

**AL-GHAZALI'S WORKS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ISLAM
IN INDONESIA**

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

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Montreal

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ABSTRACT

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Title Al-Ghazālī's Works and Their Influence on Islam
 in Indonesia
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Degree Sought Master of Arts

This thesis deals with al-Ghazālī's works and their influence on Indonesian Islam, an influence which, to a considerable extent, has marked the nature of the religious life practiced by the majority of Indonesian Muslims from the very beginning of its history until today. Their influence can be seen in the fact that Indonesian Islam appears to be a harmonious reconciliation between both the esoteric life represented by Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) and the exoteric life which manifests itself in ritual obligation (*shari'a*). This characteristic owes much to the availability of most of al-Ghazālī's works in the languages which Indonesian Muslims understand well. Many of these works have in fact been published repeatedly since they have long been considered by most Indonesian Muslims to be significant sources from which they might improve their understanding of Islam. Having investigated most of al-Ghazālī's works which have been known in Indonesia, it would appear that his mystical works have been more popular than any other aspect of his teachings. Finally, this study comes to the conclusion that al-Ghazālī's works have played an important role in the development of Indonesian Sunni Islam which has its roots in many of his teachings.

RÉSUMÉ

Auteur: Nurman Said
Titre: L'oeuvre d'al-Ghazālī et son influence sur l'Islam en Indonésie
Département: Institut des études islamiques
Diplôme: Maîtrise es Arts

Ce mémoire a pour sujet les oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī et l'influence qu'elles ont eue sur l'Islam indonésien, et qui, dans une large mesure, s'est exercée sur la nature de la vie religieuse telle que pratiquée par la majorité des musulmans indonésiens depuis les débuts de son histoire jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Leur influence peut être perçue dans le fait que l'Islam indonésien semble opérer une réconciliation harmonieuse entre la vie ésotérique représentée par le soufisme (*tasawwuf*) et la vie exotérique manifestée par l'obligation rituelle (*shari'ah*). Cette caractéristique est en grande partie due à un accès facile à la plupart des oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī dans les langues que les musulmans indonésiens comprennent bien. En fait, plusieurs de ces oeuvres ont été publiées à plusieurs reprises puisqu'elles ont été considérées depuis longtemps par la majorité des musulmans indonésiens comme une source importante leur permettant d'améliorer leur compréhension de l'Islam. Après avoir examiné la plupart des oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī publiées en Indonésie, il apparaît que ses oeuvres mystiques ont connu plus de succès que tout autre aspect de son enseignement. Finalement, cette étude en arrive à la conclusion que les oeuvres d'al-Ghazālī ont joué un rôle important dans le développement de l'Islam sunnite indonésien qui a comme origine plusieurs de ses enseignements.

PREFACE

The object of this thesis is to discuss the significance of al-Ghazali's works for the development of Islamic thought in Indonesia. In treating this subject, I intend to focus my research on those of his works which have been translated into Jawi, Javanese and Indonesian in order to show the dominant factors which have made him the most influential Muslim thinker for Indonesian Muslims, one who has given a special character to the religious life of the majority of Indonesians.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that there has not been any such work to date on this particular subject. This study should therefore be regarded as a preliminary attempt at throwing light on this subject, as the scarcity of sources and the inadequacy of bibliographical control has meant inevitable omissions. Most of the bibliographical information available in it derives from several bibliographical works owned by the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University. In addition, other information was acquired from books which I examined in the Olin Library at Cornell University, in its Wason and John M. Echols Collection. I thank Mr. John Badgley, the curator of Southeast Asian Collection, and his staff for their valuable help.

This thesis would not have been possible without the valuable assistance of my academic and thesis advisor, Dr. Eric L. Ormsby. To him I am eternally indebted for taking the time to help me improve and eventually complete this thesis. I wish to express my very sincere and deep gratitude for his kindness and guidance in supervising its writing.

Many thanks and great appreciation must go to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the McGill-Indonesia IAIN Development Project for awarding a scholarship enabling me to pursue the M A program at the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University during the year 1990-1992. Many thanks must also go to the Director and the Secretary of the Institute whose helpfulness enabled me to finish my program.

I would also like to thank a number of people of whose help has made this thesis possible. The staff of the Library of the Institute, especially Ms. Salwa Forahian, Mr. Stephen Millier, and Mr. Gazaly Malek, gave me much help in locating and even making material available. I am very much indebted to Mr. Stephen Millier and Mr. Floyd Mackay for having read this thesis and for editing its English.

I must address a special vote of thanks to my wife, Tiah Rauf, who had done her best to support me during the difficult time spent working on my research. This thesis is dedicated to her. My deepest thanks are also due to many individuals, whose names are too numerous to list here, but who have provided me with much assistance and encouragement.

Finally, despite the invaluable help given by all the above, any possible errors and or omissions in this study as well as any of its shortcomings and inadequacies belong to me alone.

Montreal, August 1992

Nurman Said

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.	Abdul
b.	ibn
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
Bouyges	Maurice Bouyges, <i>Essai de chronologie des œuvres de al Ghazali</i> , ed. Michel Allard (Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1959)
d.	died
d.a	died about
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i> (Leiden: J. Brill, 1937), 5 vols
H	Hajjī
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri
INIS	<i>Indonesians-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSAH	<i>Journal Southeast Asian History</i>
K.	Kiyai
LPMI	Lembaga Penerjemah & Penulis Muslimin Indonesia
LP3ES	Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan & Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial
M.	Muhammad
N.U.	Nahdlatul Ulama
P3M	Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat
Tgk.	Tengku

TRANSLITERATION

In this study, Arabic names and words are transliterated into the Roman alphabet according to the equivalents given below in the English table. Indonesian or Javanese names and words originally written in Arabic script are transliterated according to the respective tables for those languages, likewise below.

Arabic	English	Indonesian	Javanese
ث	th	ts	ts
ح	h	h	h
خ	kh	ch/kh	ch
ذ	dh	dz	d
ش	sh	sy	sj
ص	ṣ	sh	s
ض	ḍ	dl	l
ط	t	th	th
ظ	ẓ	dh	d
ع	‘	‘	ng
غ	gh	gh	g
هـ	h	h	h
و	u	u	oe

In the case of the *tā' marbūṭa* (ة) this is omitted unless it occurs within an *idāfa* in which case it is written "t".

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INTRODUCTION

The Background of Indonesian Islam: An Overview

There has been much scholarly discussion to date concerning the questions when, from where and how Islam came to Indonesia. Opinions as to the answers to these questions vary widely. The differences may possibly be caused by the complexity of the historical sources involved in any attempt to resolve these issues. The difficulty of approaching the historical background of today's Indonesia has been realized by some historians such as J. G. van Leur, who writes: "Whoever approaches the history of Indonesia enters into an unknown world."¹ Van Leur might have exaggerated the obscurity surrounding the history of Indonesia; however, one may agree with him to the extent that the proliferation of legends touching on the early history of Indonesia has created great difficulty for those who wish to conduct any study on the history of Indonesia, including the spread of Islam in this country.

N. A. Baloch regards the process of Islamization in Indonesia as comprising two main stages. The first stage constituted the early contacts and initial introduction and acceptance of Islam, mainly in the coastal towns. This stage covers a period of five centuries from the 7th to the 12th century.

¹ J. G. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1967), 147.

A.D. The second stage, which is assumed to have been one of more extensive propagation and universal acceptance, took place during the 13th century A.D.² Some of the most valuable information pertaining to the time of the coming of Islam to Indonesia is provided by Marco Polo's account. He landed at Samara (Sama-langa), a place situated between Pedir and Pase on the northern coast of Sumatra, and stayed there for about five months waiting for the slackening of the southwest monsoon which had interrupted his voyage from China to the Persian Gulf. He says that in 1292 A.D. there were eight independent local kingdoms, one of which was Perlak whose natives had been converted to Islam by "Saracen" merchants who had come there to trade.³

Another interesting report dealing with this matter is given by Ibn Battuta (1304-1377 A.D.), an Arab traveller who visited Samudra (Sumatra) in 1345 A.D. He describes the Muslim community there and particularly the sultan, Malik al-Zahīr, whom he describes as a most illustrious and open-handed ruler. He was impressed by the zeal of the ruler towards Islam, manifested in his love of discussing Islamic doctrines, in his humility at mosque services, as well as in his constant raids on the infidel peoples outside his territory.⁴

Further evidence conveying the date of the emergence of Islam in Indonesia, is provided by an inscription on the mausoleum of a Muslim

² N. A. Baloch, *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 1980), 2.

³ W. Marsden and T. Wright, trans., *The Travels of Marco Polo The Venetian* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1908; reprint 1926), 338.

⁴ Ibn Battūta, *Travels in Asia and Africa*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Routledge, 1963), 274.

woman found at Leran, a small town near Surabaya in eastern Java. The name of the woman as engraved on the gravestone is Fāṭima, daughter of Maimun, son of Hibāt Allāh. She died, as the stone attests, in 1082 A.D.⁵ The gravestone likewise indicates that her grandfather was also a Muslim. If the information given by the gravestone has been read correctly, it is quite possible that Islam reached Java, the most populated island of the Indonesian archipelago, at least two generations earlier than the lifetime of Fatima.

Despite this historical record, however, greater scholarly attention has been given to the tombstone of the first Muslim king of Malaka, Malik al-Salih, the grandfather of Malik al-Zahīr. His gravestone indicates that the year of his death was either 1297 or 1307.⁶ The owner of the tomb has been considered the founder of the Muslim kingdom of Malaka. Given the political significance of the deceased, his tombstone has provided researchers with a much more tangible proof of Islam's official arrival in Indonesia. Nevertheless, it should be noticed that this is not the only source of information about the first appearance of Islam in this country.

Some scholars have attempted to prove that Islam reached Indonesia much earlier than the time indicated by both of these gravestones. S. M. N. al-Attās says that the earliest known record of probable Muslim settlement in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago is a Chinese report of the existence in 674 A.D. of an Arab settlement in East Sumatra (Palembang) headed by an Arab

⁵ S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 38-39.

⁶ See *Ibid.*, 28-33.

chief.⁷ On the basis of this report, a seminar on the coming of Islam to Indonesia held in Medan (North Sumatra) in 1963, confirmed that Islam had reached Indonesia in the 7th century A.D. This conclusion was reconfirmed by another seminar held in Banda Aceh (Aceh) which discussed the same issue.⁸ The seminars tended to consider the coming of Muslim traders as being identical with the coming of Islam on the ground that every Muslim holds moral responsibility to preach Islam whenever and wherever he may be.

