

# A CHRONOLOGY OF ABU HAMID AL-GHAZALI'S LIFE AND WRITINGS

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## Abstrak

*Imam al-Ghazali menjalani period kehidupan yang mengagumkan sepanjang hidupnya. Beliau terkenal sebagai seorang penulis yang prolific dan karya-karyanya merangkumi pelbagai bidang termasuk falsafah, metafizik, fiqh (jurisprudence), teologi, tasawwuf dan lain-lain. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengumpulkan fakta-fakta berkaitan dengan kronologi kehidupannya dan karya-karyanya dengan memberi penekanan kepada period-period penulisan karya-karya tersebut.*

## INTRODUCTION

The article will concentrate on Imam al-Ghazali whose full name of his was Abu Hamid Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali.<sup>1</sup> He was born in 1058 at

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<sup>1</sup>His original name was simply Muhammad. The name Abu Hamid was his honorific title (*kunya*), was given later apparently because he had a son of that name who died in infancy. (Osman Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge In Islam*, Kuala Lumpur, 1992, p. 172). But others like Watt said that this *kunya* was not necessarily implying that he had a son of this name because certainly only daughter survived him. (Watt, W.M., *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazali*, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 20).

Tus,<sup>2</sup> near the modern Mashhad, in Khurasan,<sup>3</sup> which nowadays called Persia or more properly, Iran.<sup>4</sup> Al-Ghazali is the greatest and most original thinkers, not only in the history of Muslim philosophy but also in the history of human thought. He is surnamed as “Islam’s convincing proof” (*al-hujjah al-Islam*), “the ornament of faith” (*zayn al-din*), “a reformist” (*al-mujaddid*) and reckoned at par with the four imams.<sup>5</sup> There have been many philosophers and scholars in Islam and other religions, but the peculiarity of al-Ghazali is that his life and works are so intimately connected that it is difficult to separate one from the other. Before the birth of al-Ghazali to his death, the religious and social importance of the Sunnite schools of law, theological sects, Shi‘ite communities and sufi brotherhood made them of utmost important to Middle Eastern history. Al-Ghazali, who died in 505/1111 lived to witness the rise and expansion of the Seljuq dynasty, which meant the victory of the Sunnites creed over the Shi‘ites tendencies which had been gaining under the Buwayhids and Fatimids and also the decline of its power after the assassination of Malik Shah in 485/1092.<sup>6</sup> He was in close touch with the Muslim kings at his times and was gained respectation by both, the caliphs and the Seljuq kings. And in the last of his life, he witnessed, or rather heard of the cursing of the Crusaders which led to their founding princedoms in Raha in 490/1097 and in Antioch in 491/1098. Then Jerusalem was

<sup>2</sup>A town of Khurasan, the north-eastern region of Persia. (Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu‘jam al-Buldan*, F. Wustenfeld (ed.), Vol. iii, Leipzig, 1866 - 1873, p. 560; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 388 - 391). The district of Tus was the birthplace of many out standing personalities and men of learning in Islam including Abu Yazid al-Bistami (d. 261/875), al-Hallaj (d. 309/932), the poet Abu Sa‘id al-Khayr and al-Firdawsi (d. 416/1092). (Nicholson, R.A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, London, 1921, pp. 1 - 76). And the other one who was contemporary with al-Ghazali was ‘Umar Khayyam. (Browne, *Literary History of Persia, From Firdawsi to Sa‘di*, Vol. ii, London, 1906, p. 175). And for more information of the history of Tus, see (Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, New York, 1911).

<sup>3</sup>Prior to al-Ghazali’s time, Khurasan had already produced so many eminent sufis and known as intellectual centre. Thus, it called as the land “where the shadow of Gods favour rested” and “where the sun of love and the fortune of the sufis path is in the ascendent”. (Al-Hujwiri, Ali b. Uthman, *Kashf al-Mahjub*, (tr.) R.A. Nicholson, *The Kashf al-Mahjub : The Oldest Persian Treatise on Sufism*, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 173 - 174; al-Hamawi, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 630; Vol. iii, pp. 228 - 231; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, pp. 382 - 388).

<sup>4</sup>Holland, *al-Ghazali on the Duties of Brotherhood*, Cambridge, 1975, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup>Badawi, Abd al-Rahman, *Mu‘allafat al-Ghazali*, Kuwait, 1977, p. 21; M. S. Sheikh, *Studies in Muslim Philosophy*, Lahore, 1962, p. 112.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Davies, C. Colin, “Buwayhids or Buyids”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2), Vol. II, pp. 1350 - 1357; Lane-Poole, *The Muhammadan Dynasties*, London, 1894, p. 7; Umaruddin, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of al-Ghazali*, Aligarh, 1962, p. 228.

conquered in 492/1099 and Tripoli in 495/1102.<sup>7</sup> The expansion of Islamic world within decades through much of the Middle-East, thereby created the arena for the construction of a new form of Islamic civilization. The influence of Persian, Greek, Syriac, Christianity, Roman, Indian, Hellenistic and many other cultures and thought had mixed with Islamic teachings.<sup>8</sup> The flood of translations from the later cultures had been diverted and rechanneled into the stream of a literature and firmly wedded to Arabic community and Islamic ideas.<sup>9</sup> It thus, appeared with many ideological, which the most important thought in al-Ghazali's period are theology, philosophy and sufism.

