aspects of Islam, *tasawwuf*. The second stage occurred at the time when many Indonesian Muslims began to travel to Arabia, particularly to Makkah, mostly to do *hajj* pilgrimage; but some of them stayed longer in the Holy Land to study Islam. Having finished their studies, they returned to Indonesia and shared their knowledge with their fellow Muslims. This process began roughly in the 17th century and has continued up until recent times.<sup>7</sup>

The second stage is notable for the appearance of *pesantren*,<sup>8</sup> traditional Islamic educational institution, which have been an important factor in supporting the development of Islamic learning among Indonesian Muslims. These educational institutions have played a very important role in promoting the Islamic sciences, including Sufism. Among the books that have been used as the main sources for the teaching of Sufism in the *pesantren* is al-Ghazâlî's *Bidâyat al-Hidâyah*.<sup>9</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, a leading contemporary Muslim thinker in Indonesia, maintains that the *Bidayâh* has been considered one of the

most authoritative works concerning orthodox Sufism used in *pesantrens* for centuries.<sup>10</sup>

The popularity of al-Ghazâlî seems also to rest to a great extent on the reputation of his *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* (*the Revival of the Religious Sciences*). This work has long been regarded by most Indonesian Muslims as one of the most authoritative and comprehensive works on Islamic teaching. Snouck Hurgronje argues that the book even has propagated a very distinctive Islamic doctrine.<sup>10</sup> Since the book was translated into various Indonesian languages, it has become more accessible to Indonesian Muslims and through it they are able to get to know al-Ghazâlî's views. It is not an exaggeration to say this, since the book has been printed many times in several places in Indonesia.<sup>12</sup>

The translations of al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* and *Bidâyah* mark an important point in the spread of his thought among Indonesia Muslims. A number of his works are available to Indonesian Muslims in both the Arabic and Indonesian languages. Those who are able to understand Arabic, whether because they have spent time living in Saudi Arabia or in other Arab countries or because they have studied in *pesantrens*, can take advantage of the Arabic texts. On the other hand, those who cannot read Arabic are still able to listen to or to read al-Ghazâlî's works translated into Indonesian languages. As for people who can not read any of these languages, they still have the opportunity to get to know some of al-Ghazâlî's teaching by listening to lectures or speeches in which certain of the great thinker ideas are frequently referred to. These are some of the ways in which the spread of al-Ghazâlî's teachings among Indonesian Muslims has been made possible.

In the eyes of many Indonesian Muslims, al-Ghazâlî's life, which was characterized by tireless study of the Islamic sciences, enabling him to launch attacks against those assertions which he regarded as distorting the true Islamic faith, has created a sympathetic impression. Al-Ghazâlî says of his experiences that from his early youth he ventured into a vast ocean, penetrating its darkness and daring its danger. During this time, he investigated the beliefs of each sect and scrutinized the mysteries of each doctrine in order to be able to separate truth from error and orthodoxy from heresy. Having investigated various kinds of beliefs and doctrines, he at last believed that Sufism was the only way to obtain the ultimate truth.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, he is also seen as the prototype of an ideal Muslim who tries to seek God's satisfaction through practising various kinds of *'ibâdât* (services to God) in accordance with the *shari'ah*. Moreover, he held that perfect Sufism constitutes both in-

tellectual belief and *shari'ah* practice.

The early Indonesian *sûfis*, especially those who are known as followers of Islamic orthodoxy, studied al-Ghazâlî's books, and particularly his mystical works, at least those that were available. Sunan Bonang, for example, one of the famous Nine Saints (Wali Sanga) of Java, wrote a treatise on Islamic teaching in which he frequently refers to al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'*.<sup>14</sup> He appears to have come into contact with al-Ghazâlî's teaching when he and Sunan Giri, another Javanese saint, spent some time in Melaka studying Islam under several Islamic teachers of Arabian, Persian and Indian origin.<sup>15</sup>

There is a collection of documents dealing with the basic principles of Islamic teachings which are believed to have been composed by Sunan Bonang, and which have been the object of studies undertaken by such scholars as Schrieke and Drewes. The former conducted research in the light of historical analysis of Sunan Bonang's work, which later appeared under the title *Het Boek van Bonang* (the Book of Sunan Bonang). The latter carried out a study in which he analyzed the contents of the documents, this work being published under the title *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*. Sunan Bonang asserts at the very beginning of the book:

These are the words of Seh Bari as instructions given to his friends with regards to the meaning of the "Principle of Mysticism". Selecting for his subject the inner conduct of the Prophets, saint and true believers, Seh Bari took his arguments from the *Ihyâ'* and *Tambîd*.<sup>16</sup>

The contents of the book constitute the instructions given by Seh Bari to his pupils who came to him asking questions concerning the very basic principles of mysticism (*usûl al-sulûk*) as a reaction against heresy.

Another work of this period which shows the influence of al-Ghazâlî can be found in a Javanese manuscript, now preserved at the library of Ferrara, Italy, which consists of some basic elements of Islamic teachings which appear to have given preliminary instruction about Islam to newly-converted Muslims. This Javanese manuscript was the subject of a study conducted by Drewes whose work is available under the title *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics*. The writer of the manuscript refers to some of the sources from which he developed his teaching:

This is the way to know God and to keep away from disobedience, (a tract) written in literary language by the khalîfa, and borrowed from the contents of the *Bid'aya* by Imâm al-Ghazâlî and enlarged with material taken

from the book of Masadullah, viz., the questions of 'Isa (?); from the book of *Masabeh Mafateh* and the *Rawdatululama*; from books on exegesis and dogmatics, and from the book of *Selamet*.<sup>17</sup>

The author's statement indicates that al-Ghazâlî's *Bidâyat* served as the main source of his work. Such works as this and mentioned above by Sunan Bonang demonstrate al-Ghazâlî's position as the most influential Muslim thinker in the early history of Islam in Java.