Thomas W. Arnold, a 19th-century writer, regarded it as impossible to pinpoint the exact date of the earliest introduction of Islam to the Indonesian archipelago; indeed, it is even possible, he thought, to assume that this religion might have been brought by Arab traders sometime during the earliest century of the *Hijra*. Referring to this possibility, he speculates that at the beginning of the 7th century of the Christian era, Arab traders conducted trade activity with China. These Arab traders, who in the course of the century would have included many Muslims, might very possibly have made frequent contacts with Indonesians, and particularly with the people who lived in the coastal areas of Sumatra.⁹

Chinese sources report a large-scale Muslim emigration to Indonesia from China in 878 A.D. following the trouble that broke out there forcing the

⁷ H. A. R. Gibb et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954-), s.v. "Indonesia-iv. History. (a) Islamic Period," by S. M. N. al-Attās, 1218.

⁸ See A. Hasymy, ed., *Sejarah Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Indonesia* (Bandung: Alma'arif, 1989), 7.

⁹ See Thomas W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, 2nd edition (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1913), 363.

Muslim traders at Canton and at Tsuan-chou to seek refuge at Kalah (Kedah), on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, as well as at Palembang.¹⁰ Palembang served as an important centre for the Arab traders who used it as a stopping-place where they sold their goods to merchants who then forwarded them to China.¹¹ This facts render more plausible the claim that Indonesians began to make frequent contacts with Muslim traders during the first century of the Islamic era (7th or 8th centuries AD). Afterwards, Islam started to spread among Indonesians, particularly among the people who lived in the coastal cities.

The starting point of the new era of Islam in Indonesia was in the 9th century AD when the Kingdom of Perlak adopted Islam as its official religion. The conversion of the people of several coastal towns in North Sumatra, following the example of the Kingdom of Perlak, several coastal towns such as Fansur, Lamuri, Haru, Samudra and Malaka in the Malay peninsula, strengthened the position of Islam in this part of the Indonesian archipelago.

It is difficult to describe the historical process by which Islam was spread among Indonesians in this early period. Most information regarding this subject tends to be unrealistic, and even mythical. The spread of Islam in Sumatra, for example, is presented as a miraculous event. One may find this approach in the *Sejarah Melayu (The Malay Annals)*, an important Malay

¹⁰ Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, eds. and trans., *Chau Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries* (New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966), 18.

¹¹ G. R. Tibbets, "Early Muslim Traders in Southeast Asia," *JMBRAS* 30 (1957), 3.

historical work originally written in the Malay language using Arabic script by an anonymous author who wrote the book sometime during the early 16th century,¹² as well as in the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* (*Chronicle of the Kings of Pasai*), another important Malay work written in classical Malay, likewise of anonymous authorship. This historical document however seems to have been written much earlier than the *Sejarah Melayu*. According to A. H. Hill, most of this work must have been composed not later than 1390.¹³ These two traditional accounts have been frequently referred to by Malay authors when dealing with the coming of Islam to Indonesia.

To take the *Sejarah Melayu*¹⁴ as an example, one discovers that it explains how the Kingdom of Malaka accepted Islam. The author of the book says that while a certain king of Malaka by the name of Raja Kecil Besar was sleeping, he had a dream and was asked by the Prophet to recite the *shahāda* (*Muslim formula*), "I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His Apostle." The Prophet then gave him the Islamic name Muḥammad and told him that there would be a man from Jeddah on board

¹² See W. Linehan, "Notes on the texts of the Malay Annals," *JMBRAS*, 20 (1947): 107-116.

¹³ A. H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," *JMBRAS*, 33 (1961): 40.

¹⁴ The text of the *Sejarah Melayu* has already been printed several times, both in Malay (Jawi) and in foreign languages such as English and French. The Jawi edition was edited and romanized by W. G. Shellabear whose work was published in Singapore by The Malaya Publishing House Limited in 1896. The earliest known English translation of the *Sejarah Melayu* was done by John Leyden whose work used by Shellabear to complete his work. See W. G. Shellabear, ed., *Sejarah Melayu* (Singapore: Malaya Publishing House Limited, 1896; reprint, 1960), 61. The first French translation of the *Sejarah Melayu* was done by M. I. Marcel Devic whose work published in Paris in 1878. See W. Linehan, "The Sources of the Shellabear text of the Malay Annals," *JMBRAS*, 20 (1947): 105.

a ship arriving at Malaka the next afternoon. When he awoke, he was surprised to find that he had been circumcised. The conversion of the king was followed by the conversion all the chiefs and citizens of Malaka.¹⁵

The *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*¹⁶ reports that the Prophet on one occasion told his Companions that in later days there would be a city called Samudra. The Prophet asked them to go to this place when they first were to hear about it. In obedience to the Prophet's instruction, a *sharīf* of Mecca launched a pilgrim ship heading for Samudra under the captaincy of Shaykh Ismā'il. On the way to Samudra, the ship stopped at Ma'bar, a place in south India, where a sultan named Muḥammad abdicated and joined the expedition as a *faqīr*. When they arrived at Samudra they found that the ruler Merah Silu could recite the Qur'ān perfectly. The *shaykh* and the *faqīr* guided him to the religion of Islam.¹⁷

The spread of Islam in Java tends to be described more realistically than that of Sumatra. The Javanese accounts of conversion refer mostly to the efforts of the Wali Songo (Nine Saints or Sufis), who are commonly considered to be historical personalities. They are different from the early saints of Sumatra whose historical biographies remain obscure. Islam began to spread among the people of Java as a result of the work of the Wali

¹⁵ W. G. Shellabear, ed., *Sejarah Melayu*, 61.

¹⁶ The romanized text of the *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai* was published by Edouard Dulaurier in Paris in 1849 bearing the title *La Chronique du Royaume de Pasey*. See A. H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," 41. A revised romanized version of the work with an English translation and notes had been published by A. H. Hill. See A. H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai: A revised romanization & English translation," *JMBRAS*, 33 (1960): 1-215.

¹⁷ A. H. Hill, "Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai," 56-57.

Songo, who were, namely 1) Mawlānā Malik Ibrahīm, Sunan Gresik, (d 1419); 2) Raden Rahmat, Sunan Ampel (d a 1470), 3) Sunan Bonang (d a 1525); 4) Raden Paku, Sunan Giri (d 1530); 5) Sunan Gunung Jati (d 1570), 6) Sunan Kudus (d 1560); 7) Sunan Muria (d 1561), 8) Sunan Darajat (d 1572); and 9) Sunan Kalijaga (d 1585)¹⁸ The rapid spread of Islam throughout Java owes much to their activity. Soon afterwards, Islam reached most parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Therefore, the 15th and the 16th centuries saw widespread conversion among the population of this island.

The Islamization of the eastern part of Indonesia seems to have been launched from Ternate, one of the Moluccan spice islands, where Islam appears to have had a firm hold at least since the 15th century.¹⁹ Muslim traders who came into frequent contact with the people of the Moluccas are regarded as having been the early Muslim preachers who introduced Islam to this region. The people of the southern part of the Philippines, as well as the inhabitants of Sulawesi may possibly have accepted Islam as a result of the activity of preachers based in Ternate. The position of Ternate in the Islamization of the eastern part of Indonesia was obviously an important one

Islam reached the Lesser Sunda islands some time during the middle of

¹⁸ Kafrawi, "The Path of Subud," (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1969), 20

¹⁹ The notion concerning the time of the coming of Islam to this area has always been connected with the position of the Moluccas as the main source for the international spice trade during the medieval period. Therefore, it is very likely that Islam reached the Moluccas alongside the coming of Muslim traders to this place. A brief discussion regarding this matter can be seen in H. J. de Graaf, "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P. M. Holt (Cambridge: The University Press, 1970), vol. 2, 135.

the 16th century. It is commonly believed that the Bugenese Muslims were the first to introduce Islam to the people of Sumbawa, one of the Lesser Sunda islands.²⁰

Islam first reached Kalimantan (Borneo) as early as the beginning of the 16th century. According to one authority, Islam was first introduced to the people of Banjarmasin, a coastal city located in the southern part of Kalimantan, by Muslims from Demak, the first Muslim kingdom in Java. Islam then spread from here to other places throughout Kalimantan, and even into the interior of the island. Most of the people of the interior, however, remained attached to their traditional beliefs, (a situation that still exists today), except for a few who frequently came into contact with Muslims and who later converted to Islam.²¹

The early Islamization of the people of Sulawesi (Celebes) seems to have taken place in the last part of the 16th century. Massive conversion, however, did not take place until 1603,²² following the conversion of King Karaeng Matoaya of Tallo, a little principality located in the north of Gowa. Because he was a Muslim, the king became known as 'Abd Allah Awwal al-Islam. Two years later, the king of Gowa, whose Islamic name was Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn, embraced Islam. His conversion marked the important point in the history of the conversion of the Bugenese, many of whom in turn

²⁰ See A. Mukti Ali, "The Spread of Islam in Indonesia," *Al-Djami'ah* (Jogjakarta), 4-5 (April-May 1962), 86.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

²² Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java* (London: Oxford University Press, 1817, reprint, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965), vol. 2, 436.

preached Islam to others throughout the entire island.²³ It is commonly accepted that the first Muslim preachers to introduce Islam to the Bugenese were three brothers known as "the Datuk" meaning Sir in the language of the people of West Sumatra, which has led scholars to suppose that they most likely came from West Sumatra. The names of these three Datuk were Khatib Tunggal (Datuk Ribandang), Khatib Sulayman (Datuk Pattimang) and Khatib Bungsu (Datuk Ritiro)²⁴ As was the case with the conversion of the peoples of both Sumatra and Java, the conversion of the people of Sulawesi to Islam is surrounded by legends.²⁵ It is interesting to note that most of the conversion myths pertaining to the Islamization of Indonesia appear to share certain similarities, for instance crediting much of the work of conversion to (*walis*) who were able to perform magical acts, or even to the Prophet himself. In discussing this matter, de Graaf regards some of the stories as possibly true but on the whole not very reliable²⁶

In addition to the variety of theories concerning the earliest date of the appearance of Islam in Indonesia, the problem of the geographical area from which this religion came to Indonesia has also stimulated much discussion among historians.

One theory states that Islam came to Indonesia directly from Arabia, the

²³ N. A. Baloch, *The Advent of Islam in Indonesia*, 47

²⁴ See Saifuddin Zuhri, *Sejarah Kebangkitan Islam dan Perkembangannya di Indonesia* (Bandung: Alma'arif, 1981), 421-432.

²⁵ See Russel Jones, "Ten Conversion Myths from Indonesia," in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Nehemia Levtzion (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 129-158.

²⁶ H. J. de Graaf, "South-East Asian Islam," 123

very cradle of Islam. Sir John Crawford was among the early 19th-century historians who held this theory. He says that the people of Indonesia first received Islam from the orthodox land of Arabia, and that the flame has been kept alive by the contacts which have since existed with that region.²⁷ He appeared to base his theory upon the fact that most of the Muslims who lived in the maritime portions of the Arab lands belonged to the same school of Islamic law as Indonesian Muslims.