## AL-GHAZALI'S LIFE AND WORKS

Discussion of al-Ghazali's life and work can be divided into several period according to his stages of learning, teaching and scepticism. It is as follows:

### 1.1. First Period: Early Education (From 450/1057 to 478/1085).

It is said that there is no dates are recorded for the earlier part of al-Ghazali's education. But as stated by his autobiographical writers, his education was began in Tus. Al-Ghazali's father on his death-bed enjoined one of his sufis friend to give his two sons a thorough and liberal education and a firm grounding in the doctrine of Islam included learning the Qur'an and traditions, listening to stories about saints and memorising mystical love poems.<sup>10</sup>

Then he was put under the tuition of Imam Ahmad al-Radhkani, a renowned

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<sup>7</sup>These events is not mentioned in any of al-Ghazali's writings. He is criticized by Zaki al-Mubarak but has an excuse by Farid Jabre who said that in fact that al-Ghazali was in Khurasan which far from battle. See, Mc Carthy, R.J., *Freedom and Fulfillment : An Annotated Translation of al-Ghazali's Munqidh min al-Dalal and Other Relevant Works of al-Ghazali*, Boston, 1980, p. x.

<sup>8</sup>Lapidus, A *History of Islamic Society*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 91 - 97, 120, 172.

<sup>9</sup>O. Leaman, *An Introduction to Medieval Islamic Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 5, in his introduction writes "From AD 750 to 1000, a large number of translation were made, some directly from the Greek and some from Syriac versions of the original".

<sup>10</sup>Smith, Margaret, *al-Ghazali : The Mystic, a Study of Life and Personality of Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Tusi al-Ghazali, Together With an Account of His Mystical Teachings and an Estimate of His Place in the History of Islamic Mysticism*, London, 1944, p. 11.

teacher of Jurisprudence<sup>11</sup> and it is also said that during this period, he was studying sufism under the guidance of famous sufis, Yusuf al-Nassaj.<sup>12</sup> Afterwards, al-Ghazali went to Jurjan to study to Abu Nasr al-Isma'ili in jurisprudence which he copied the teaching of his teacher and named it *al-Ta'liqah* and then he returned back to Tus.<sup>13</sup>

In the year 474/1081, he became a pupil of the Imam al-Juwayni, the greatest theologian of the age of the Nizamiyyah College in Naysabur.<sup>14</sup> He stayed there for about seven years and continuing his legal studies. Besides that he was introduced to theology which influenced his vision and treatment of theology as a discipline<sup>15</sup> and possibly also philosophy by al-Juwayni as was claimed by al-Subki.<sup>16</sup> Since al-Juwayni was a theologian, rather than philosopher, he must have imparted his knowledge of philosophy through the discipline of theology.<sup>17</sup> Finally he reached the point

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<sup>11</sup>It was confirmed by 'Abd al-Ghafir al-Farisi who died eighteen years after the death of al-Ghazali in his biography of al-Ghazali which was translated into English by R.J. Mc Carthy in *Freedom and Fulfillment*, in his introduction, pp. xiv - xxi; al-Subki, Taj al-Din Abu Nasr Abd al-Wahhab b. Ali, *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iyah al-Kubra*, Vol. iv, p. 103.

<sup>12</sup>Watt, *op.cit.*, p. 21; Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 14; A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, Patra, 1937, p. 882; Rahman, S.M., "al-Ghazzali", *Islamic Culture*, 1 (1927), pp. 406-407; *Idem.*, "al-Ghazzali", *Islamic Review*, 15(9), 1927, p. 328; Gardner, W.R.W., *al-Ghazali*, Madras, Allahabad, Calcutta, Rangan, Columbo, 1919, p. 8; Rifa'i, A.F., *al-Ghazali*, Cairo, 1936, Vol. i, p. 79.

<sup>13</sup>Al-Subki, *op.cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 37; Vol. iv, p. 103-104; Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>14</sup>This college was a great centre of learning which was established by Nizam al-Mulk until it was destructed by Hulagu and his Mongol hordes in 1256.

<sup>15</sup>Al-Ghazali's vision of theology marks a new turning point in the history of this discipline by accepted the total application of syllogistic arguments of the philosophers. Because of this treatment, Ibn Khaldun describes him as the religious scholar who introduced the method of the later scholastic theologians. See, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, F. Rosenthal, (tr.), Vol. iii, p. 41, n. 167 and p. 6595.

<sup>16</sup>Al-Subki, *op.cit.*, Vol. iv, p. 103. Al-Ghazali was one of the three favourite pupils of al-Juwayni as the Imam Said: "Al-Ghazali is copious sea, al-Kiya' is a tearing lion, al-Khawafi is a burning fire". *Ibid.*; Qumayr, Y., *Al-Ghazali*, Beirut, 1947, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup>Al-Shahrastani (d. 546/1153) seems to associate al-Juwayni with such a role. For a discussion of some of the philosophical content of al-Juwayni's theological works see for eg. Frank, R.M., "Bodies and Atoms: The Ash'arite Analysis" in Marmura, M.E., (ed.), *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani*, Albany, 1984, pp. 39 - 53; Fakuri, H., and al-Jarra, *Tarikh al-Falsafah al-'Arabiyyah*, Beirut, 1957, Vol. ii, p. 267; Nasr, S.H., "Fakhr al-Din al-Razi" in Sharif, M.M., (ed.), *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, Vol. i, Wiesbaden Harrassowitz, 1963 -1966, p. 643.

where he began to compose works. At this time he composed his first work, entitled *al-Mankhul Min 'Ilm al-Usul*.<sup>18</sup>

Another area of discipline which engaged al-Ghazali's mind during his stay in Naysabur was sufism. He studied from the best known sufis, Abu 'Ali al-Farmadhi whose his circle of instruction was in a garden at Naysabur. From him, al-Ghazali learned the sufi path, duties and good works, frequent devotions and an earnest striving to attain the states of higher consciousness.<sup>19</sup> It is also believed that al-Ghazali began to study the batinite in Naysabur. However, the general accepted view is that he did not begin to study this doctrine and its teachings until the reign of Caliph al-Mustazhiri bi Allah (d. 512/1118).<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, al-Ghazali used to inform that he was already aware of this doctrine before the caliphal order<sup>21</sup> and he had long sought to know their position.<sup>22</sup> Then after the death of his teacher, al-Juwayni in 478/1085, al-Ghazali went to a court (*mu'askar*) of Nizam al-Mulk.<sup>23</sup>