The influence of al-Ghazâlî's thought in Indonesia can also be seen in the works of some most outstanding Indonesian sûfî writers. A number of their works have been available in Indonesia, particularly in Sumatra from the 17th century onwards. Among the sûfî writers who are known to have been well acquainted with al-Ghazâlî's thought is Hamzah al-Fansûrî.<sup>18</sup> Having conducted a serious study of the mystics of Hamzah al-Fansûrî, al-Attas regards him as having been influenced by certain sûfî thinkers, one of whom was al-Ghazâlî.<sup>19</sup> The mystics seemed to have followed al-Ghazâlî in particular aspects, such as the importance of *sharî'ah* within the whole system of Islam. Hamzah al-Fansûrî held that the four stages of Muslim life, *sharî'ah* (religious law), *tarîqah* (the sûfî path), *hârîqah* (truth) and *ma'rifah* (gnosis), are interdependent and must not be separated from each other. He even maintains that whoever leaves aside the *sharî'ah*, will go astray.<sup>20</sup> In this respect, Hamzah al-Fansûrî echoes the beliefs of al-Ghazâlî.

Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî, another prominent 17th century Muslim sûfî writer in Indonesia, also seems to have been greatly influenced by al-Ghazâlî, especially by three of his works: *Al-Maqâsid al-Asnâ' fi Sharh Asmâ' Allâh al-Husnâ*; *Al-Ajwibah al-Lâ'iqah 'an al-Aswâlah al-Fâ'iqah*; and *Ihyâ'*.<sup>21</sup> According to al-Attas, Nûr al-Dîn al-Rânîrî made use of these work as sources for his writings. His eagerness to defend the orthodox faith against heterodoxy, particularly the teaching of the Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujûd*) which can be seen in his polemical work in opposition to the teaching of Hamzah Fansûrî (whom he regards as having introduced this doctrine), demonstrates his position as a sincere follower of al-Ghazâlî. He, like al-Ghazâlî, belonged to the Shâfî'î school of law and adhered to the Ash'arîyah school of theology. As for his sûfî affinity, he was a member of various sûfî orders, including the Rifâ'îyah, Qâdiriyyah, and Aydarûsiyyah.<sup>22</sup>

Several learned Indonesian Muslims who lived in the 18th century were the first "translators" of al-Ghazâlî's works into the Malay language. The most prominent is 'Abd al-Samad al-Palîmbanî (died circa

1788). His translations of the *Bidâyah* and *Ihyâ'* have played a very important role in introducing al-Ghazâlî's thought to Indonesian Muslims.<sup>23</sup>

It must be noted, however, that even though 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî translated some of al-Ghazâlî's works, his concern was not confined to al-Ghazâlî's teachings. He also attempted to introduce some elements of the teaching of the *Tarîqah* Samâniyyah, thus enabling the order to gain many followers among Indonesian Muslims. In his translation of the *Ihyâ'*, entitled *Sayr al-Sâlikîn ilâ 'Ibâdât Rabb al-Âbidîn* (The Progress of Travelers on the Sûfî Path), he seems to have included some elements of the teaching of the *Tarîqah* Sammâniyah. Moreover, he introduced some sûfî teaching which he took from thinkers such as Ibn 'Arabî, 'Abd al-Karîm al-Jîlî and Shams al-Dîn al-Sumatranî, all whom were known as exponents of the doctrine of the Unity of Being (*wahdat al-wujûd*).<sup>24</sup> In addition to the translations noted above, 'Abd al-Samad spent about ten years (from 1778 to 1788)<sup>25</sup> translating *al-Ghazâlî's Lubâb Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* (the Quintessence of the Revival of the Religious Sciences). He translated the book into Jawi (Malay in Arabic script, also known as Malay Arab or Arab Melayu. According to Chambert-Loir, the first printed edition of his translation consisting of 1,048 pages in two volumes appeared in Makkah in 1888, and in Bulak, Egypt several years after.<sup>26</sup>

The *Ihyâ'* was not the first of al-Ghazâlî's works to be translated by 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî; rather it was the *Bidâyah* which received his earliest attention. According to Richard Winstedt, 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî finished translating the *Bidâyah* in Makkah in 1778, a year before he started working on his translation of the *Ihyâ'* which he completed in Tâ'if in 1789.<sup>27</sup>

*Hidâyat al-Sâlikîn fî Sulûk al-Muttaqîn* (Guidance for Travelers on the Sûfî Path), the Malay translation of al-Ghazâlî's *Bidâyah*, was published for the first time in Makkah in 1881.<sup>28</sup> Chambert-Loir argues that *Hidâyat al-Sâlikîn* is, in fact, the oldest Malay work printed in Makkah. The book was also published in several other places such as Egypt, Bombay, Singapore and Surabaya.<sup>29</sup> The book was popular among Indonesian Muslims immediately after its appearance. Hence, manuscript copies of it are still to be found in several libraries both in Indonesia and the Netherlands. The manuscript copy of the work which is now preserved at the Leiden Library, for example, is known to have been written in Buleleng (Bali) in 1821.<sup>30</sup> The introduction of al-Ghazâlî's work to Indonesia thus owes much to the efforts of 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî.

The attraction of the *Ihya'* and the *Bid'ayah* rests to a large extent upon the fact that al-Ghazâlî appears to have formulated his thoughts in a simple way, enabling his readers to follow his ideas without difficulty. Therefore, since these books have been translated into Malay, they have become valuable sources through which most Indonesian Muslims study their religion.