By contrast, C. Snouck Hurgronje held that the place of origin of Islam in Indonesia was south India.²⁸ Nevertheless, he did not specify the part of south India from which Islam proceeded to Indonesia. His theory is apparently based upon the fact that the popular mysticism which was practiced by the Muslims of south India was also widely practiced by Indonesian Muslims.

Differing from C. Snouck Hurgronje's opinion, some scholars have suggested that Gujarat was the place from which Islam came to Indonesia. Among the historians who hold this view are Brian Harrison, J. Gonda, R. A. Kern, G. H. Bousquet, and B. H. M. Vlekke. They share the same assumption that traders from Gujarat introduced Islam to the people of Indonesia.²⁹ They base their theory upon the fact that it was Indians mainly from Gujarat who were prominently engaged in the overseas trade between India and Indonesia. In addition, they appear to make use of J. E.

²⁷ John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh: A Constable, 1820), vol. 2, 259, quoted in S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 4.

²⁸ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achenese*, trans. A. W. S. O'Sullivan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906), vol. 2, 165.

²⁹ See S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 5-6.

Mouquette's discovery that the earliest tombstones found in Indonesia were brought from Cambay in Gujarat.

Another version of the coming of Islam to Indonesia has been proposed by Prof. Keyzer. He regards Egypt as the place of origin of Indonesian Islam. He reached this conclusion after having observed that the Shafi'i school of Islamic law is followed by Muslims in Indonesia as well as in Egypt. On the basis of this fact he concluded that it might have been Egyptians who introduced Islam to Indonesia.³⁰ G. E. Marrison holds that neither Gujarat, West India, nor south India is the source of Indonesian Islam, but Bengal. He bases himself upon the observations of Tomé Pires, who, in his book *Suma Oriental*, stated that Islam in Indonesia was imported from Bengal.³¹ Marrison argues that Islam reached Indonesia from the Coromandel coast. He bases this further refinement of his theory upon the information provided by the Malay tradition. He regards the evidence of gravestones imported from Cambay, on the west coast of India, as being inconclusive.³²

The variety of theories regarding the coming of Islam to Indonesia leaves the whole issue open to question. Perhaps it is not too far from the truth to suggest that Islam may possibly have come to the Indonesian archipelago from several different places which had accepted Islam at a much earlier

³⁰ G. W. J. Drewes, "New Light on the Coming of Islam to Indonesia," *BKI* 124 (1968), 439.

³¹ Armando Cortesao, ed. and trans., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), vol. 1, 1943.

³² G. E. Marrison, "The Coming of Islam to East Indies," *JMBRAS* 24 (1951), 29.

date. What does appear to be certain is that it was Muslim merchants and sailors who preached Islam to Indonesians at some time during the very early Muslim period. The propagation of Islam during the later period was probably mainly undertaken by Sufi saints and 'ulamā' (learned Muslims)

That merchants should be regarded as proselytizers is no contradiction. A devout Muslim always wishes to observe his religious teaching whenever and wherever he is as a manifestation of his practice of God's command. Asking people to accept Islam is one of those activities that are regarded by Muslims as good actions. Moreover, some Muslims believe that preaching Islam to non-Muslims is compulsory. This interpretation is taken from a verse of the Qur'ān (XVI:125): "Call unto the way of thy Lord with wisdom and good admonition."³³ On the basis of this teaching, a good Muslim should try his best to persuade people to embrace Islam. With regard to this notion, S. M. N. al-Attās says:

Because of the expansive, missionary nature of Islam, every Muslim is a propagandist of the faith; and a propagation that would enable its propagators to combine trading activities with missionary work is possible due to the absence of such an institution as a priesthood which would assuredly monopolize missionary work.³⁴

It is very likely that the Muslim traders who came to Indonesia to conduct trade with the people of this region took with them some Muslim preachers who were also Sufis, and that the latter came to Indonesia especially for the purpose of preaching Islam among the people of this

³³ A. J. Arberry, trans., *The Koran Interpreted* (New York: Macmillan, 1955; reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 273.

³⁴ S. M. N. al-Attās, "The Islamization of Indonesia: The ways and methods of the spread of Islam in Indonesia, including Malaya," (Research Paper, Institute of Islamic Studies McGill University, 1961), 14

country. As a result of their efforts, many people accepted Islam because the new religion served their spiritual needs. As a matter of fact, Indonesian Islam has tended virtually from the start to be very mystical in nature.

The ability of the early preachers of Islam to win converts was enhanced by the use of techniques which rendered their message more familiar to their audience. Thus Sunan Kalijaga, for example, made use of *wayang*, a kind of shadow play, to communicate his teachings. The *wayang* traditionally depicts figures from the Hindu *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* epics. The performances are accompanied by a traditional orchestra called *gamelan*, a set of musical instruments consisting of bronze, wooden or bamboo keys on wooden or bamboo bases, which rest on tabular resonators or are balanced on pegs or suspended. This type of percussion ensemble is usually made up of about a dozen musicians. Sunan Kalijaga, according to traditional accounts, was an excellent performer of such plays. When he had performed the play, he asked his audiences to embrace Islam, and he reportedly experienced no difficulty.³⁵

In undertaking the mission of converting the people of Java, the Wali Songo tried to combine persuasive methods of preaching Islam with the arts of diplomacy and healing. The *walis* are often associated with spiritual preceptors or Sufi saints who possessed certain capacities enabling them to attract the attention of others. Under these circumstances, they were able to convince their audiences of the superiority of Islam over their current religion. The Wali Songo were not ascetics or priests since they did not

³⁵ P. A. Hoesen Djajadiningrat, "Islam in Indonesia," in *Islam the Straight Path*, ed. Kenneth W. Morgan (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), 378.

seclude themselves from the community. Some of them even earned their living by trade. Mawlana Malik Ibrāhīm, for example, was a wealthy merchant who was as successful in business as he was in converting people to Islam.³⁶

The religious background of the Indonesian peoples prior to the arrival of Islam played an important role in ensuring the successful expansion of the new faith in Indonesia. The teaching of the Shivaite and Mahayana Buddhist sects, which flourished in Java and Sumatra before the Islamic period provided a good soil for the seeds of Islamic heterodox mysticism.³⁷ A pantheistic mysticism had, in fact, been the common feature of pre-Islamic Indonesian religious life. For this reason, mystical teachings, such as those of al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), which were later introduced to Indonesian Muslims were readily accepted by them.

The advent of Islam to Indonesia was characterized by a process which was at variance with the experience of other parts of the Muslim world, where Islam seems to have been introduced through military campaign. The case of the coming of Islam to India, for example, has commonly been associated with the sword instead of the word, as Joseph Gaer, an early twentieth century writer, has pointed out.³⁸ This observation is shared by Edward Gibbon (d. 1794) who two centuries ago stated that Islam was

³⁶ S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, 78.

³⁷ G. W. J. Drewes, "Indonesia: Mysticism and Activism," in *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. Gustave E. von Grunebaum (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955; reprint, 1967), 287.

³⁸ Joseph Gaer, *How the Great Religions Began* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1929, reprint, 1956), 86. See also Joseph Gaer, *What the Great Religions Believe* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1963), 152.

propagated by the sword³⁹ In the Indonesian context, however, it is clear that Islam was brought into the region by Muslim preachers who asked people to accept Islam after they had convinced them of the superiority of this religion. The ability of these early proselytizers in this regard was the key factor for their great success in persuading people to embrace Islam

Thomas Stamford Raffles describes briefly the way in which the Wali Songo introduced Islam among the Javanese. He notes that the great success attained by these saints depended upon the fact that within a few years hardly any community on the island had not been converted to Islam, with the exception of those who escaped the process of Islamization⁴⁰ One such community is that of Tengger people of Mount Bromo (eastern Java), who have managed to avoid conversion to Islam since the 17th century, when eastern Java at last became Muslim. This community is for the most part made up of followers of Hinduism, while the rest are Buddhists⁴¹ Another example is provided by the Badui people of South Banten (western Java). They still make every effort even today to live in strict seclusion from their Muslim neighbors and from the Indonesian government. They seem to have been influenced neither by Hinduism nor by Islam. A final example is that of the Balinese, whose ancestors were those people of eastern Java who fled to Bali island in order to avoid the process of Islamization in Java

³⁹ Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, new edition (London: J. F. Dove, 1821), vol. 6, 302

⁴⁰ Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, 113

⁴¹ Robert W. Hefner, *Hindu Javanese Tengger Tradition and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 41

Islam thus seems to have reached Indonesia in the early stages of its history, some time in the 7th and the 8th centuries. Large scale conversion, however, did not take place until the 13th century and afterwards when several Muslim kingdoms of Sumatra came into being. This fact demonstrates the important role political involvement played in the process of the Islamization of Indonesian people.

In summary, the spread of Islam in Indonesia has been characterized by what R A Kern calls a "*pénétration pacifique*" (peaceful penetration).⁴² Apparently, most Indonesians accepted Islam voluntarily after being convinced of the superiority of Islam over their previous faith. Therefore, there is hardly any reason to suppose that the Islamization of Indonesia was a result of forcing people to embrace this religion. As a matter of fact, the process of Indonesian Islamization commonly proceeded with persuasive methods over a relatively long period. This process in fact, owes very much to the work of both Muslim traders and *Sūfīs* who had successfully established Muslim communities throughout Indonesia.

The later development of Indonesian Islam, to a large extent, cannot be separated from the global characteristics of the Muslim world during its medieval period which appeared to be very mystical. This situation enabled al-Ghazālī's teachings to spread rapidly throughout the Muslim world including Indonesia

⁴² R A Kern, *De Islam in Indonesië* ('s-Gravenhage: Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 1947), 14

Chapter One

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ AND HIS WORKS FOR INDONESIAN MUSLIMS

Al-Ghazālī's Position for Indonesian Muslims

It should come as no surprise that Indonesian Muslims, who have belonged to the Sunni school of Islam since the religion was first introduced to the area, would hold the most accomplished of Sunni theologians, al-Ghazālī, in such high honour. Al-Ghazālī's reputation as one of the greatest thinkers of Islam is firmly established among Indonesian Muslims as well as among their fellows in the entire Muslim world. W. Montgomery Watt regards his popularity as a Muslim historical figure as second only to that of Muḥammad, the Prophet of Islam.¹ T. J. de Boer is another scholar who notes the great popularity of al-Ghazālī. He says "Al-Ghazālī is without doubt the most remarkable figure in all Islam. His

¹ W. Montgomery Watt praises al-Ghazālī as being acclaimed in both East and West as the greatest Muslim after Muhammad. He regards al-Ghazālī as a prophetic intellectual who spoke to his fellow Muslims in terms of the highest thought of his time. The master's remarkable achievement rests upon his successful effort in making the mystical aspect of Islam intellectually respectable. See W. Montgomery Watt, *Muslim Intellectual: A Study of al-Ghazālī* (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh Press, 1963), 180. W. Montgomery Watt even says that al-Ghazālī 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-Ghazālī* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1953; reprint, 1967), 14-15. The same admiration can also be seen in W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1967), 114.

doctrine is the expression of his own personality" ²

Al-Ghazali's thought was gradually introduced into Indonesia as the teaching of Islamic sciences became more widespread in the country. The process of adopting Islamic sciences by Indonesian Muslims can be seen as having been marked by two different stages. The first stage was that of the coming of foreign Muslims introducing their religion to Indonesians. This process took place from the time when Islam was first introduced to the people of this archipelago until the 16th century A.D. During this period Indonesian Muslims learned Islamic beliefs from preachers who put emphasis on Islam's mystical aspect (*tasawwuf*). The second stage occurred at the time when many Indonesian Muslims began to travel to Arabia, particularly to Mecca, to study their religion with authoritative teachers. Having finished their studies, they tried to share their knowledge with their fellow Muslims in Indonesia. This process began in the 17th century and has continued until the present.³

The second stage is notable for the appearance of *pesantrens*.⁴

² T. J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, trans. Edward R. Jones (London: Luzac & Co., 1903; reprint, 1933), 168.