## 1.2. Second Period: Teaching (From 478/1085 to 488/1095).

Al-Ghazali formed part of his retinue of cannonists and theologians in *mu'askar* until 484/1091 when he was appointed to a professorship to teach in the Nizamiyyah College in Baghdad. For four years he was a popular lecturer and attracted large

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<sup>17</sup>Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, in Introduction, p. xv; Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 8; al-Zabidi, al-Sayyid Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Murtada, *Ithaf al-Sadah al-Muttaqin bi Sharh Asrar Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*, Vol. i, Cairo, 1887, p. 42; Ibn Khallikan, Abu 'Abbas Ahmad, *Wafayat al-A'yan wa Anba' al-Zaman*, (ed.), Ihsan 'Abbasi, Vol. iii, Beirut, 1968, p. 587; Hajji Khalifa, *Kashf al-Zunun 'an Asma' al-Kutub wa al-Funun*, Istanbul, 1858, no.11936, Vol. v, p. 524.

<sup>19</sup>Macdonald, (1899), p. 89; Watt, W.M., "Al-Ghazali", *Encyclopaedia of Islam (2)*, Vol. ii, p. 1038; *Idem*, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazali*, London, 1953, p. 21; Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup>This view is based on al-Ghazali's claim that he wrote the *al-Mustazhiri*, which is his first polemical work against batinites following an order from Caliph al-Mustazhir. It was named *al-Mustazhiri* because al-Ghazali dedicated it to this Caliph. See, "*The Infamies of the Batinites and the Virtues of the Mustazhirites*", Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, Appendix ii, pp. 184, 194, 202, 245.

<sup>21</sup>Al-Ghazali, *al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*, (ed.), Muhammad Mustafa Abu al-'Ula and Muhammad Muhammad Jabir, Cairo, 1973, p. 57; Mc Carthy, *op. cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", sec. 61, p. 82.

<sup>22</sup>Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Mustazhiri*", sec. 5, p. 178.

<sup>23</sup>Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

classes as well as the chief savants of his time,<sup>24</sup> and after holding the Imamate of Khurasan he became the Imam of Iraq.

Al-Ghazali laboured to recover a possible intellectual and theological position and from 483/1090 to 487/1094, he studied diligently the different schools of thought around him.<sup>25</sup> He studied the science of the roots (*'ilm al-usul*)<sup>26</sup> until he had mastered them and composed some books on that science. He also refurbished the school of jurisprudence of Shafi'ite and wrote some works on it. Therefore he molded *al-khilaf*<sup>27</sup> and then composed new works on that discipline.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, he was also mastering and criticizing the Neoplatonist philosophies of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina through his private reading.<sup>29</sup> Al-Ghazali categorised them as the theists (*al-ilahiyyah*) and put them among Socrates, who was the teacher of Plato as Plato was the teacher of Aristotle. According to him, this kind of category is based on their view that bodies do not rise again, and God takes cognizant of universals, not of specials. They also have an opinion that universe exists from all eternity and will never end.<sup>30</sup> Then finally, al-Ghazali turned seriously to sufism.

His learning of the methodological claims of the scholastic theologians, sufis, philosophers and batinites contributed to his first personal crisis which lasting for nearly two months. This crisis seems to have been epistemological crisis<sup>31</sup> because of

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<sup>24</sup>He lectured to more than three hundreds students such was the honour he received that his house hold and the members of his followers were said to exceed those of the court of the emir himself. See, Watt, "al-Ghazzali", *Encyclopaedia of Britannica*, E.B. Incorp., Vol. iix, p. 145; Watt, *El(2)*, Vol. ii, p.1039; Gibb, H.A.R., & Kramer, J.H., "al-Ghazali", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1953, p. 111.

<sup>25</sup>Macdonald, "Al-Ghazali", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup>i.e. the science of the roots or basis or sources of jurisprudence.

<sup>27</sup>i.e. the science dealing with differences in jurisprudential matters.

<sup>28</sup>Abd al-Ghafir's life of al-Ghazali in Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, p. xvi.

<sup>29</sup>He tells us that he studied thoroughly the writings of the philosophers without the help of a master during his hours of free time when he was not writing and lecturing on the religious sciences. He claimed that the best writings by Muslim philosophers were of al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. See, (Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", sec. 35, p. 72; Watt, "al-Ghazali", *EB.*, Vol. viii, p. 145).

<sup>30</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 42 - 46; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", Sec. 33, p. 72.

<sup>31</sup>Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, p. xxix. This epistemology crisis is affirmed by Mc Carthy, V. M. Poggi and G. Furlani.

a crisis of establishing the right relationship between reason and intellectual intuition<sup>32</sup> and because of his doubtfulness to sense data (*hissiyyat*) and rational data. Al-Ghazali said that he was delivered from this crisis by the result of a light (*nur*) which God cast into his breast, but not through rational arguments or rational proofs. He then once again accepted the rational data but affirmed that intellectual intuition is superior than reason<sup>33</sup> and his crisis had rescued him from pure conformism (*al-taqlid*).<sup>34</sup>

### 1.2.1. His Works.

This second period is an early period of al-Ghazali's teaching and writing which extended from an unknown date preceding the death of al-Juwayni to his departure from Baghdad.<sup>35</sup> During this period he made an in-depth study of theology, jurisprudence, philosophy and *batinite*, before he turned explicitly to *sufism*. This was also his most prolific period of writing.