Another important figure in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who introduced al-Ghazâlî's work through translation was Dawûd ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Idrîs al-Patânî. He translated *Minhaj al-'Âbidîn ilâ Jannat Rabb al-'Âlamîn* (the Path of the Worshipers to the Blessing of God). His translation, which bears the same title as the original, has been published in the following cities: Jeddah, Penang and Singapore.<sup>31</sup> Manuscripts of this work have been preserved in both the Museum Nasional (National Museum), Jakarta and the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (the Committee for Language and Literature) in Kuala Lumpur.<sup>32</sup>

Regarding the further spread of al-Ghazâlî's thought to Indonesian Muslims, it is important to mention here an Arabic work entitled *Sharh al-Marâqî al-Ubudîyah* (Cairo, 1881) written by Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Arabî al-Nawawî al-Bantanî al-Jâwî (d.1879), a leading 19th century Indonesian 'ulamâ' who spent most of his life studying and teaching Makkah. This work is a commentary on al-Ghazâlî's *Bid'ayah*.<sup>33</sup> An edition of this work was published in Surabaya, Indonesia, by Shirkat Nur Asia. Another learned Muslim of Indonesian origin, Shaykh Ihsân ibn Muhammad Dahlân of Jampes, Kediri, (d. 1952), wrote a commentary (*sharh*) on al-Ghazâlî's *Minhaj al-'Âbidîn* in Arabic. This work, entitled *Sîrâj al-Tâlibîn* (the Path of the Seekers), has been published several times; for instance an edition appeared in Surabaya, Indonesia, published by Salim Nabhan, in 1954.<sup>34</sup> Another edition of this work was published in Egypt by Matba'ah Mustafâ al-Bâbî al-Halabî in 1955. According to van Bruinessen, this book has a high reputation some pesantrens in Indonesia, particularly in East Java.<sup>35</sup>

All the above mentioned writers seem to be the earliest Indonesian Muslims to have translated al-Ghazâlî's work into Indonesian and to have introduced him to their fellow countrymen. Their works have taken the form of translations and commentaries, in addition to some writings on particular matters which make use of al-Ghazâlî's thought. Both *Hidâyat al-Salikîn* and *Sayr al-Sâlikîn* seem to be not only translations, but also commentaries. According to Hawash Abdullah,

'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbanî made use of other sûfî works to enrich his commentary which supplemented his translation of al-Ghazâlî's books.<sup>36</sup>

Further progress in the process of the spread of al-Ghazâlî's thought to Indonesian Muslims began to take place in the latter part of the 19th century when a great number of Indonesians were able to travel to Makkah to perform the *haji* (pilgrimage). Some of these pilgrims had the opportunity to attend lectures in the *Harâm* mosque of Makkah on particular aspects of Islam, including Sufism, some of which were based on al-Ghazâlî's works. With regard to this matter, Snouck Hurgronje points out:

The books used were all more or less excerpts or compilations from the works of al-Ghazâlî particularly the *Ihyâ'*...it is a very significant fact in present day Islam that the words of al-Ghazâlî which more than any others spoken in the *Harâm*, aiming at the hearts of the pious, are now considered to be very mysterious.<sup>37</sup>

Having spent several years studying in Makkah, most of the Indonesian pilgrims<sup>38</sup> returned to Indonesia, some later becoming prominent Muslim 'ulamâ' who played important roles in promoting the development of Islamic thought in Indonesia, including al-Ghazâlî's thought.

As far as contemporary Sufism in Indonesia is concerned, al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* remains, for most Indonesian Muslims, one of the most authoritative works. According to Nurcholish Madjid, this work's reputation is due to its successful reconciliation of the rationality of Sunnism in both theology and *sharî'ah* with the intuition of Sufism.<sup>39</sup> Aboebakar Atjeh, a prominent Indonesian *tasawwuf* scholar, argues that one of the most remarkable effects of this book is that there have never been any serious conflicts in *pesantrens* between those who follow different sûfî orders (*tariqah*),<sup>40</sup> and those who tend to be more *sharî'ah* oriented, or subscribe to Islamic orthodoxy. Aboebakar Atjeh praises al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* as the common reference point for all the sûfî orders in Islam. According to him, al-Ghazâlî's mystical thought can be adapted to any kind of mystical thought in Islam. Therefore, it can also resolve any conflict which occurs in the Muslim community over mystical matters.<sup>41</sup>

Needless to say, the inclination towards orthodoxy shown by the communities of most *pesantrens* seems to owe much to their use of al-Ghazâlî's works as a fundamental guide to daily religious life. On the

basis of al-Ghazâlî's works, the rigidity of the so-called rational theology of Ash'arism alongside inflexibility, have been tempered by the influence of Sufism, which is flexible and intuitive.<sup>42</sup>

In his *Ihyâ'*, al-Ghazâlî tries to support his explanations by quoting verses from the Qur'ân or by citing *hadîth*. Criticisms have been made of his use of a number of *hadîth* which are regarded as weak (*da'îf*). 'Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd refers to writers such as Abû al-Muzaffar and al-Râqî who criticized al-Ghazâlî for having neglected the principles of Islamic jurisprudence by using many weak *hadîth* in his *Ihyâ'*.<sup>43</sup> Differing from these two writers, Abû al-Khayr says that there is no doubt that al-Ghazâlî used many weak *hadîth* to support his propositions on some particular matters. However one should not judge him too severely since he did not apply those *hadîth* in order to determine Islamic law or to render certain points of Islamic faith, but rather merely in order to encourage people to do good deeds and to avoid any kind of vice. Like Abû al-Khayr, 'Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd holds that what al-Ghazâlî did cannot be considered unreasonable.<sup>44</sup> On the basis of this, he argues that the *Ihyâ'* remains very important since al-Ghazâlî applied those weak *hadîth* solely with a view to emphasizing moral or ethical teachings which are considered to be subsidiary in Islam.<sup>45</sup>

### Al-Ghazâlî's Books in Indonesian Muslim Schools

Martin van Bruinessen has conducted a study of the Indonesian *pesantren* milieu which provides valuable information on the books in Arabic script used in Islamic traditional Indonesian institutions of learning. Van Bruinessen found al-Ghazâlî's works on tasawwuf to have been the most widely used for the teaching of tasawwuf in these *pesantrens*. He also found that some *pesantrens* even specialize in the teaching of the *Ihyâ'*.<sup>46</sup> In addition to this, he maintains that *Sayr al-Sâlikîn*, the first Indonesian adaptation of the *Ihyâ'*, remains popular in some *pesantrens*, especially in Sumatra and West Java.<sup>47</sup>