³ H. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Asal-Usul Tradisi Keilmuan Di Pesantren," *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 1 (1984), 7.

⁴ *Pesantren* is the Indonesian term for an educational institution where a student may attain Islamic religious training, both elementary and advanced. A *pesantren* consists mainly 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 ignores adopting modern theory, particularly with regard to pedagogical methods and curricula; whereas, the modern one tends to preserve the positive aspect of the traditional system and combine it with some aspects of modern system by adopting several subjects such as foreign language (mainly English), mathematics, vocational training, agriculture,

traditional Islamic seminaries, 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 is al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya* (*The Beginning of Guidance*, Bouyges 35, henceforth cited as *Bidāyat*).⁵ Abdurrahman Wahid, a leading contemporary Muslim thinker in Indonesia, has said of this book that it has been considered the most authoritative work concerning orthodox Sufism in *pesantrens* for centuries.⁶

Al-Ghazālī's teachings have been disseminated in more recent times by such institutions as the Universitas Al-Ghazali (al-Ghazali University) in Unjungpandang, South Sulawesi. This institution runs several faculties, of which some are devoted to the study of religious subjects, such as the Faculty of Islamic Theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), and the Faculty of Islamic Mission (*da'wa*).

In addition, there is a *pesantren* located in Cilacap, Central Java, known as Pesantren Ihya Ulumiddin. This *pesantren* was founded in 1929 and recently appears to have been among the most active in conducting study into the teachings of al-Ghazālī. There was a seminar held in this

etc. See H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers, eds., "Pesantren," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), 460-462.

⁵ The number cited as Bouyges: 35 refers to the 35th work listed in Maurice Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des œuvres de al-Ghazali*, ed. Michel Allad (Beyrouth: Impremiere Catholique, 1959).

⁶ H. Abdurrahman Wahid, "Asal-Usul Tradisi Keilmuan di Pesantren," 7.

pesantren in January 1991 devoted to the discussion of certain aspects al-Ghazālī's thought, held in commemoration of the institution's 64th anniversary.⁷ The seminar placed particular emphasis on al-Ghazālī's thought and its relation to the work ethics of Indonesian Muslims⁸

It is important to mention here another institution, one known as the *Majlis Taklim al-Ghazālī* (al-Ghazālī Study Circle) which is also known as the Islamic Center of al-Ghazālī. This institution was founded by K. H. Abdullah bin Nuh (d. 1987), a prominent Indonesian Muslim thinker, who translated some of al-Ghazālī's works (some of which will be mentioned later in this thesis). *Majlis Taklim al-Ghazālī* is a large organization which runs several branch institutions, one of which is *Pesantren Ihya Ulumiddin* (not to be identified with the *pesantren* of the same name mentioned above) located in Pasir Kuda, Bogor, West Java. This *pesantren* is now headed by a disciple of Abdullah bin Nuh. In addition, during his life, Abdullah bin Nuh also successfully ran other *pesantrens*, as well as several study circles, such as *Majlis Taklim Insan Kamil* and *Nurul Ihya* both located in Bogor, West Java.⁹

Another important institution which came into being in Jakarta in 1970 was known as *Jajasan Ihya Ulumiddin* (The *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* Foundation). This institution, which is no longer operating, was run by the Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia and was designed to attempt

⁷ This 64th anniversary refers to the lunar calendar.

⁸ Noer Iskandar al-Barsany, "Kritik Para Kiyai terhadap Al-Ghazali," *Warta Nahdlatul Ulama*, (Jakarta), March 1991, 4.

⁹ H. Basri Asghari, "K. H. Abdullah bin Nuh, Pantang Mencari Musuh," *Amanah* (Jakarta), 135 (1991), viii.

a revivification of the religious sciences by intellectual means. In order to attain this goal, the institution began to publish a monthly journal entitled *Ihja' 'Ulumiddin (Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn)*, the first issue of which was released in July 1970. Together with publishing the journal, the foundation tried to establish Islamic libraries by collecting books as well as other printed matter, and by supporting a program of writing and translating scientific works. The ideal goal of this institution, however, did not come to reality as planned since the foundation came to an end just several years after its birth without having manifested all of its goals.

The popularity of al-Ghazālī seems to rest to a great extent on the reputation of his *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn (The Revival of the Religious Sciences, Bouyges: 28, henceforth cited as Ihyā')*. This work has long been regarded by most Indonesian Muslims as the most authoritative and comprehensive work on Islamic teachings. Snouck Hurgronje even says that the book has been recognized down to our time as a standard encyclopedia of sacred doctrine.¹⁰ Since the book was translated into Indonesian, it has become more accessible to Indonesian Muslims and through it they are able to know al-Ghazālī's views. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Indonesian version of *Ihyā'* has been widely read by Indonesian Muslims, since the book has been printed many times in several places in Indonesia.¹¹

¹⁰ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, trans. J. H. Monahan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), 160.

¹¹ See the appendix (the list of Indonesian translations of al-Ghazālī's works, III 1).

In the eyes of many Indonesian Muslims, al-Ghazālī's life, which was characterized by the 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-Ghazālī says of these experiences that from his early youth he had ventured into a vast ocean, penetrating its darkness and daring its dangers. During this time, he interrogated 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, reached a state enabling him to reach what he believed was the only way to obtain the ultimate truth.¹² Nevertheless, in spite of his obvious interest in Sufism, he is also seen as the prototype of an ideal Muslim who tries to seek God's satisfaction through worshipping in accordance with the *sharī'a*. Al-Ghazālī's inclination towards Sufism did not make him neglect the *sharī'a* as it did for some heterodox Sufis. Moreover, he held that perfect Sufism constitutes both intellectual belief and *sharī'a* practice. His Sufism rests upon his understanding that only through this way may one reach the ultimate truth.¹³

The early Indonesian Sufis, especially those who are known as the followers of the orthodox stream, studied al-Ghazālī's books, and particularly his mystical works, at least to the extent that they were available. Sunan Bonang, for example, one of the famous Nine Saints (Wali Songo) of Java, wrote a treatise on Islamic teachings in which he

¹² Al-Ghazālī, *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjū al-Miṣr, 1952), 51.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 88

refers frequently to al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*.¹⁴ He appears to have come into contact with al-Ghazālī's teachings when he and Sunan Giri, another saint of Java, spent some time in Malaka to study Islam under several Islamic teachers of Arabian, Persian and Indian origin.¹⁵

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 B. J. O. Schrieke and G. W. J. Drewes. The former conducted research in the light of historical analysis on Sunan Bonang's work, which later appeared under the title "Het Boek van Bonang" (The Book of Sunan Bonang, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 1916). The latter carried out a study in which he analysed the contents of the documents. His work was published under the title *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969). The writer (Sunan Bonang) says at the very beginning of the book:

These are the words of Seh Bari when imparting instruction to his friends as to the meaning of the "Principle of Mysticism". Selecting for his subject the inner conduct of the Prophets, saints and true believers, Seh Bari took his arguments from the *Ihyā'* and *Tamhīd*.¹⁶

¹⁴ See G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 39.

¹⁵ R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," *JMBRAS* 17 (1939); revised edition, 31 (1958), 112.

¹⁶ G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 39. B. J. O. Schrieke and H. Kramers assumed that the book *Tamhīd* was written by Abu Shakūr al-Sālimī (2nd half of the 11th century). The complete title is *Tamhīd fī bayān al-tawhīd*, a work on the Islamic doctrine of faith. G. W. J. Drewes tends to attribute this book to Ibn Zarrūq al-Barnūsī (d. 1493) who wrote *Tamhīd qawā'id al-tasawwuf wa 'usulhi*, since both the book of Sunan Bonang and the book of Ibn Zarrūq deal with Sufism. See also G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 14.

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

Another work of this period which shows the influence of al-Ghazālī 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 been intended to give preliminary instruction about Islam to newly converted Muslims. This Javanese manuscript had been a subject of study conducted by G. W. J. Drewes whose work is available under the title *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978). The writer of the work refers to some of the sources from which he developed his teachings:

This is the way to know God and to keep away from disobedience, (a tract) written in literary language by *khalīfa*, and borrowed from the contents of the *Bidāya* by Imām al-Ghazālī and enlarged with materials taken from the book *Masadullah*, viz, the questions of 'Isā (?); from the book *Masabeh Mafateh* and the *Rawdatululama*; from books on exegesis and dogmatics, and from the book *Salamet*.¹⁷

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

The influence of al-Ghazālī's thought in Indonesia can also be seen in the works of some Malay Sufi writers. A numbers of their works have been

¹⁷ G. W. J. Drewes, ed. and trans. *An Early Javanese Code of Muslim Ethics* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1978), 14-15.

available in Indonesia, and particularly in Sumatra from the 17th century onwards. Among the Sufi writers who are known to have been well acquainted with al-Ghazālī's thought is Hamzah of Fansūrī.¹⁸ Having conducted a serious study of the mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri, S. M. N. al-Attās regards him as having been influenced by certain Sufi thinkers, one of whom was al-Ghazālī.¹⁹ The mystics seemed to have followed al-Ghazālī in particular aspects, such as the importance of *sharī'a* within the whole system of Islam. Hamzah Fansūrī held that the four stages of Muslim life, *sharī'a* (religious law), *tarīqa* (the Sufi path), *haqiqa* (truth) and *ma'rifa* (gnosis), are interdependent and must not be separated from each other. He even says that whoever leaves aside the *sharī'a*, will go astray.²⁰ In this respect, Hamzah Fansūrī echoes the beliefs of al-Ghazālī.

Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī, a 17th century Indonesian Muslim Sufi writer, seems to have been greatly influenced by al-Ghazālī, especially by three of al-Ghazālī's works: *Al-Maqṣad al-asnā' fi sharḥ asmā' Allah al-ḥusna*, Bouyges: 33,323; *Al-Ajwiba al-lā'iqā 'an al-aswāla al-fā'iqā*, Bouyges: 108, and *Iḥyā'*.²¹ According to S. M. N. al-Attās, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī made use

¹⁸ There has so far not been any available information dealing with the date of his birth or his death. Nevertheless, it has been commonly accepted that he lived in the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th. According to S. M. N. al-Attās, Hamzah lived and flourished in the period proceeding and during the reign of Sultan 'Ala al-Dīn Ri'āyat Shah of Aceh (1588-1604) and he most likely died before 1607. See S. M. N. al-Attās, "New Light on the Life of Hamzah Fansūrī," *JMBRAS* 40 (1967), 48.

¹⁹ S. M. N. al-Attās, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (Kuala Lumpur, University of Malaya Press, 1970), 14.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 413.

²¹ See S. M. N. al-Attās, *A Commentary on the Hujjat al-Siddiq of Nur al-Dīn al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur, Ministry of Culture of Malaysia, 1986),

of these works as sources in his writings. His eagerness to defend the orthodox faith against heterodoxy, particularly the teaching of the Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*) which can be seen in his polemical work in opposition to the teachings of Hamzah Fansūrī (whom he regards as having introduced the teaching of this doctrine) demonstrates his position as a sincere follower of the al-Ghazālī. He, like al-Ghazālī, belonged to the Shafī'i school of law and adhered to the Ash'arīya school of theology. As for his Sufi affinity, he appears to have been a member of the Rifa'iya order.²²

Several learned Indonesian Muslims who lived in the 18th century acted as the first translators of al-Ghazālī's works into the Malay language. The most prominent one is 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī (d.a. 1788). His translations of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat* and *Ihyā'* have played a very important role in introducing al-Ghazālī's thought to Indonesian Muslims.²³

It must be noted, however, that even though 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī was a translator of some of al-Ghazālī's works, he was not a strict adherent of al-Ghazālī's teachings. He even tried to introduce some elements of the teaching of the *ṭarīqa* Sammānī, thus enabling the order to gain many followers among Indonesian Muslims. In his translation of the

16-17.

²² Ibid, 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), xiii.

lhyā', entitled *Sayr al-sālikīn ilā 'ibādāt rabb al-'ābidīn* (*The Progress of Travellers on the Sūfī Path*, henceforth quoted as *Sayr al-salikin*), he seems to have included some elements of the teaching of the *tarīqa* Sammaniya, a branch of the *tarīqa* Sattariya. Moreover, he introduced some elements of heterodox Sufism which he took from some Sufi thinkers such as Ibn 'Arabī, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Jīlī, Shams al-Dīn al-Sumatranī, all of whom were known as exponents of the doctrine of The Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*).²⁴ In addition to the translations noted above, he spent about ten years (from 1778 to 1788)²⁵ translating al-Ghazālī's *Lubāb lhyā' 'ulum al dīn* (*The Quintessence of the Revival of The Religious Sciences*, Bouyges 219). He translated the book into Jawi (Malay in Arabic script, also known as Malay Arab [Arab Melayu]). According to H. Chambert-Lon, the first printed edition of his translation consisting of 1.048 pages in two volumes appeared in Mecca in 1888, then in Bulak, Egypt in later years.²⁶

The *lhyā'* was not the first of al-Ghazālī's works to be translated by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī; rather it was the *Bidayat* which received his earliest attention. According to Richard Winstedt, 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī finished translating the *Bidāyat* in Mecca in 1778, a year before he started working on his translation of the *lhyā'* which he finished in Ta'if in 1789.²⁷

²⁴ M. Chatib Quzwain, "Syekh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani. Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke-18 Masehi," in *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatra Selatan*, ed. K. H. O. Gadjahnata and Sri-Edi Swasono (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia Press, 1986), 185.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, xi

²⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii.

Hidayat al-sālikīn fi suluk al-muttaqīn (Guidance for Travellers on the Sufi Path, henceforth cited as *Hidāyat al-sālikīn*), the Malay translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat*, was published for the first time in Mecca in 1881.²⁸ Henri Chambert-Loir says that *Hidāyat al-sālikīn* is, in fact, the oldest Malay work printed in Mecca. In addition, he says that the book was also published in several other places such as Egypt, Bombay, Singapore and Surabaya.²⁹ Unfortunately, he does not mention the dates of publication of these editions. According to him the book was popular among Indonesian Muslims immediately after its appearance. Hence, many manuscript copies of it are still to be found in several libraries both in Indonesia and in 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 1821.³⁰ The introduction of al-Ghazālī's works to Indonesia owes much to the efforts of 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, and particularly the above mentioned writings.

The attraction of the *Ihyā'* and the *Bidāyat* rests to a large extent upon the fact that al-Ghazālī appears to have formulated his thoughts in a simple way, enabling his readers to follow his ideas without difficulty.

27 R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," 125.

28 There is no adequate information concerning this publication nor its publisher. There is, however, an indication given by C. Snouck Hurgronje dealing with early printed Malay works in Mecca in the latter part of the 19th century, the time 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-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī," xi.

29 Ibid

30 Henry Chambert-Loir, "'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbānī Sebagai Ulama Jawa," xi.

Therefore, since these books have been translated into Malay, they have become very valuable sources through which most Indonesian Muslims study their religion.

Another early figure who introduced al-Ghazālī's thought through translation work was Dāwūd ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Idrīs al-Ṭatani. He translated al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-'ābidīn ila jannat rabb al-'alamin* (*The Path of the Worshippers to the Blessing of God*, Bouyges: 64, henceforth quoted as *Minhāj al-'ābidīn*). His translation, which bears the same title as the original, has been published in the following cities: in Jeddah by Man al-Hin; in Penang by al-Ma'ārif; and in Singapore by Man al-Hin (dates of publication are not available).³¹ Manuscripts of this work have been preserved in both the Museum Nasional (National Museum) and the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (The Committee for Language and Literature) in Jakarta.³²

Regarding the introduction of al-Ghazālī's thought to Indonesian Muslims, it is important to mention here an Arabic work entitled *Shath al-marāqī al-ubudīya* (Cairo, 1881) written by Muhammad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Arabi al-Nawawī al-Jawī (d. 1879), a 19th-century learned Muslim who spent most of his life studying and teaching at Mecca. This work is a commentary on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat*.³³ Another edition of this work was published in Surabaya, Indonesia by Shirkat Nur Asia (no date given).

³¹ Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani: The Maintenance of Islamic Tradition," *JMBRAS* 61 (1988), 24.

³² Ibid.

³³ Carl Brockelmann, *GAL*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Felber, 1902), 501.

Another learned Muslim of Indonesian origin, Shaykh Ihsān ibn Muhammad Dahlān of Jampes, Kediri, (d. 1952), wrote a commentary (*sharh*) on al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn* in Arabic. This work, entitled *Sirāj al-talibīn* (*The Path of the Seekers*), has been published several times; for instance an edition appeared in Surabaya, Indonesia, published by Salim Nabhan, in 1954.³⁴ Another edition of this work was published in Egypt by Matbaʿa Mustafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī in 1955.³⁵ According to Martin van Bruinessen, this book has a high reputation in some *pesantrens* in Indonesia, particularly in East Java.³⁶

All the above mentioned writers seem to have been the earliest Indonesian Muslims to have translated al-Ghazālī's works into Indonesian and to have introduced him to their fellow countrymen. Their works have taken the form of translations as well as commentaries, in addition to some writings on particular matters which make use of al-Ghazālī's thought. Both *Hidāyat al-sālikīn* and *Sayr al-sālikīn* seem to have been not merely translation works, but commentaries as well. According to Hawash Abdullah, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī made use of other Sufi works to enrich his commentary which supplemented his translation of al-Ghazālī's books.³⁷

³⁴ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi Perpustakaan IAIN Seluruh Indonesia* (Jakarta: Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, 1988/1989), 278.

³⁵ This book is available at the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University which bears the call number C6 .D131s.

³⁶ Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning: Books in Arabic Script Used in the Pesantren Milieu," *BKI* 146 (1990), 258.

³⁷ Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf dan Tokoh-Tokohnya di*

Further progress in the process of introducing al-Ghazali's thought to Indonesian Muslims began to be made in the later part of the 19th century when a great number of Indonesians were able to travel to Mecca to perform the *hajj* (pilgrimage). Some of these pilgrims took advantage of their stay in the 'holy city' to study Islam with important Islamic teachers. These Indonesian pilgrims had the opportunity to attend lectures on particular aspects of Islam, including Sufism, of which some were based on al-Ghazālī's works. With regard to this matter, Snouck Hurgronje says:

The books used were all more or less excerpts or compilations from the works of al-Ghazālī particularly *Ihyā'*. It is a very significant fact in the present day Islam that the words of al-Ghazālī which more than any others spoken in the Harām aim at the hearts of the pious, are now considered very mysterious³⁸

Having spent several years studying at Mecca, most of the Indonesian pilgrims³⁹ returned to Indonesia, some of them later becoming prominent Muslim thinkers who played important roles in promoting the development of Islamic thought in Indonesia. In giving an account of the important position of the pilgrims, Snouck Hurgronje says:

In Mekka they are the ones most highly regarded; from their countryfolk on pilgrimage they enjoyed the deepest awe, and from Mekka they control the religious life of their lands.... The careers of these learned men thus form a very important part of the history of the Jawah colony, and are highly characteristic of it, for many of their countryfolk sitting at their feet glance up at the position which they have reached as the highest aim of their

Nusantara (Surabaya-Indonesia: Al Ikhlas, n.d.), 146.

³⁸ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Makka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, 201

³⁹ The Arabs, particularly the Meccans, used to address the people of the Southeast Asia as *Jāwa*. Sometimes, these peoples were called by the name of the place in Southeast Asia where they came from such as al-Jāwī al-Banjarī (the one who came from Banjar), al-Jawī al-Sumbawī (the one who came from Sumba), al-Jāwī al-Falimbani (the one who came from Palembang), al-Jāwī al-Fatanī (the one who came from Patani), at Thailand.

The Importance of al-Ghazālī's Works

Al-Ghazālī is regarded as occupying a special position in the history of Islamic thought not only because of the depth of his knowledge, but because of its extensive range as well. 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 *ḥadīth* (the traditions of the Prophet). Muḥammad Rashad Sālimi says that al-Ghazālī made use of a number of weak *ḥadīth* (*ḥadīth ḍa'īf*) in most of his books in general and in his *Ihyā'* in particular.⁴¹ Despite this fact, al-Ghazālī's works, which cover most fields of religious sciences, still enjoy great popularity among the majority of Muslims.