Al-Ghazali's works on jurisprudence, i.e. *al-Basit*,<sup>36</sup> *al-Wasit*<sup>37</sup> and *al-Wajiz*<sup>38</sup> were composed in his earlier life. *Al-Wajiz* was written as the third after *al-Basit* and *al-Wasit*. After the works on the discipline of jurisprudence, it follows by several books on philosophy which dated to the later part of the four years in Baghdad when he turned to study the discipline by his own. Al-Ghazali completed his first work on philosophy, *Maqasid al-Falasifah* between 486/1093-4 and 487/1094.<sup>39</sup> It was writ-

<sup>32</sup>Al-Ghazali symbolized the intellectual intuition by light which God casts into the breast. See, al-Ghazali, *al-Munqidh*, p. 31; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", sec. 15, p. 66.

<sup>33</sup>Al-Ghazali, *al-Munqidh*, p. 32; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", pp. 66 - 67.

<sup>34</sup>Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, p. xxx.

<sup>35</sup>Hourani, G.F., "A Revised Chronology of Ghazali's Writings," *Journal of American Oriental Studies*, 104 (1984), p. 290.

<sup>36</sup>It was mentioned in al-Ghazali's *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*, ed. Cairo, 1326/1908-1909, Vol. i, p. 108 and in al-Ghazali's *Jawahir al-Qur'an*, Cairo, 1933, p. 22. Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 12, regarded it as a summary of al-Juwayni's *Nihayat al-Mutlab*. See, Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup>It was mentioned in the *Ihya'*, Vol. i, p. 108 and in the *Jawahir*, p. 22. Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 13, regarded it as a summary of *al-Basit*. See, Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>38</sup>It is a summary of Shafi'ite law. Bouyges has an opinion that it is much later than this period, i.e. between the *Ihya'* and the *Jawahir* but it is rejected by Hava Lazarus Yafeh in *The Studies of al-Ghazali*, Jerusalem, 1975, pp. 210, 378 - 379, 407 and also by Badawi in his *Mu'allafat*, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>39</sup>It could not be started earlier than 484/1091 - 1092. See, Hourani (1984), p. 292.

ten as a background to *Tahafut al-Falasifah*<sup>40</sup> which was completed on Muharram 11, 488/January 21, 1095.<sup>41</sup> Then he composed *Mi'yar al-'lim fi Fann al-Mantiq*<sup>42</sup> that can be assumed as an expand of the *Tahafut* as a work of both theology and philosophy. It is a work on Aristotelian logic that explains technical terms of the philosophers in the *Tahafut*.<sup>43</sup> Thus the relation of these two works is close. The book carries the same character as the *Tahafut* is *Qawa'id al-'Aqa'id*.<sup>44</sup> Al-Ghazali mentions it in the *Tahafut* that he intends to expound the doctrine in his positive views as the former is his negative polemic against the philosophers.<sup>45</sup> The other work is on philosophy and logic, composed by him after the *Mi'yar* is *Mihakk al-Nazar fi al-Mantiq*, because it mentions *Mi'yar* as still unpublished and awaiting corrections.<sup>46</sup>

During the final year of this period, al-Ghazali seems to have composed a work on *batinite*, although he considered it to be a work of theology.<sup>47</sup> The book is *al-*

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<sup>40</sup>(Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", p. 76; al-Ghazali, *Maqasid al-Falasifah*, Cairo, p. 31). Badawi suggests that it must be completed hardly later than 486/1094. See, (Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 53; Hourani (1984), p. 292).

<sup>41</sup>This date was recorded on a manuscript of the work discovered in Istanbul, quoted by Hourani (1984), p. 292. Cf. Bouyges in his Introduction to *Tahafut al-Falasifah (Incoherence des philosophes)*, Beirut, 1927, pp. ix, xiii. The *Tahafut* is a criticism against the philosophies of Ibn Sina and al-Farabi.

<sup>42</sup>It can be found in the *Tahafut* which anticipates it as an appendix. Bouyges reads it as *Mi'yar al-'Aql* in his edition of the *Tahafut*, (cf. Bouyges, *op.cit.*, pp. 17, 20, and al-Ghazali, *Tahafut al-Falasifah*, (ed.), Majid Fakhri, Beirut, 1990, p. 71, refers to it as *Madarik al-'Uqul*.

<sup>43</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Mi'yar al-'Ilm fi Fann al-Mantiq*, Cairo, 1329 A.H., pp. 22, 161, 174.

<sup>44</sup>The work is a part of the *Ihya'*, 1st volume, 2nd book and 3rd section.

<sup>45</sup>The discussion of the real identity of this promised work has not been satisfactorily resolved by scholars until now. Ibn Rushd writes that he could not get hold of the work and says that possibly it was never written by al-Ghazali. (S. Van Der Bergh, *Averroes' Tahafut al-Tahafut*, Vol. i, Cambridge, 1987, p. 69). Hourani assumes that the promised work is the *al-Iqtisad fi al-'Itiqad* rather than "the actual *Qawa'id al-'Aqa'id*, which is later and is but a part of the *Ihya'*". (Hourani (1984), p. 293). But he says that it is not necessary to amend the textual reading of *Qawa'id* as what has been done by S. Van Der Bergh in his translation of *Tahafut al-Tahafut*. (*Ibid.*, p. 293, n. 15).

<sup>46</sup>It is meant that the *Mi'yar* was written first but published later.

<sup>47</sup>*Jawahir*, p. 39.



*Mustazhiri*<sup>48</sup> which refers to Caliph of 'Abbasid, Mustazhir and to Caliph of Fatimid, Mustansir (d. Dhu al-Hijjah 17, 487/December 29, 1094). This point shows the writing of the book must at least begun before the *Tahafut* was completed, but completed after *Tahafut*.<sup>49</sup> The *Mustazhiri* is the first among five works against the batinites listed in the *Munqidh*.<sup>50</sup> It was written to attack a religio-political movement that threatened the 'Abbasid caliphate following the order of Caliph Mustazhir.