Al-Ghazâlî's works are especially suited to this environment given that most *pesantren* communities consider themselves to be members of the Nahdatul Ulama (NU, the revival of the 'Ulamâ') which is one of the largest Muslim organizations in Indonesia and was founded in 1926. According to the guidelines of this organization, all its members should be of the *ahl al-sunnah wa al-jamâ'ah* and follow Ash'arism in terms of the theology and one of the four Sunnî schools of law (Hanafite, Maliki, Shafi'ite and Hanbalite) in terms of fiqh. As far as tasawwuf



is concerned, its members should follow the teachings of al-Junayd al-Baghdâdî (d.a. 910) and al-Ghazâlî (d. 1111).<sup>48</sup>

The presence of al-Ghazâlî's works in most Indonesian *pesantrens* can also be accounted for by the fact that the expansion of the *pesantren* system owes much to the 'ulamâ who had studied Islam abroad using some of his works and in particular the *Ihyâ'*. After returning to the *pesantren* they included some of al-Ghazâlî's books in the curriculum. *Pesantren Dâr al-Salâm* (also known as *pesantren Gontor*) at Ponorogo, East Java, one of the most developed *pesantrens* in current day Indonesia, for example, makes use of al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* among its textbooks.<sup>49</sup>

The use of the *Ihyâ'* in Indonesian *pesantrens* has been constant since the founding of these institutions. The inclination towards Sufism has likewise been a feature in most of them from the very beginning up to the current time. This is because the rapid spread of Islam among the Indonesian peoples took place simultaneously with the flourishing of Sufism throughout the Muslim world.<sup>50</sup> Reports that Sunan Bonang studied Islam under Seh Wali Lanang at Melaka, as mentioned above, provide convincing proof concerning the early process of the adoption of al-Ghazâlî's thought by Indonesian Muslims. Since Sunan Bonang was among the first pupils of *Pesantren Giri*, it can be concluded that al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* was one of the works studied at the *pesantren* at least in the early part of the 16th century.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* was also in continuous use some *suraus* (Islamic traditional schools) in West Sumatra and *pesantrens* in West Java.<sup>52</sup>

Having discussed the use of al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* in Indonesian *pesantrens*, it seems necessary to give an account of the use of the book in the IAINs, which form a network of institutions teaching Islamic studies, spread throughout 22 of the all 27 provinces of the Republic of Indonesia. Some of al-Ghazâlî's works are used as textbooks in the IAINs, while others are considered to be recommended reading material. Some of his books, such as the *Bidâyah*, *al-Mustasfâ*, *Tahâfut al-Falâsifah* and the *Ihyâ'* are to be found in most IAIN libraries, since they are included among the textbooks used in these institutions. The *Ihyâ'* and *Bidâyah*, for example, are among the books used to teach subjects such as ethics (*akhlâq*) and Sufism.<sup>53</sup>

Al-Ghazâlî's writings have inspired many students in these institutions to write their undergraduate theses on aspects of his thought. The vast majority of such theses are unpublished but they remain an untapped resource for our understanding of how al-Ghazâlî is interpreted by the present generation of Indonesian Muslims.

There are other institutions teaching Islamic studies in Indonesia, such as the *madrasah* (Islamic schools) for both elementary and secondary school students, faculties of Islamic religious student in non-IAIN universities and independent Islamic universities. All these institutions make use of al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* either directly or indirectly. Pupils in Madrasah Ibtidâ'iyahs (elementary Islamic schools) study the basic principles of *akhlâq* and through this they begin to indirectly learn some of al-Ghazâlî's thought on this subject, since his *Ihyâ'* has influenced most of the books on *akhlâq* used in Indonesian *madrasah*. This same phenomenon is also found in most books discussing *akhlâq* written by Indonesian Muslim writers. For instance, H. Abdulmalik Karim Amrullah (Hamka-1908-1981), former chairman of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Council of Indonesian 'Ulamâ') who is also known as a prominent Indonesia Muslim writer—Hamka's works deal mostly with *akhlâq* or *tasawwuf*—has to a certain extent been influenced by a number of great Muslim thinkers, especially by al-Ghazâlî. He mentions several of al-Ghazâlî's works as his sources such as the *Ihyâ'*, *Kitâb Arba'în fi Usûl al-Dîn*, *Bidâ'iyah*, and *Minhâj al-'Âbidîn*.<sup>54</sup>

Barmawie Umarie, another Indonesian Muslim writer, is the author of several books on *akhlâq* and *tasawwuf*, including his *Material Achlaq* published in Semarang by Ramadhani in 1967 and *Systematik Tasawwuf* published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1963,<sup>55</sup> in which he makes use of much of al-Ghazâlî's books. These books are among the works which should be read by students who study *akhlâq* and *tasawwuf* at the IAINs.<sup>56</sup> This indicates the importance of al-Ghazâlî's *Ihyâ'* and other writing in most, if not all, of the Islamic schools in Indonesia.

There have been a number of works written by Indonesian writers dealing with al-Ghazâlî's life and certain aspects of his thought. It is impossible, however, to cover all these works in this discussion due to technical reasons, including the lack of reliable bibliographical sources in this field.

At least two biographical works on al-Ghazâlî have been written by Indonesian writers. These works have, to a certain extent, introduced him to many Indonesian Muslims, and, in particular the book entitled *al-Ghazâlî* written by Muhammad Kasim Bakry (d. 1964). This work was published by Widjaja, a Jakarta publisher, the first edition being produced in 1957 and the second one in 1962. Another work dealing with al-Ghazâlî and his life was written by Zainal Abidin Ahmad. His book was entitled *Riwayat Hidup Imam Ghazâlî* (The

Life of al-Ghazâlî), this biographical work being published for the first time in Jakarta in 1975 by Bulan Bintang.