It is quite possible that the early Muslim preachers in Indonesia were familiar with al-Ghazālī's thought as well as that of several other great Sufis, as we have noted, Indonesian Islam, since its inception, appears to have been mystically oriented. In addition, the massive conversion to Islam among the Indonesian peoples took place right after the fame of al-Ghazālī's thought as well as that of some other Sufis had reached most parts of, or even the entire, Muslim world. Clifford Geertz gives an account of the background of Indonesian Islam, as follows:

Islam came to Indonesia from India, brought by merchants. Its Mid-Eastern sense for the external condition of life having been

⁴⁰ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, 254.

⁴¹ Muḥammad Rashad Sālimi, *Muqāranat bayn al-Ghazālī wa ibn Taymīya* (Kuwait: Dār al-Salafīya, 1975), 7.

blunted and turned inward by Indian mysticism, it provided but a minimal contrast to the melange of Hinduism, Buddhism and animism which had held the Indonesians enthralled for almost fifteen centuries.⁴²

Valuable information regarding the appearance of al-Ghazali's thought in Indonesia is represented by the Javanese text attributed to Sunan Bonang (one of the Nine Saints of Java), which was briefly noted above, and which is of particular interest to us here. This Javanese manuscript consists of simple explanations of Islamic teachings presented in the form of a dialogue between a master, Seh Bari, and his three disciples.⁴³ The content of the text appears to be an account of heretical doctrines which were nonetheless considered by some Muslims as a part of Islamic beliefs and practices. Seh Bari, whom G. W. J. Drewes regards as a legendary figure, is the main character conducting the dialogue represented in the text. The text clearly indicates that Seh Bari took his arguments from al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*.⁴⁴ Since the writer made use of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* as the main source for his work, it implies that al-Ghazālī's work had reached Indonesia at least by the early 16th century. Sunan Bonang was not the only one who was familiar with al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* during his life-time, since some other Javanese saints appear to have also been familiar with this work. As a matter of fact, most of them are known to be the followers of orthodox Sufism, in which discipline al-Ghazālī's works hold a very

⁴² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, reprint, London: The Free Press, 1964), 125

⁴³ This Javanese manuscript is believed to have been written by Sunan Bonang. In the end of the text is written "*Tammāt carita cinlra, kan pakreti Paneran in Benan* (End of book, the author of which is the Lord of Bonan). See G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 100-101

⁴⁴ G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 38-39

important position. According to Widji Saksono the Nine Saints established their teachings on the basis of several prominent mystical works written by a number of Muslim thinkers mostly known as Sufis or even as Sufi masters. Among these works are al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* and *Bidāyat*.⁴⁵

One of the most important aspects of the activity of the Nine Saints in the history of Indonesian Islam in its early period lies in their zeal for propagating orthodox Sufism among Javanese Muslims. The legend of the condemnation of Shaykh Sili Jenar, one of the Javanese Sufi saints who was accused of preaching the religious heresy of the Oneness of Being (*wahdat al-wujūd*), by the Nine Saints of Java through the so-called "Council of Wali Songo," is convincing evidence of the position of the Nine Saints of Java as sincere followers of orthodoxy.

The translations of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* and *Bidāyat* mark an important point in the spread of al-Ghazālī's thought among Indonesian Muslims. A number of al-Ghazālī's works have been available to Indonesian Muslims in both the Arabic and Indonesian languages, and some of them are even available in Javanese, the language spoken by most of the peoples of Java. 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-Ghazālī's works translated into Indonesian.

⁴⁵ Widji Saksono, "Islam Menurut Wedjangan Wali Songo," *Al-Djami'ah* (Jogjakarta), 4-5 (1962), 45.

Moreover, those who have no access to Arabic or Indonesian may benefit from the Javanese translations. As for the people who cannot read any of these languages, they may still have an opportunity to know some of al-Ghazālī's teachings by listening to lectures or speeches where certain ideas of the great thinker are most frequently referred to. These are some of the ways in which the spread of al-Ghazālī's teachings among Indonesian Muslims has been encouraged

The position of al-Ghazālī's works for Indonesian Muslims is extremely important. In addition to holding a position as the primary sources for any attempt to promote Islamic teachings among the Muslim people, they have also played an important role in propagating orthodoxy in many aspects of Islam. With regard to the trend of Islamic theology, al-Ghazālī is known to have been an Ash'arite scholar; therefore, his theological works tend to support Ash'arism. In terms of law and jurisprudence (*sharī'a*), al-Ghazālī's works tend to propagate the teachings of the Shāfi'ī school, since al-Ghazālī himself belonged to this school. Al-Ghazālī's position has probably been as important as it has been 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.

The fame of al-Ghazālī among Indonesian Muslims has been more widespread compared with that of al-Ash'arī, the founder of Ash'arism. Unlike al-Ghazālī, al-Ash'arī seems to have been known merely as the one who established the school of *ahl al-sunna wa al-jama'a* (the people of orthodoxy and unity), the school of theology followed by Indonesian

Muslims, whereas al-Ghazālī has been known as the one who successfully introduced this school among them through his works. In addition, al-Ghazālī's popularity owes much to his works being readily available in Indonesia. 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-Ghazālī's fame as a Sufi thinker has outweighed his reputation as an expert in several fields of Islamic science.⁴⁶

Together with promoting Ash'arism through some of his works, he is also known (as we have mentioned previously) to have propagated the Shāfi'ī school of Islamic law.⁴⁷ Al-Ghazālī wrote several books dealing with his understanding of legal issues, such as *al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl* (*The Clarification of Islamic Jurisprudence*, = Bouyges: 59, henceforth to be cited as *al-Mustasfā*).

It is obvious that the popularity of Ash'arism in Indonesia as well as elsewhere in the Muslim world owes much to the influence of al-Ghazālī's works, particularly *Ihyā'*. Masdar F. Mas'udi may have exaggerated in saying that al-Ghazālī has made Ash'arism so popular that it is the only theological system which is so widely accepted in most of the Sunni Muslim world, including Indonesia.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Masdar F. Mas'udi, "NU & Teologi al-Asy'ari," *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 4 (1986), 86.

⁴⁷ Duncan B. Macdonald, "The Life of al-Ghazzālī, with especial reference to his religious experiences and opinions," *JAOS* 20 (1899), 106.

⁴⁸ Masdar F. Mas'udi, "Menguak Pemikiran Kitab Kuning," *Pesantren*

As far as Sufism is concerned, al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* remains, for most Indonesian Muslims, the most authoritative work. According to Nurcholish Madjid, this work has the reputation that it does due to its successful reconciliation of the rationality of Sunnism in both theology and *shari'ah* with the intuition of Sufism.⁴⁹ Aboebakar Atjeh, a prominent Indonesian Muslim, says that one of the most remarkable effects of this book is the fact that as a result of its influence there have never been serious conflicts in any *pesantren* between those who follow different Sufi order (*tariqa*)⁵⁰ Sufism flourishes in a number of *pesantrens* in Indonesia, and some are connected to particular Sufi orders, the most well-known one being Pesantren Suryalaya of West Java, where the Qadiriyya-Naqshabandiyya order is well established. 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani's effort of introducing some elements of Sufi ideas that he took from other sources into his translations of al-Ghazali's *Bidayat* and *Ihya'*, shows how well al-Ghazali's mystical works fit within the overall scheme of Sufism. Aboebakar Atjeh praises al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* as the common reference point for all the Sufi orders in Islam. According to him, al-Ghazali'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 mysticism.⁵¹

Needless to say, the inclination towards orthodoxy shown by the communities of most *pesantrens* seems to owe much to their having used

(Jakarta), 1 (1984), 27.

49 Nurcholish Madjid, "Tasawuf dan Pesantren," in *Pesantren dan Pembaharuan*, ed. M. Dawam Rahardjo (Jakarta: IP3I S., 1988), 105.

50 Aboebakar Atjeh, *Pengantar Ilmu Tarekat* (Solo: Ramadhami, 1985), 371.

51 Ibid.

of al-Ghazālī's works as a fundamental guide to the daily religious life. On the basis of al-Ghazālī's works, the rigidity of the so-called rational theology of Ash'arism alongside the inflexibility of *sharī'a*, which to a certain extent needs to be observed precisely, have been tempered by the influence of Sufism, which is flexible and intuitive.⁵²

In his *Ihyā'*, al-Ghazālī tries to support his explanations by quoting verses from the Qur'ān or by citing *ḥadīth*. Criticisms have been made however of his use of a number of *ḥadīth* which have been regarded as weak (*da'if*). 'Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd refers to writers such as Abū al-Muzaffar and al-'Irāqī who criticized al-Ghazālī for having neglected the principles of Islamic jurisprudence by having implemented so many weak *ḥadīths* in his *Ihyā'*.⁵³ Differing from these two writers, Abū al-Khayr says that there is no doubt that al-Ghazālī used many weak *ḥadīth* to support his propositions on some particular matters; however, one should not judge him too severely since al-Ghazālī did not apply those *ḥadīth* 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 Abū al-Khayr, 'Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd holds that what al-Ghazālī did cannot be considered unreasonable.⁵⁴ On the basis of this fact, he says that the position of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* remains very important since he applied those weak *ḥadīth* solely with a view toward emphasizing moral or ethical teachings which are considered to be subsidiary in

⁵² Nurcholish Madjid, "Tasauf dan Pesantren," 107.

⁵³ 'Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd, *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*, 2d ed. (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1985), 54

⁵⁴ Ibid

Islam.⁵⁵

It is difficult to determine exactly when Indonesian Muslims began to be critical when dealing al-Ghazālī'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 IAIN⁵⁶ (Institut Agama Islam Negeri or State Institute for Islamic Studies) system. Unlike the common people who tend to accept al-Ghazālī's thought as it is without analyzing it, the students of the IAINs must study al-Ghazālī's thought critically. Some of these students do not hesitate to question certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought. This fact, 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-Ghazālī. Ibn Taymiyya, 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 learned Muslims to question its place within the whole system of Islam. On the other hand, al-Ghazālī has been criticized for having insufficient knowledge of *ḥadīth*.⁵⁷ Since then, many scholars have

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ The institute is a state university especially founded to promote higher education for Islamic studies. The institute is commonly known as IAIN, the abbreviation of the Institut Agama Islam Negeri. It was founded for the first time in Yogyakarta, Central Java, in 1951 and there are now 14 IAINs spread throughout 23 provinces of the Republic of Indonesia. See Team Penyusun Pustaka Azet, *Leksikon Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Azet, 1988), vol. 1, 223.

⁵⁷ See Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ibaqat al-shafr'iyat al-kubra*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh Muhammad al-Hilw and Mahmud al-Tanahī (Cairo: Matba'at 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1968), vol. 6, 200.

begun to question certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought which find to be groundless. Despite this fact, the popularity of *Ihyā'* has gained a firm hold, enabling the book to remain among the most important works on Islam in Indonesia.