The second work in the same nature of the *Mustazhiri* which probably written in this period is *Hujjat al-Haqq* that is considered lost.<sup>51</sup> Then come *al-Iqtisad fi al-I'tiqad* that discusses about theology and philosophy which cannot be earlier than 488/1095.<sup>52</sup> And immediately after the both, *al-Mustazhiri* and *Hujjat al-Haqq* is *Qawasim al-Batiniyyah*. Although it discusses the matter of the batinite, it is not listed by the *Munqidh* among the books against them.<sup>53</sup> However the book of *Jawab Mufassil al-Khilaḥ*<sup>54</sup> is described as the third books concerning batinite,<sup>55</sup> but its temporal position cannot be determined precisely and it is suggested to be placed between *Hujjat al-Haqq* and *Jawahir*.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>48</sup>It is also known as *Fada'ih al-Batiniyyah wa Fada'il al-Mustazhariyyah*. Al-Ghazali wrote in the *Mustazhiri*, (see, Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, sec. 15, p. 181), about the essence of this book as "the establishment of the legal apodeitic demonstrations of the validity of the holy, prophetic, mustazhirite position on the basis of rational and juristic proofs". It also seems the *Mustazhiri* is a juridical-political work as it "deal with the question to religio-political states of the batinites before the Shari'ah. See chapters 8 and 9 of the *Mustazhiri*. And it also contributes to Sunnite political theory.

<sup>49</sup>Hourani (1984), p. 293; Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 31, n. 4 .

<sup>50</sup>Al-Ghazali, *al-Munqidh*, p. 65; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", sec. 76, p. 88.

<sup>51</sup>It is mentioned in the *Jawahir*, p. 21; and the *Munqidh*, p. 65; see also Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", sec. 76, p. 88.

<sup>52</sup>Because it mentions the *Tahafut*, pp. 49, 96. See also 'Abd-r-Raman Abu Zayd, *Al-Ghazali on Divine Predicates and Their Properties*, Lahore, 1974, pp. 34, 35. Hourani assumed the best time it was completed as "the first half of 488/1095, before his nervous crisis become acute in Rajab/July.... It is possible, then, that it was completed during the second half of 488/1095". (Hourani (1984), p. 294).

<sup>53</sup>But these three books: *al-Mustazhiri*, *Hujjat al-Haqq* and *Qawasim* are listed together in the *Jawahir* as the books concerning batinites. See, al-Ghazali, *Jawahir*, p. 21.

<sup>54</sup>This work is lost.

<sup>55</sup>Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", Sec. 76, p. 88; al-Ghazali, *al-Qistas al-Mustaqim*, (ed.), Victor Shalhat, Beirut, 1959, p. 66; *Idem*, *Jawahir*, p. 21.

<sup>56</sup>See, Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 56, regarding the discussion of its position in chronological order.

Furthermore, *Mizan al-'Amal* that dealt with ethics<sup>57</sup> and related to *Mi'yar* as the former discusses about practice and the latter mentions about knowledge<sup>58</sup> seems to be completed in al-Ghazali last year in Baghdad in 488/1095.<sup>59</sup> It shows that when he has composed the writing in metaphysics and theology, he then turning to ethics as he says in *al-Munqidh*:

When I had finished with these sciences [theology, philosophy and batinite], I turned my attention to the way of the sufis, and I learned that their way is completed on by both knowledge and practice.<sup>60</sup>

### 1.3. Third Period: Retirement And Sceptism (From 488/1095 To 499/1106).

Al-Ghazali in his autobiography claims that in the month of Rajab 488/July 1095 he experienced a second personal crisis because of his study of sufism. He claims to have mastered the doctrines and teaching of sufism through the writings of sufis such as al-Muhasibi (d. 243/837), al-Bistami (d. 261/875), al-Junayd (d. 298/854) and al-Shibli (d. 334/945) as well as oral teachings.<sup>61</sup>

This second crisis was far more serious than the first because under it he collapsed physically and mentally, then in Dhu al-Qa'da 488/November 1095, he abandoned his career and left Baghdad on the pretext of going on pilgrimage to Makkah.<sup>62</sup> However in reality, he was abandoning his professorship and his whole career as a jurist and theologian. The motive for this renunciation have been much discussed from his contemporary period until the present day. He himself writes in

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<sup>57</sup>Sherif, M.A., *Ghazali's Theory of Virtues*, New York, 1975, p. 170.

<sup>58</sup>Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>59</sup>This date is confirmed by Bouyges, *op.cit.*, pp. 28 - 30; Badawi, *op.cit.*, pp. 79 - 81; Sherif, *op.cit.*, p. 171; Yafeh, *op.cit.*, pp. 211, 159, 300; Abul Quasem, M., *The Ethics of al-Ghazali*, New York, 1978, p. 37, n. 25; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der Islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden, 1920, 1952, p. 205 as quoted by Hourani (1984), p. 294.

<sup>60</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 18; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", Sec. 80, p. 89.

<sup>61</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 68; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", sec. 81, p. 90. However, he did not identify these oral sources, but it seems that one of them was his own brother, Ahmad who was one of the outstanding sufis in that period.

<sup>62</sup>He did not travel alone, he was accompanied by Abu Tahir Ibrahim b. al-Mutahhar al-Shaybani. Like al-Ghazali, Abu Tahir was a pupil of al-Juwayni. Firstly, he followed al-Ghazali to Iraq and then went with him to Syria and Hijaz. See the commentary of al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* by al-Murtada, *Ithaf al-Sadah*, Vol. i, p. 44. Al-Murtada lists Abu Tahir among the pupil of al-Ghazali.