An Indonesian work entitled *Hujjatul Islam: Imam Ghazâlî* (the Proof of Islam: Imam Ghazâlî) which is a translation of an Arabic work entitled *al-Ghazâlî* was written by Tâhâ 'Abd al-Baqî Surûr. This was produced by LPMI<sup>57</sup> edited by Yudian Wahyudi Asmin and published in Solo by Pustaka Mantiq in 1989. Another biographical work on al-Ghazâlî originally written in Arabic and translated into Indonesian is that by Muhammad Hamdi Zaquq. The Indonesian adaptation of this work bearing the title *Al-Ghazâlî Sang Sufî, Sang Filusuf* (al-Ghazâlî, the Sûfî and the Philosopher) was translated into Indonesian by Ahmad Rofi and Usman, and published in Bandung by Pustaka in 1987.

In addition to these bibliographical works, there are a number of works dealing with certain aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought. Many books written in Indonesian by Indonesian writers can be included in this category. One such work is the book entitled *Kupasan Imam Ghazâlî dan Filosof-filosof Alam Jang Masjhur terhadap Rabasia Alam Kebatinan* (al-Ghazâlî and Some Other Prominent Philosophers on the Secrets of the Spiritual World) written by Muhammadiyah Do'a and Sjah Djalaluddin. This was published in Solo by A.B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1956.<sup>58</sup> Another work in Indonesian is entitled *Imam al-Ghazâlî dan Filusuf Barat* (Imâm al-Ghazâlî and Western Philosophers) by Moh. Arief Lubis, published in Medan in 1954 by Islamiyah.<sup>59</sup> Ahmad Hanafi wrote a book offering a comparison between the standpoints of Imam al-Ghazâlî and Ibn Rushd on some problems of metaphysics. His work, entitled *Al-Ghazâlî dan Ibn Rushd dalam Tiga Persoalan Metafisika* (al-Ghazâlî and Ibn Rushd on Three Metaphysical Problems) was published in Jakarta by Pustaka Alhusna in 1981.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the above mentioned books, it is important to include here several works produced by the Faculty of Graduate studies of the Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN in Jakarta. The first work that should be mentioned here is a Ph.D. dissertation written by Muhammad Yasir Nasution, who received his doctoral degree in 1986, entitled "Theological Reasoning According to al-Ghazâlî". This work was later published in Jakarta by the Rajawali Press in 1988 under the title *Manusia Menurut al-Ghazali* (Mankind according to al-Ghazâlî).<sup>61</sup> Another Ph.D. dissertation dealing with certain aspect of al-Ghazâlî's thought was written by Yahya Jaya, entitled "Konsep Tazkiyat al-Nafs Menurut Imam Ghazâlî dalam Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-dîn dan Relevan-

sinya dengan Kesehatan Mental" (the concept of the Soul According to al-Ghazâlî in the *Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn* and its Relevance to Mental Health). The writer presented this dissertation to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN in Jakarta in 1989.<sup>62</sup>

Amin Abdullah, a member of the teaching staff of the Sunan Kalijaga IAIN, Yogyakarta, who obtained his Ph.D. degree at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, in 1989, wrote his dissertation entitle "The Ethics of al-Ghazâlî and Kant: Identity, Difference, and Consistency", which later was published in book form in Turkey.<sup>63</sup> The Faculty of Graduate Studies of the Sunan Kalijaga IAIN in Yogyakarta has also produced several academic works dealing with certain aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought, one of which is a M.A. thesis entitled "Ilmu Menurut al-Ghazâlî: Suatu Tinjauan Pedagogik" (Science According to al-Ghazâlî: A Pedagogic Review) written by M. Basri Ghazâlî and published in Jakarta by Pedoman Ilmu Jaya in 1990.<sup>64</sup>

It is difficult to determine exactly when Indonesian Muslims began to be critical in dealing with al-Ghazâlî's thought. It seems likely that this did not occur until very recent times as a result of the increasing number of highly educated Muslims produced by the IAIN<sup>65</sup> (Institut Agama Islam Negeri or State Institute for Islamic Studies) system. Unlike the layman who tends to accept al-Ghazâlî's thought without analyzing it, the students of the IAINs must study him critically. They should not hesitate to question certain aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought. This, however, must be seen as a consequence of the introduction of scientific approaches into Indonesian education. In addition, this phenomenon must also be viewed in terms of the influence wielded by those earlier scholars who criticized al-Ghazâlî. Ibn Taymîyyah, whose thought may have been known in Indonesia as early as the first decades the 20th century, was a severe critic of Sufism, and may have inspired some educated Muslims to question its place within the whole system of Islam. On the other hand, al-Ghazâlî has been criticized for having insufficient knowledge of *hadîth*.<sup>66</sup> Since then, many scholars have begun to question certain aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought which have found to be groundless. Despite this fact, the popularity of the *Ihyâ'* has gained a firm hold, enabling the book to remain among the most important Islamic works in Indonesia.

For a relatively long period, Indonesian Muslims have considered al-Ghazâlî one of the most authoritative thinkers in Islam. This attitude has resulted in a reluctance to approach his work critically. Cri-

tiques of his thought by his own contemporaries were also largely unknown until recently. The most important classical Arabic work containing a scholarly reaction towards al-Ghazâlî's thought especially as it is represented in his *Tahâfut al-Falâsifah* (Incoherence of the Philosophers), is Ibn Rushd's *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut* (the Incoherence of Incoherence). The *Tahâfut al-Falâsifah* consists of al-Ghazâlî's critique of Muslim philosophers whom he considers to be infidels (*kâfir*, plural *kâfirûn* or *kuffâr*) due to their denial of some principles of Islamic belief. In this work al-Ghazâlî accuses the philosophers of being unbelievers because they hold propositions about the eternity of the world, God's knowledge of only universals, and the denial of the resurrection of the body on the last day.<sup>67</sup> In addition, al-Ghazâlî raises seventeen other assertions which he considers heretical. In his *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut*, written in response to al-Ghazâlî's work, Ibn Rushd chastises al-Ghazâlî for having misunderstood the philosophers' assertions. Ibn Rushd holds that the philosophers whom al-Ghazâlî accused of being unbelievers do not deny God's attributes of perfection. What they deny is the use of certain terms to characterize the nature of God's creatures. In order to avoid such misinterpretation, the philosophers tried to rationalize every quality attributed to God.