One more indication of the popularity of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* among Indonesian Muslims is the fact that the Indonesian translation of the work was the "bestseller" among the books sold in 1991 by the Wali Songo bookstore, one of the biggest bookstores in Jakarta specializing in books on Islam.⁵⁸ Indonesian versions of the *Ihyā'*, whether complete or partial, are almost always in print. During the period from 1963 to 1990, for example, the Indonesian translation of the book has been published at least seventeen times in one form or another.

Al-Ghazālī's Books in Indonesian Muslim Schools

Institutions of learning devoted to Islamic studies in Indonesia are commonly believed to have originated from a study circle (*majlis*) conducted by Raden Rahmat (also known as Sunan Ampel), under whose instruction some of the Nine Saints of Java first received tuition concerning the basic principles of Islamic teachings.⁵⁹ This circle is usually considered the first Islamic school (*madrasa*) or *pesantren* to have existed in Indonesia.

⁵⁸ Rafiq, et al., "Polusi Datang dan Pergi," *Panji Masyarakat* (Jakarta), 648 (1991), 23. Rafiq unfortunately does not give any specific bibliographical information regarding the edition which proved to be so popular.

⁵⁹ See C. C. Berg, "The Islamisation of Java," *Studia Islamica*, 4 (1955), 118.

Located in Giri, it provided the seeds for the expansion of Islamic education in Indonesia

According to some traditional accounts, Islam was brought to other places in Indonesia from Giri. The coming of Islam to Maluku (Moluccas), for example, seems to have been the result of efforts by a Muslim preacher who had studied Islam at Giri.⁶⁰ Similarly, the Islamization of the Bugenese (the people of South Sulawesi) is due to the work of 'Abd al-Ma'mur (also known as Datuk Ribandang or Khatib Sulung), who, according to Javanese tradition, had spent some time studying Islam at Giri under Sunan Giri.⁶¹ Unfortunately, despite his importance for the process of Islamization in Indonesia, Sunan Giri, like most of the Nine Saints of Java, did not leave any recorded teachings which can be seen as authentic information for both his life and his thought. The lack of information concerning the first *madrassa* leaves this institution of learning very much unknown.

Unlike the other Nine Saints of Java, Sunan Bonang, who studied with Sunan Giri under Sunan Ampel, is known to have left several works on Islamic doctrine. Both B. J. O. Schrieke's edition of *Het Boek van Bonang* (*The Book of Bonang*) and G. W. J. Drewes' edition of *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* are valuable sources for understanding his contribution in Islamic studies.

As we have stated before, one of the main references that Sunan

⁶⁰ Uka Tjandrasasmita, "Kedatangan Islam dan Pertumbuhan Kota-Kota Muslim Di Pesisir-Pesisir Kepulauan Indonesia," *Al-Jami'ah*, (Yogyakarta), 16 (1977), 57.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

Bonang used to support his work is al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*.⁶² This can be seen as an indication that al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* was known in the *pesantren* of Giri in the 16th century since Sunan Bonang was among the first *santri* (pupils) of the *pesantren*, since Sunan Bonang is known to have been very active in spreading the teaching of orthodox Islam, partly on the basis of al-Ghazālī's teachings,⁶³ it is very likely that al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* was among the textbooks studied in the *pesantren* of Giri. It remains a textbook in most Indonesian *pesantrens* up to the present day, and is used especially in the teachings of *akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf*.⁶⁴

There has been a study conducted by Martin van Bruinessen of the Indonesian *pesantren* milieu which provides valuable information on the books in Arabic script used in Indonesian traditional institutions of Islamic learning. Van Bruinessen found al-Ghazālī's works on *taṣawwuf* to have been the most widely used for the teaching of *taṣawwuf* in Indonesian *pesantrens*. He even found that some *pesantrens* specialize in the teaching of *Ihyā'*.⁶⁵ In addition to this, he says that *Sayr al-sālikīn*, the first Indonesian adaptation of *Ihyā'*, remains popular in some *pesantrens*, especially in Sumatra and West Java.⁶⁶

Al-Ghazālī works are specially suited to this environment given the fact that most *pesantren* communities consider themselves as members of the

⁶² G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Seh Bari*, 38.

⁶³ See Widji Saksono, "Islam Menurut Wedjangan Wali-Songo," 40.

⁶⁴ Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," 258.

⁶⁵ Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," 258.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*

NU, the abbreviation of the Nahdlatul Ulama (*Nahdat al-'Ulama*) which is an association of learned Muslims, the biggest Muslim mass organization in Indonesia, founded in 1927. According to the guidelines of this organization, all of its members should be of the *ahl al-sunna wa al-jama'a* (the people of orthodoxy and unity) and follow Ash'arism in terms of theology and one of the four Sunni schools of law (Hanafite, Maliki, Shafi'ite, and Hanbalite) in terms of *fiqh*. As far as concerns *tasawwuf*, the members of this organization should follow the teachings of al-Junayd al-Baghdadi (d.a. 910) and al-Ghazali (d. 1111).⁶⁷

The presence of al-Ghazali's works in most Indonesian *pesantrens* can also be accounted for by the fact that the expansion of the *pesantren* system owes much to '*ulamā*' (learned Muslims) who had studied Islam with Muslim scholars at Mecca, through whom they came into contact with some of al-Ghazali's works, and especially *Ihya'*. After coming back to their home country, some of them established *pesantrens* where they included some of al-Ghazali's books in the curriculum. Pesantren Dar al-Salam (also known as Pesantren Gontor) at Ponorogo, East Java, one of the most developed *pesantrens* in today's Indonesia, for example, makes use of al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* among its textbooks.⁶⁸

The use of al-Ghazali's *Ihya'* in Indonesian *pesantrens* has been constant since the founding of these institutions. The inclination towards Sufism has likewise been a feature in most Indonesian *pesantrens* from the

⁶⁷ Abdul Munir and Ahmad Arwan Bauis, *Pokok-Pokok Ajaran NU dan Masa Depan Umat* (Solo: Ramadhan, 1989), 44.

⁶⁸ See M. Dawam Rahardjo, "Kiyai dalam Pembaharuan Sosial," *Pesantren* (Jakarta), 4 (1985), 26.

very beginning up to today. This is because the time of the rapid spread of Islam among the Indonesian peoples took place simultaneously with the flourishing of Sufism throughout the Muslim world.⁶⁹ And since al-Ghazālī's contributions to this field were so popular at that time, it is no surprising that al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* should have reached Indonesia some time in the 15th or the 16th century. Reports that Sunan Bonang studied Islam under Seh Wali Lanang at Malaka provide convincing proof concerning the early process of adaptation of al-Ghazālī's thought among Indonesian Muslims. And since Sunan Bonang was among the first pupils of Pesantren Giri, it can be concluded that al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* was one of the works studied at the *pesantren* at least in the early part of the 16th century.⁷⁰ Furthermore, al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* was in continuous use even into the 18th century, as can be seen in the translation of the book into Malay (Jawi) by 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falanbanī (d. 1789), which provided at least some *pesantrens* in Sumatra and West Java with the Malay version of *Ihyā'*.⁷¹

Having discussed the use of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* 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 for Islamic studies, spread throughout 22 of 27 provinces of the Republic of Indonesia. Some of al-Ghazālī's works have been used as textbooks in the IAINs, while others are considered recommended reading. Some of al-Ghazālī's books, such as

⁶⁹ See A. H. Johns, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History, *JSAH*, 2 (1961), 23.

⁷⁰ See R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," 92; cf., Widji Saksono, "Islam Menurut Wedjangan Wali-Songo," 45.

⁷¹ See Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning," 258.

Bidāyat, *al-Mustaṣfā*, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, and *Ihyā'* are to be found in most IAIN libraries, since they are included among the textbooks used in these institutions. Al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* and *Bidāyat*, for example, are among the books used to teach subjects such as ethics (*akhlāq*) and Sufism (*taṣawwuf*).⁷²

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

There are some other institutions teaching Islamic studies in Indonesia, such as the *madrasa* (school) for both elementary and secondary level students, faculties of Islamic studies in non-IAIN universities, and even in independent Islamic universities. All of these institutions make use of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* either in a direct or an indirect way. Pupils in a *madrasa ibtidā'iya* (elementary school for Islamic studies) study the basic principles of *akhlāq* and through this the pupils begin to learn indirectly some of al-Ghazālī's thought on this subject, since his *Ihyā'* has influenced most of the books on *akhlāq* used in Indonesian *madrasas*. This same phenomenon can also be found in most books discussing *akhlāq* written by Indonesian

⁷² There are many of al-Ghazālī's books owned by IAINs some of which can be seen in a report as a result of a research intended to study bibliographies in IAINs i.e., IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, IAIN Raden Intan Lampung, IAIN Raden Fatah Palembang, and IAIN Sultan Thaha Jambi. The result of the research had been 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)

Muslim writers. For instance, H. Abdulmalik Karim Amrullah (1908-1981), former chairman of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian 'Ulamā' Council), who is also known as a prominent Indonesian Muslim writer of works dealing mostly with *akhlāq* or *taṣawwuf*, has to a certain extent been influenced by a number of great Muslim thinkers, especially al-Ghazālī. He mentions several of al-Ghazālī's works as sources to which he referred quite often, such as *Ihyā'*, *Kitāb Arba'in fi uṣūl al-dīn*, *Bidāya*, and *Minhāj al-'ābidīn*.⁷³ Barmawie Umarie, another contemporary Indonesian Muslim writer, has authored several books on *akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf*, some of these being his *Materia Achlaq* published in Semarang by Ramadhani in 1967 and *Systematik Tasawwuf* published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1963,⁷⁴ in which he seems to make use of much of al-Ghazālī's thought. These books are among the works which are supposed to be read by students at the IAINs who study *akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf*.⁷⁵ This fact suggests the important position of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* and other writings in most if not all of the Islamic schools in Indonesia.

Some Works on Al-Ghazālī and His Thought

There have been a number of works written by Indonesian writers dealing with al-Ghazālī's life and certain aspects of his thought. It is

⁷³ H. Abdulmalik Karim Amrullah, *Mutiara Filsafat*, 2d ed. (Jakarta: Widjaja, 1956), 14.

⁷⁴ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, 274.

⁷⁵ I used to consult Barmawie Umarie's *Systematik Tasawwuf* when doing my undergraduate program at the IAIN Alauddin Ujungpandang in 1978 to 1986 with regard to the subject *akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf*.

impossible, however, to cover all of the works in this discussion for certain technical reasons, among those being the lack of reliable of bibliographical control in this field. Some of those which can be mentioned here have been taken from several bibliographical sources available at the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill University.