*al-Munqidh* that he was continuously tossed about between the attractions of worldly desire and the impulses towards eternal life.<sup>63</sup>

Herein he states that through his study of sufism, he had come to realize that knowledge of the way to God was not the same as experience of that way. Sufism consisted not in words, but actual experience, and the attainment of the world to come depend on his detachment from this present world and the directing of his whole life to God.<sup>64</sup> But it is said besides the above reasons, possibly that bad relations with the new Seljuqs ruler, Barkiyaruq, who was recognized in Baghdad in 488/February 1095 was a factor in his decision.<sup>65</sup> But McCarthy argues that al-Ghazali's own account of his motive should be accepted, that is of his conversion to sufism.<sup>66</sup>

Al-Ghazali did not go on pilgrimage immediately after his departure from Baghdad, but entered Damascus and remained there for nearly two years with no other occupation than the cultivation of retirement and solitude, together with religious and ascetic exercises. He busied himself purifying his soul, improving his character and cleansing his heart for the constant recollection of God, as he had learnt from his study of sufism. He used to go into retreat for a period in the mosque of Damascus, going up the minaret of the mosque for the whole day and shutting himself in so as to be alone.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>See al-Ghazali's explanation in his *Munqidh*, pp. 71 - 73; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", sec. 84 - 85, p. 91; Watt, W.M., *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazali*, London, 1953, pp. 57 - 60; French translation by Farid Jabre, *al-Munqidh Min al Dalal (Cerveur et Delivrance)*, Beirut, 1959, pp. 98 - 100.

<sup>64</sup>(Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 23). Al-Ghazali says, "Previously however, I had been disseminating the knowledge by which worldly success is attained by word and deed I had called men to it; and that had been my aim and intention. But now I am calling men to the knowledge whereby worldly success is given up and its low position in the scale of real worth is recognized". (Watt, *op.cit.*, p. 76).

<sup>65</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 74; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", sec. 89 - 90, pp. 92 - 93, where al-Ghazali describes the various explanations offered by his contemporaries concerning his abandonment of his career. In term of modern scholarship, see, Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, pp. xxix - xlii.

<sup>66</sup>Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, sec. 49, p. xxix.

<sup>67</sup>(Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 74 - 75). Various traditional sources have linked al-Ghazali choice of Damascus with the presence in that city of a sufi master by the name Abu al-Fath Nasr b. Ibrahim Maqdisi al-Nabulusi (d. 490/1097) who was the leading '*ulama*' of the Shafi'ite school in Syria. (al-Tibawi, A.L., *Arabic and Islamic Themes*, London, 1970, pp. 203 - 208), where he refers to the varoius traditional sources in which al-Ghazali was linked to sufi figure.

After his remain in Damascus, in 489/1096, he visited Jerusalem<sup>68</sup> and Hebron<sup>69</sup> for a very short period. Then only in 489/November and December 1096, he went to Medina and Mecca to take part in the pilgrimage. Soon after the pilgrimage, he returned to Iraq for he was seen in Baghdad in Jumada 11, 490/June 1097.<sup>70</sup> It is said that after pilgrimage, al-Ghazali went back for a short time to Damascus and according to Watt, this interpretation which has been taken from his *al-Munqidh*<sup>71</sup> must be taken loosely because he only been one time in Syria after his departure from Baghdad.<sup>72</sup> After a stay in Baghdad lasting a few months or perhaps more than a year, he returned to his native town of Tus<sup>73</sup> where he lived for the life of an ascetic and sufis, often in solitude and spending his time in meditation (*muraqabah*). He may lectured on the *Ihya*'s contents to select audiences and now he was a teacher "who spoke with the tongue of those who have attained the truth".<sup>74</sup> His disciples shared his practices and received instruction from him. He sought to call men to repentance, urging them to turn their backs on the world and to prepare for the journey to the world to come. He enjoined his disciples to "seek guidance from those possessed of the *ma'rifah* and divine enlightenment".<sup>75</sup>

### 1.3.1. His Works.

Al-Ghazali's eleven years period of retirement and spiritual retreat had given him an ample time to complete many works in various discipline especially on sufism and ethics after he composed many works in jurisprudence, theology, philoso-

<sup>68</sup>Which he used to enter into the precinct of the Rock everyday and shut himself in it. This seems to refer either to the cave under the Rock or the shrine over it, the mosque of the Dome of the Rock. (Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", p. 93; Le Strange, G., *Palestine Under the Moslems*, London, 1990, p. 144; al-Tibawi, A.L., (ed.), "al-Ghazali's Sojourn in Damascus and Jerusalem", *Islamic Quarterly*, 4 - 9 (3 - 4), 1965, p. 65.

<sup>69</sup>Where he visited Ibrahim's tomb. Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "al-Munqidh", p. 93.

<sup>70</sup>His returning to Baghdad cannot be later than this date because Abu Bakr b. al-'Arabi claimed in his *al-Qawasim wa al-'Awasim* that in that month he met al-Ghazali in Baghdad and heard him expound the *Ihya*'. (Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 546).

<sup>71</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 130.

<sup>72</sup>Watt, *EI(2)*, Vol. ii, p. 1039; *Idem*, *Muslim Intellectual*, pp. 145 - 146.

<sup>73</sup>Possibly about 492/1099. According to Ibn Athir, al-Ghazali left Baghdad before the fall of Jerusalem in 492/1099. (Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 4, n. 1).

<sup>74</sup>Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

<sup>75</sup>Politella, J., "al-Ghazali and Meister Eckhart Two Giants of the Spirit" *Muslim World*, 54, 1964, p. 183.

phy and logic. When al-Ghazali involved himself in sufism, practically, he wrote many books regarding this group. One of his great books about sufis doctrines and their practices is *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din* which was written in several volumes. The period of his stayed in Syria, including the time he spent on the pilgrimage, is less than two years.<sup>76</sup> During this period he composed certain parts of his greatest work, *Ihya' 'Ulum al-Din*.<sup>77</sup> Abu Bakr Ibn al-'Arabi says that he heard al-Ghazali expound the *Ihya'* in Baghdad.<sup>78</sup> However, modern scholars are not yet determined precisely when and where al-Ghazali completed the four volume *Ihya'*.<sup>79</sup>

Then perhaps al-Ghazali composed several books which cannot be related to any other book except to *Ihya'* and seems that they are preceding them.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, all these books cannot be determined when or where they were composed. They are *Ayyuha al-Walad*,<sup>81</sup> *al-Risalah al-Wa'iziyyah*,<sup>82</sup> *al-Hikmat fi Makhluqat Allah*<sup>83</sup> and *al-Imla' fi Ishkalat al-Ihya'*.<sup>84</sup> Finally al-Ghazali was able to combine an acceptance of the transcendence of God with the authority of the Prophet and the historical tradition of the community, with the personal experience and authority of the sufis master. His achievement was to intergrate sufism and the Islamic law in a way which

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<sup>76</sup>Al-Tibawi (1970), *op.cit.*, p. 200; Hourani (1984), p. 229; Watt, *Muslim Intellectual*, pp. 145 - 146.