Ibn Rushd's *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut* is not widely known in Indonesia since the book was not available in this country until very recent times. Only a few Indonesian Muslims have had access to this book, since the majority of them are unable to read either Arabic or English. In addition, this book deals with difficult issues regarding philosophical discussions which do not interest most Indonesian Muslims. However, renewed interest in al-Ghazâlî's thought arose when *Tahâfut al-Tahâfut* became one of the recommended books for students of Islamic studies at the IAINs. Now that Arabic editions of the work have become available in Indonesia, especially in IAIN libraries,<sup>68</sup> more and more Indonesian Muslims have begun to question the reliability of some aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought.

Nevertheless, this new critical approach has not resulted in the publication of works criticizing al-Ghazâlî's thought. Most of the works on al-Ghazâlî written in or translated into Indonesian describe his works in a positive manner, and even put the master in a special position above any other Muslim thinker. There are many Indonesian Muslims, particularly *kiyais* (traditional learned Muslims),<sup>69</sup> who would be appalled by any criticism of al-Ghazâlî. One example of such a reaction is the uproar which occurred at a seminar held at the

Pesantren Ihya Ulumuddin in Cilacap, West Java, in 1991. During a discussion of certain aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought, most of the *kiyais* who participated in the seminar were shocked when a participant appeared to accuse al-Ghazâlî of being arrogant because he had criticized several Muslim groups, particularly the *Ta'limîyyah*, one sect of the *Isma'illîyyah* Islam. The *kiyais* maintained that al-Ghazâlî was a great thinker and, therefore, that he was above such a low characterization.<sup>70</sup>

As we have previously mentioned, a turning point in the attitude towards al-Ghazâlî and his works took place with the establishment of the IAINs which occupy a strategic position in creating conditions that are favourable to the advancement of an academic approach to Islamic Studies. In addition, the position of these institutions as a whole has become more important following the establishment of Faculties of Graduate Studies in some of them which, to a certain extent, have created a new trend in approaching the Islamic sciences. This approach is quite different from the one which is currently applied in pesantrens, where traditional methods are the rule.

As a result of this new academic approach, a number of works covering various fields of Islamic studies have been produced by the students of these institution. A number of academic works in the form of treatises, theses and some dissertations have been written by students of IAINs dealing with aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought. For example, in 1987, several theses were written by students of the Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN in Jakarta dealing with certain aspects of al-Ghazâlî's thought, such as "Keraguan Metodis al-Ghazâlî dan Descartes" (al-Ghazâlî and Descartes' Sceptical Methods) by Arief Fachruddin, "Tinjauan Kritis al-Ghazâlî terhadap Teori Sebab Akibat Para Filosof Muslim" (al-Ghazâlî's Critical Review of Muslim Philosophers' Theories of Cause and Effect) by Amsal Bachtiar, and "Pengetahuan Akal tentang Tuhan Menurut Al-Ghazâlî dan Immanuel Kant" (Rational Knowledge about God according to al-Ghazâlî and Immanuel Kant) by Denuri.<sup>71</sup>

## Conclusion

Al-Ghazâlî's teachings have also been disseminated in more recent times by such institutions as the Universitas Al-Ghazâlî (al-Ghazâlî University) in Ujungpandang, South Sulawesi. This institution runs several faculties, of which a number are devoted to the study of religious subjects, such as the Faculty of the Fundamentals of Reli-

gion (*usûl al-dîn*), and the Faculty of Islamic Mission (*da'wah*).

In addition, there is a *pesantren* located in Cilacap, Central Java, known as Pesantren Ihya Ulumuddin, which was founded in 1929 and appears to have recently been among the most active in conducting studies into the teachings of al-Ghazâlî. A seminar was held at this *pesantren* in January 1991 devoted to the discussion of certain aspects al-Ghazâlî's thought, held in commemoration of the institution's 64th anniversary.<sup>72</sup> The seminar placed particular emphasis on al-Ghazâlî's thought and its relation to the work ethics of Indonesian Muslims.<sup>73</sup>

It is important to mention another institution, known as the Majelis Taklim al-Ghazâlî (al-Ghazâlî Study Circle) which is also known as the Islamic Center of al-Ghazâlî. This institution was founded by K.H. Abdullah bin Nuh (d. 1987), a prominent Indonesian Muslim scholar, who translated some of al-Ghazâlî's works. Majelis Taklim al-Ghazâlî is a large organization which runs several branches, one of which is Pesantren Ihya Ulumuddin (not to be confused with the *pesantren* of the same name mentioned above) located at Pasir Kuda, Bogor, West Java. This *pesantren* is now headed by a disciple of Abdullah bin Nuh.<sup>74</sup>

Another important institution which came into being in Jakarta in 1970 was known as Jajasan Ihya Ulumuddin (the Ihya 'Ulûm al-Dîn Foundation). This institution, which no longer operates, was run by the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and was designed to attempt to revive religious sciences by intellectual means. In order to attain this goal, the institution started to publish a monthly journal entitled *Ihya 'Ulumuddin*, the first issue of which was published in July 1970. Together with the publication of their journal, this foundation attempted to establish Islamic libraries by collecting books and other printed materials, and by supporting a program of writing and translation of academic works. The goal of this institution, however, was not realized since the foundation was closed just a few years after it was established without having manifested all of its aims.

To conclude, with respect to all development outlined above, there is no doubt that al-Ghazâlî will retain its important position among Indonesian Muslims in the future. More so, if one takes into account of the revival of *tasawwuf* in contemporary Indonesia.

## Endnotes

1. W. Montgomery Watt praises al-Ghazâlî as being acclaimed in both the East and the West as the greatest Muslim after Muhammad. He regards al-Ghazâlî as a prophetic intellectual who spoke to his fellow Muslims in terms of the highest thought of his time. The master's remarkable achievement rest upon his successful efforts in making the mystical aspect of Islam intellectually respectable. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazâlî* (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh Press, 1963) 180. W. Montgomery Watt even says that al-Ghazâlî was the most prominent Muslim thinker whose personality has inspired the emergence of a new trend regarding the Islamic sciences vis-à-vis Greek Philosophy. See W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazâlî* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953; reprint, 1967), pp. 14-15. The same admiration can also be seen in W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1967), p. 114.
2. T.J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. Edward R. Jones (London: Luzac & Co., 1903; reprint, 1933), 168.
3. Muhammad Rashad Sâlim, *Muqâranat bayn al-Ghazâlî wa ibn Taimîyah* (Kuwait: Dâr al-Salafiyyah, 1975), p. 7.
4. Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Menguak Pemikiran Kitab Kuning", *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 1 (1984), p. 27.
5. Masdar F. Mas'udi, "NU & Teologi al-Asy'ari", *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 4 (1986), p. 86.
6. Duncan B. McDonald, "The Life of al-Ghazâlî, with Special Reference to His Religious Experiences and Opinions", *JAOS* 20 (1899), p. 106
7. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Asal-Usul Tradisi Keilmuan Di Pesantren," *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 1 (1984), 7.
8. *Pesantren* is the Indonesian term for an educational institution where students may obtain Islamic religious training, both elementary and advanced. A *pesantren* mainly consists of several buildings such as houses for teachers, lecture rooms, a mosque, and lodgings for students. There are two types of *pesantrens*, traditional and modern. The traditional type is characterized by an educational system which does not adopt modern theory and practices, particularly with regard to pedagogical methods and curricula. Conversely modern ones tend to preserve the positive aspects of the traditional system and combine it with some aspects of modern system by adopting subjects such as foreign languages (mainly English), mathematics, vocational training, agriculture, etc. See H.A.R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., "Pesantren," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), pp. 460-462.
9. The number cited as Bouyges, 35 refers to the 35th work listed in Maurice Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali*, ed. Michel Allad (Beirut: Impremiere Catholique, 1959).
10. Abdurrahman Wahid, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
11. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, trans. J. H. Monahan ( Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), 160.
12. See the appendix in Said Nurman, "Al-Ghazâlî's Works and their Influence on Islam in Indonesia", MA Thesis, McGill University, 1992.
13. Al-Ghazâlî, *al-Munqidh min al-Dalâl*, ed. 'Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjû al-Misr, 1952), p. 51.
14. See G.W.J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seb Bari* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969),



- p. 39.
- 15 R.O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," *JMBRAS* 17 (1939); revised edition, 31 (1958), p. 112.
  - 16 Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 39. Schrieke and Kramers assumed that the book *Tambhid* was written by Abū Shakūr al-Salīmī (Second half of the 11th century). The complete title is *Tambhid fi Bayān al-Tawhīd*, a work on the Islamic doctrine of faith. G.W. J. Drewes attributes this book to Ibn Zarrūq al-Barnūsī (d. 1493) who wrote *Tambhid Qarwā'id al-Tasawwuf wa 'Usūlibī*, since both the book of Sunan Bonang and the book of Ibn Zarrūq deal with Sufism. See, Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, p. 14.
  - 17 G. W. J. Drewes, ed. and trans. *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague; Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 14-15.
  - 18 To date there is no available information regarding the date of his birth or death. Nevertheless, it is commonly accepted that he lived in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century. According to S.M.N. al-Attas, Hamzah lived and flourished in the period proceeding and during the reign of Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shah of Aceh (1588-1604) and he most likely died before 1607. See S. M.N. al-Attas, "New Light on the Life of Hamzah Fansūrī," *JMBRAS* 40 (1967), p. 48.
  - 19 S. M. N. al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansūrī* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1970), p. 14.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, p. 413.
  - 21 See S. M. N. al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture of Malaysia, 1986), pp. 16-17.
  - 22 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
  - 23 Henri Chambert-Loir, "Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī Sebagai Ulama Jawi," in *'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī, Sair al-Sālikīn*, ed. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan. Museum Negeri Aceh, (microfiche) (Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Museum Negeri Aceh, 1985), p. xiii.
  - 24 M. Chatib Quzwain, "Syekh 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī: Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam abad ke- 18 Masehi," in *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumantra Selatan*, ed. K. H. O. Gadjahmata and Sri-Edi Swasono (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1986), p. 185.
  - 25 *Ibid.*, p. xi.
  - 26 *Ibid.*, p. xiii.
  - 27 R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," p. 125.
  - 28 There is no adequate information concerning this publication or its publisher. There is, however, an indication given by C. Snouck Hurgronje dealing with early printed Malay works in Makkah in the latter part of the 19th century, when some Malay works were printed. See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, 286. See also H. Chambert-Loir, "Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī," p. xi.
  - 29 *Ibid.*
  - 30 Henri Chambert-Loir, "Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī Sebagai Ulama Jawi," p. xi.
  - 31 Virginia Matheson and M.B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of Islamic Tradition," *JMBRAS* 61 (1988), p. 24.
  - 32 *Ibid.*
  - 33 Carl Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol.2 (Berlin: Verlag Von Emil Felber, 1902), p. 501.