<sup>77</sup>Hourani (1984), p. 296, as he writes "Since *al-Risalah al-Qudsiyyah* was inserted into Book 2 of the *Ihya'*, it is most probable that the whole of the *Ihya'* was composed after the *Risalah*, or at the outside that Book 1 alone was prior. This would place the beginning of the *Ihya'* not before 490/1097, when al-Ghazali was in Jerusalem, according to his own chronology; or not before 489/1096, according to al-Subki". See also, al-Tibawi (1970), *op.cit.*, pp. 206 - 207.

<sup>78</sup>In his *al-Qawasim al-'Awasim* in Badawi's *Mu'allafat*, *op.cit.*, p. 546.

<sup>79</sup>The *Ihya'* could hardly have been completed later than the end of 498/August - September 1105. Cf. Hourani (1984), p. 296. n. 21.

<sup>80</sup>Hourani (1984), p. 297.

<sup>81</sup>It is originally Persian, also known as *Nasihah al-Tilmidh* and *al-Risalah al-Waladiyyah*. It mentions the *Ihya'* on pp. 29, 59 and also in al-Ghazali, *Lettre Au Disciple*, Beirut, 1959 and pp. 158, 168 in al-Ghazali, "Ayyuha al-Walad", *Majmu'at Rasa'il al-Imam al-Ghazali*, Vol. iv, Lubnan, 1406/1986. Cf. Badawi, *op.cit.*, pp. 179 - 180.

<sup>82</sup>It also called as *Risalah al-Wa'z Wa al-I'tiqad*. See, Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>83</sup>Al-Subki mentions it as '*Aja'ib Sun' Allah* in no. 52. See, Badawi, *op.cit.*, pp. 258 - 259.

<sup>84</sup>It is printed at the end of the *Ihya'* in the Iraq edition, p. xvi. It also called as *al-Imla' fi Mushkilat al-Ihya'*, *al-Imla' 'An Ishkilat al-Ihya'* and *al-Imla' 'Ala Kashf al-Ihya'*. See Badawi, *op.cit.*, p. 188 .

has become definition in Islamic civilization.<sup>85</sup> He reconciled the two aspects for the Muslim society to practise it.

It is certainly known that between the completion of the *Ihya*<sup>86</sup> and al-Ghazali's return to lecturing at Naysabur, he wrote at least five works. His books, *al-Maqsad al-Asna fi Sharh Ma'ani Asma' Allah al-Husna*,<sup>87</sup> *Bidayat al-Hidayah*<sup>88</sup> and *al-Madnun Bih 'Ala Ghayr Ahlih*<sup>89</sup> were among of those five books. The other two books are *Jawahir al-Qur'an* and *al-Arba'in fi Usul al-Din* which came after *Jawahir* as its sequel as has been claimed by al-Ghazali himself.<sup>90</sup> And the fifth book is *Kimiya' al-Sa'adah* which is a Persian version of the *Ihya* and seems to has been written in the first period of al-Ghazali's retirement in Tus.<sup>91</sup>

The *Munqidh*<sup>92</sup> lists *al-Durj al-Marqum bi Jadawil* as the fourth work of the anti-batinites. The book seems to have been composed after *Jawahir*<sup>93</sup> and *al-Arba'in* but before *Qistas al-Mustaqim* which is listed as the fifth book in order.<sup>94</sup> The *Qistas*

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*; Lings, M., *What is Sufism?*, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 110 - 111.

<sup>86</sup>See note no.78.

<sup>87</sup>It is mentioned in several later works by al-Ghazali, i.e. the *Ihya*, Book 36, p. 127; the *al-Arba'in fi Usul al-Din*, Cairo, 1344 A.H., pp. 13, 25; the *Mishkat al-Anwar (The Niche for Light)*, (tr.), Gairdner, W.H.T., Lahore, 1954, p. 122. The *Maqsad* mentions about the *Ihya* in pp. 102, 113, 148; see also *Al-Ghazali the Ninety-Nine Beautiful Names of God*, David B. Burrell and Nazih Daher (tr.), Cambridge, 1992 and pp. 98, 109, 143; and see also al-Ghazali, *al-Maqsad al-Asna fi Sharh Asma' Allah al-Husna*, Misr, n.d.

<sup>88</sup>It is mentioned in *Arba'in*, p. 29 and mentions the *Ihya* in several places.

<sup>89</sup>Authenticity of this book is questioned by scholars. However al-Ghazali's writing in the *Arba'in*, p. 25, "some of our books that are restricted for those who are not qualified on them, (*ba'd kutubina al-madnun biha 'ala ghayr ahliha*)" has been questioned whether it mentioned about a title of al-Ghazali's book or not. See (Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 52; Hourani (1984), p. 298), for the discussion of its authenticity.

<sup>90</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Jawahir*, p. 6.

<sup>91</sup>Its preface refers to the *Jawahir*. Thus it must have been later than the *Jawahir* and the *Arba'in*. See, Hourani (1984), p. 299.

<sup>92</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 66; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", p. 88.

<sup>93</sup>Because the *Jawahir* only lists three books concerning the batinites without mentions *al-Durj*. See, al-Ghazali, *Jawahir*, p. 21; Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 56; Hourani (1984), p. 300.

<sup>94</sup>Al-Ghazali, *Munqidh*, p. 66; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*al-Munqidh*", p. 88.

cannot be later than *Faysal al-Tafriqat Bayn al-Islam wa al-Zandaqah*.<sup>95</sup> *Mishkat al-Anwar* is another book that also cannot be determined its time of composition, but can be placed after *Jawahir* and *al-Arba'in*.<sup>96</sup>

#### 1.4. Fourth Period: Final Year Of His Life (From 499/1106 To 505/1111).

When Fakhr al-Mulk, the son of al-Ghazali's old patron, Nizam al-Mulk became vizier at Naysabur and established his court at Khurasan as the governor, he persuaded al-Ghazali to move to Naysabur and to be appointed lecturer at the Nizamiyyah College at there. Al-Ghazali himself said that the impulse was not from himself, but it came from God through Fakhr al-Mulk to regenerated himself and then to give regeneration to other people through him. Al-Ghazali hoped that God will guide him to the truth and enabled him to guide others to it.<sup>97</sup> But al-Ghazali did not stay long in public life. It is only after at least three years, around 503-504/1110, he returned to his home town in Tus.<sup>98</sup>

At there, al-Ghazali lived in retirement with some personal disciples,<sup>99</sup> having charge of a college and a *khanqah* which he had established, probably before he went to Naysabur. He trained young disciples in the theory and practice of the sufi life.<sup>100</sup> At the same time al-Ghazali applied himself to a deepening of the science of traditions.<sup>101</sup> He passed to God on Monday, the fourteenth of Jumada 11, 505/De-

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<sup>95</sup>Because the *Qistas* is mentioned in the "*Faysal al-Tafriqah Bayn al-Islam*", in *Majmu'ah Rasa'il al-Imam al-Ghazali*, pp. 130, 139; Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, "*Faysal*", sec. 47, p. 158, sec. 75, p. 166. Cf. Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 55; Hourani (1984), p. 300.

<sup>96</sup>See the discussion of its position and time of composition in Gairdner, W.H.T., "*Al-Ghazali's Mishkat al-Anwar and The Ghazali - Problem*", *Der Islam*, 5 (1914), p. 121; Watt (1952), p. 44; Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 65; Hourani (1984), p. 299.

<sup>97</sup>(Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 31). It is also said that his return to that position because the following of the death of Barkiyaruq in 498/1105. Cf., McDonald, D.B., "al-Ghazali", *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 146.

<sup>98</sup>(Watt, *op.cit.*, pp. 147 - 148; Bouyges, *op.cit.*, p. 6). Al-Ghazali did not mention about the reason of his returning to Tus. Perhaps because of his yearning to quiet life and contemplation drew him or may be because of ill health or for some other reasons which we do not know.

<sup>99</sup>Some of the well-known disciples of al-Ghazali are mentioned by Bouyges, *op.cit.*, pp. 4 - 5.

<sup>100</sup>Watt, *EI(2)*, Vol. ii, p. 1039.

<sup>101</sup>Al-Farisi mentions that al-Ghazali during this period frequented the company of those devoted to this science of tradition. He studied the two *Sahih* of al-Bukhari and Muslim. (Mc Carthy, *op.cit.*, sec. 25, p. xix).

ember eighteenth, 1111 at the age of fifty three and was buried in the outskirts of Tabaran in a grave near the poet Firdawsi.<sup>102</sup>

#### 1.4.1. His Works.

During his final years, al-Ghazali also spent his time by writing several works as much as teaching. *Nasihah al-Muluk* which was originally written in Persian, is questioned about a addressed of this book. According to the introductory of the Arabic translation, it mentions that the book is addressed to "Muhammad b. Malikshah, *Sultan* of the East and the West".<sup>103</sup> But some scholars argued that the book is addressed to Sanjar, the brother of Muhammad who was entitled *Sultan*,<sup>104</sup> and the Persian work mentions only "the *sultan* of the East". However it is probably have been written in Tus, either immediately before 499/1106 or soon after 503/1109.<sup>105</sup>

Having himself teaching at the Nizamiyyah College in Naysabur for a second time, al-Ghazali wrote his famous and valuable autobiography, *al-Munqidh Min al-Dalal* which is placed around late 499/1106 and 503/1109.<sup>106</sup> Then another work on legal theory which is considered as his last work by most of the scholars entitled *al-Mustasfa Min 'ilm al-Usul* was completed in Muharram 6, 503/August 5, 1109.<sup>107</sup>

## CONCLUSION

From the above analysis, it can be deduced that the chronology of al-Ghazali's life reflects the chronology of his writings. He firstly began with his writings on jurisprudence, philosophy, batinities, theology and then he entered the field of sufism. Finally he involved himself with the teaching of Traditions. Beside his mysterious life, he also becomes a prolific writer who produces many works for the development of knowledge in the Islamic world.

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<sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, p. xx; Smith, *op.cit.*, pp. 35 - 36.

<sup>103</sup>Bagley, F.R.C., *Ghazali's Book of Counsel For Kings*, London, 1964, pp. xvi - xxvi.

<sup>104</sup>(Lambton, "Studies in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship", *Studia Islamica*, 17(1962), pp. 91 - 119). Sanjar was the king of Khurasan where the last days of al-Ghazali's life were spent.

<sup>105</sup>Hourani (1984), p. 301.

<sup>106</sup>Bouyges, *op.cit.*, pp. 70 - 71; Poggi, V.J., *Un Classico della Spiritualite Musulmana*, Rome, 1967, pp. 3 - 15, as quoted by Hourani (1984), p. 301.

<sup>107</sup>Bouyges, *op.cit.*, pp. 73-74; Ibn Khallikan, *op.cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 622.