- 34 Departemen Agama, *Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, Penyusunan Bibliografi Perpustakaan IAIN Seluruh Indonesia* (Jakarta: Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, 1988/1989), p. 278.
- 35 Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu," *BKI* 146 (1990), p. 258.
- 36 Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya-Indonesia: Al-Ikhlâs, n.d.), p. 146.
- 37 C. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.*, p. 201.
- 38 The Arabs, particularly the Meccans, used to call the inhabitants of Southeast Asia as "Jawah" people. Sometime, these people were named according to the place in Southeast-Asia where they comes from such as al-Jâwî al-Banjari (the one who comes from Banjar), al-Jâwî al-Sumbawî (the one who comes from Sumba), al-Jâwî al-Palimbanî (the man who come from Palembang), al-Patâni (the one who came from Patani, in Thailand).
- 39 Nurcholish Madjid, "Tasauf dan Pesantren", *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*, ed., M. Dawam Rahardjo (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1988), p. 105.
- 40 Aboebakar Atjeh, *Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1985), p. 371.
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 Nurcholish Madjid, "Tasauf dan Pesantren", p. 107
- 43 'Abd al-Halîm Mahmûd, *al-Munqidh min al-Dalâl*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Dâr al-Kitâb al-Lubnânî, 1985), p. 54
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 *Ibid.*
- 46 Van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," p. 258.
- 47 *Ibid.*
- 48 Abdul Munir and Ahmad Arwan Bais, *Pokok-Pokok Ajaran N.U. dan Masa Depan Umat* (Solo: Ramadhani, 1989), p. 44.
- 49 See M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Kiyai dalam Pembaharuan Sosial," *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 4 (1985), p. 26.
- 50 See A. H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesia Literature and History," *JSEAH*, 2 (1961), p. 23.
- 51 See R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," 92; cf., Widji Saksono, *Islam Menurut Wedjangan Wali Songo*, p. 45.
- 52 See Van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," p. 258.
- 53 Many of al-Ghazâlî's books are possessed by IAINs some of which can be seen in a report as a research intende to study bibliographies in IAINs i.e., Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN in Jakarta, Raden Intan IAIN in Lampung, Raden Fatah IAIN in Palembang, and Sultan Thaha IAIN in Jambi. The results of this research were issued in the form of a monograph published by Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama Islam/IAIN entitled *Penyusunan Bibliografi Perpustakaan IAIN Seluruh Indonesia* (Jakarta: Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, 1988/1989).
- 54 H. Abdulmalik Karim Amrullah, *Mutiara Filsafat*, 2nd ed. (Djakarta: Widjaja, 1956), p. 14.
- 55 Departemen Agama, *Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, Penyusunan Bibliografi*, p. 274.
- 56 I used to consult Barmawie Umarie's *Systematik Tasawwuf* when completing my undergraduate program at the Alauddin Ujung IAIN in Pandang in 1978 to 1986 on the subjects of *akhlâq* and *tasawwuf*.

- 57 LPMI is the abbreviation for Lembaga Penerjemah & Penulis Muslim Indonesia (Association for Indonesian Muslim Translators and Writers) founded by Yudian Wahyudi Asmin in 1987 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.
- 58 I examined this book in the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University of the Smith Collection bearing the call number C6.D631k.
- 59 A copy of this book is available at the library of Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University in the Smith Collection under the call number C6.L929i.
- 60 Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, p. 289.
- 61 "Academic life in IAINs," *INIS Newsletter* 2 (1989), p. 10.
- 62 "Academic life in IAINs", *INIS Newsletter* 4 (1990), p. 14.
- 63 "Academic life in IAINs", *INIS Newsletter* 5 (1991), p. 15.
- 64 A copy of this book is available at the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University bearing the call number B753 G34 1991.
- 65 The Institute is a state university especially founded to promote higher education for Islamic studies. The Institute is commonly known as IAIN, the abbreviation for Institut Agama Islam Negeri. It was founded in Yogyakarta, Central Java in 1951 and there are now 14 IAINs spread throughout 23 province of the Republic of Indonesia. See Team Penyusunan Pustaka Azet, *Leksikon Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Azet, 1988), vol. 1, p. 223.
- 66 See Tâj al-Dîn 'Abd al-Wahhâb al-Subkî, *Tabaqât al-Shâfi'iyat al-Kubrâ*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattâh Muhammad al-Hilw and Mahmûd al-Tahânî (Cairo: Matba'at 'Isâ al-Bâbî al-Halabî, 1968), vol. 6, p. 200.
- 67 Al-Ghazâlî, *Tahâfût al-Falâsifah*, ed., Sulaimân Dunyâ (Cairo: Dâr Ihyâ, al-Kutub al-'Arabîyah 'Isa al-Bâbî al-Halabî, 1947), pp. 313-314.
- 68 Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, p. 290.
- 69 The term *kiyai* originally referred to a local Muslim teacher who runs a *pesantren*. Today usage of this term is broader possibly indicating any prominent Muslim thinker regardless of whether or not he is a teacher in a *pesantren*. The position of *kiyai* in Indonesian Muslim society is very important. On many occasions throughout the history of Indonesia, *kiyais* have played important roles as cultural brokers in certain activities. See Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Kiyai: The Changing Role of a Cultural Brokers," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (1959-1960), 230.
- 70 Noer Iskandar al-Barsany, "Kritik Para Kiyai terhadap al-Ghazâlî", *Warta Nahdlatul Ulama* (Jakarta), March 1991, 14
- 71 Departemen Agama, Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN, *Tiga Puluh Tahun IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1 Juni 1957-1 Juni 1987: Lustrum VI* [microfilm] (Jakarta: Syarif Hidayatullah IAIN, 1987), 480-481.
- 72 This 64th anniversary refers to the lunar calendar.
- 73 Noer Iskandar al-Barsany, "Kritik Para Kiyai terhadap al-Ghazali," *Warta Nahdlatul Ulama* (Jakarta), March 1991, p. 4.
- 74 H. Basri Asghari, "K. H. Abdullah bin Nuh, Pantang Mencari Musuh," *Amanah* (Jakarta), 135 (1991), p. viii.

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