There have been at least two biographical works on al-Ghazali written by Indonesian writers. These works, to a certain extent, have introduced al-Ghazālī to many Indonesian Muslims, and particularly to those who have no access to Arabic or any foreign work. The first work which can be mentioned here is the book entitled *Al-Ghazālī* written by Haji Muhammad Kasim Bakry (d. 1964). This Indonesian work was published by Widjaja, a Jakarta publisher. The first edition of this book came out in 1957 and the second one in 1962. Another work dealing with al-Ghazali and his life was written by Zainal Abidin Ahmad, another Indonesian writer. He wrote a book entitled *Riwayat Hidup Imam Ghazali (The Life of al-Ghazali)*. This biographical work was published for the first time in Jakarta by Bulan Bintang in 1975.

There is an Indonesian work entitled *Hujjatul Islam: Imam Ghazali (The Proof of Islam: Imām Ghazālī)* which is a translation of an Arabic work entitled *Al-Ghazālī* written by Ṭāhā 'Abd al-Bāqī Surūr. The above-mentioned Indonesian translation was done by LPMI⁷⁶ and edited by Yudian Wahyudi Asmin. The book was published in Solo by Pustaka Mantiq in 1989. Another biographical work about al-Ghazali originally

⁷⁶ LPMI is the abbreviation of Lembaga Penerjemah & Penulis Muslim Indonesia (Association for Indonesian Muslim Translators and Writers) founded by Yudian Wahyudi Asmin in 1987 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

written in Arabic which has also been translated into Indonesian is by Muḥammad Hamdī Zaḳzuq. The Indonesian adaptation of this work bears the title *Al-Ghazali Sang Sufi, Sang Filosof* (*Al-Ghazālī, A Sufi and A Philosopher*) translated into Indonesian by Ahmad Rofi and Uthman, and published in Bandung by Pustaka in 1987.

In addition to these bibliographical works, there are a number of works which deal with certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought. There are many books written in Indonesian by Indonesian writers which can be included in this category. Unfortunately, not all of them can be mentioned here for lack of fundamental bibliographical information. One such work is the book entitled *Kupasan Imam Ghazali dan Filosof-Filosof Alam Jang Masjhur terhadap Rahasia Alam Kebatinan* (*Al-Ghazālī and Some Other Prominent Philosophers on The Mystery of the Spiritual World*) written by Muhammad Syah Do'a and Sjeḥ Djalaluddin. This book was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1956.⁷⁷ Another work written in Indonesian is entitled *Imam al-Ghazālī dan Filosof Barat* (*Imām al-Ghazālī and Western Philosophers*). This book was published in Medan by Islamijah in 1954. The author of this book is Mohd. Arief Lubis.⁷⁸ Ahmad Hanafi wrote a book offering a comparison between Imām al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd on some problems of metaphysics. His work, entitled *Al-Ghazālī dan Ibn Rushd dalam Tiga Persoalan Metafisika* (*Al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd on Three*

⁷⁷ I examined this book at the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University of the Smith Collection bearing the call number C6 .D631k.

⁷⁸ A copy of this book is available at the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University of the Smith Collection under the call number C6 I 929i.

Metaphysical Problems), was published in Jakarta by Pustaka Alhusna in 1981.⁷⁹

In addition to the above mentioned books, it is important to include here several works produced by the faculty of graduate studies of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. The first work that should be mentioned here is a Ph.D. dissertation written by Muhammad Yasir Nasution, who received his degree at the IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta in 1986, entitled "Theological Reasoning According to al-Ghazālī." This work was later published in Jakarta by Rajawali Press in 1988 and bears the title *Manusia Menurut al-Ghazālī (The Concept of Man in the Writings of al-Ghazālī)*⁸⁰ Another Ph.D. dissertation dealing with certain aspect of al-Ghazālī's thought was written by Yahya Jaya, entitled "Konsep Tazkiyat al-Nafs Menurut Imam Ghazālī dalam *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* dan Relevansinya dengan Kesehatan Mental" (The Concept of the Purification of the Soul According to al-Ghazālī in the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and its Relevance to Mental Health) The writer presented this dissertation to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta on July 4th, 1989.⁸¹

Amin Abdullah, a member of the teaching staff of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, who obtained his Ph.D. degree at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey, in 1989, wrote his dissertation entitled "The Ethics of al-Ghazālī and Kant: Identity, Difference, and

⁷⁹ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, 289

⁸⁰ "Academic Life in 14 IAINs," *INIS Newsletter* 2 (1989), 10

⁸¹ "Academic Life in 14 IAINs," *INIS Newsletter* 4 (1990) 14

Consistency."⁸² The faculty of graduate studies of IAIN Sunan Kalijaga, Yogyakarta has also produced several academic works dealing with certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought, one of which is an M.A. thesis entitled "Ilmu Menurut al-Ghazālī. Suatu Tinjauan Pedagogik" (Science According to al-Ghazālī A Pedagogic Approach) written by M. Basri Ghazali whose work was published in Jakarta by Pedoman Ilmu Jaya in 1990.⁸³

For a relatively long period, Indonesian Muslims have considered al-Ghazālī the most authoritative thinker in Islam. This attitude has resulted in a reluctance to approach his work in a critical manner. Critiques 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-Ghazālī's thought especially as it is represented in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, = Bouyges: 16) is Ibn Rushd's *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (*The Incoherence of Incoherence*). The *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* consists of al-Ghazālī's critique of Muslim philosophers whom he considers to be infidels (*kāfir*, plural *kāfirūn* or *kuffār*) due to their denial of some principles of Islamic belief. In this work al-Ghazālī accuses the philosophers of being unbelievers for holding the propositions of the eternity of the world, God's knowledge only of universals, and the denial of the resurrection of the body on the last day.⁸⁴ In addition, al-Ghazālī raises seventeen other assertions which he considers heretical. In his *Tahāfut al-*

⁸² "Academic Life in 14 IAINs," *INIS Newsletter* 5 (1989), 15.

⁸³ A copy of this book is available at the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University bearing the call number B753 G34G34 1991

⁸⁴ Al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo: Dār Ihyā' al-Kutub al-'Arabīya 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī, 1947), 313-314.

tahāfut, written in response to al-Ghazālī's work, Ibn Rushd chastises al-Ghazālī for having misunderstood the philosophers' assertions. Ibn Rushd holds that the philosophers whom al-Ghazālī accused of being unbelievers do not deny God's attributes of perfection. What they deny is the use of certain terms which may imply the same meaning when they are applied 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 *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* is not very widely known in Indonesia, since the book was not available in this country until very recent times. There are only a few Indonesian Muslims who have had access to this book, since a 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, a renewed interest in al-Ghazālī's thought was awakened when this book became one of the recommended books for students of Islamic studies in the IAINs. And now that Arabic editions of the work have become available in Indonesia, especially in IAIN libraries,⁸⁵ more and more Indonesian Muslims have begun to question the reliability of some aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought.

Nevertheless, this new critical approach has not resulted in the publication of works criticizing al-Ghazālī's thought. Most of the works on al-Ghazālī written in or translated into Indonesian describe his works in a

⁸⁵ Departemen Agama, *Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, Penyusunan Bibliography*, 290

positive manner, and even put the master in a very special position above any other Muslim thinker. There are many Indonesian Muslims, particularly *kiyais* (traditional learned Muslims),⁸⁶ who would be appalled by any criticism of al-Ghazālī. One example of such a reaction is the uproar which occurred in a seminar held in the Pesantren Ihya Ulumiddin at Cilacap, West Java, in 1991. During a discussion of certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought, most of the *kiyais* who participated in the seminar were shocked when a participant appeared to accuse al-Ghazālī of being arrogant because he had criticized several Muslim groups, particularly the Ta'īsmīya, one sect of Isma'īlī Shī'ism. The *kiyais* maintained that al-Ghazālī was a great thinker, and therefore, that he was above such a low characterization.⁸⁷

As we have mentioned previously, a new turning-point in the attitude towards al-Ghazālī and his works took place with the establishment of the so-called IAINs. As learning institutions at the university level, these institutes occupy a strategic position in creating conditions favourable to the advancement of the scientific approach to Islamic Studies. In addition, the position of this institution as a whole has become more important

⁸⁶ The term *kiyai* originally referred to a local Muslim teacher who ran a *pesantren*. The meaning of this term in today's usage appears to be more broad which may also indicate any prominent Muslim thinker regardless of whether or not he is a teacher in a *pesantren*. The position of a *kiyai* in Indonesian Muslim society is very important. On many occasions throughout the history of Indonesia, a number of *kiyais* have played important roles in certain activities as cultural brokers. See Clifford Geertz, "The Javanese Kiyai: The Changing Role of a Cultural Broker," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 2 (1959-1960), 230.

⁸⁷ Noer Iskandar al-Barsany, "Kritik Para Kiyai terhadap al-Ghazālī," *Warta Nahdlatul Ulama* (Jakarta), March 1991, 14.

following the establishment in some of them of faculties of graduate studies, which to a certain extent have created a new tendency in approaching the Islamic sciences. This approach is quite different from the one which is currently applied in *pesantrens*, where traditional ways are the rule.

As a result of this new scientific approach in dealing with the Islamic sciences, a number of works covering various fields of Islamic studies have been produced by the students of these institutes. There have been a number of academic works in the form of treatises, theses, and even some dissertations written by students of IAINs dealing with aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought. In 1987, for example, there were several theses written by some students of the IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta dealing with certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought, such as "Keraguan Metodis al-Ghazali dan Descartes (al-Ghazālī and Descartes' Sceptic Methods)" by Arief Fachruddin, "Tinjauan Kritis al-Ghazali terhadap Teori Sebab Akibat Para Filosof Muslim (al-Ghazālī's Critical Approach towards Muslim Philosophers' Theory of Cause and Effect)" by Amsal Bachtiar, and "Pengetahuan Akal tentang Tuhan Menurut al-Ghazali dan Emmanuel Kant (Rational Knowledge on God According to al-Ghazālī and Emmanuel Kant)" by Denuri.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Departemen Agama, IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, *Tiga Puluh Tahun IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1 Juni 1957 - 1 Juni 1987: Lustrum VI* [microfilm] (Jakarta: IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 1987), 480-481.

Chapter Two

THE TRANSLATION OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S WORKS INTO JAWI, JAVANESE, AND INDONESIAN

The Jawi Translations

The word "Jawi" is derived from the word "Jawa" or "Java", which is itself based on the name of the island of Java, one of the five biggest islands of the Indonesian archipelago. The Arabs in the past considered the people of the Indonesian archipelago, including those who dwelt in surrounding regions, such as Patani in South Thailand and Malaysia, as the people of Java (Javanese), and called them Jawi.¹ Therefore they called the Malay language, the most widely used language for communication among the people of this region, Jawi. This language employed the Arabic script in written form, since it was commonly used with regard to religious matters.

There are not many Jawi translations of al-Ghazālī's works known to us today. The first known Jawi translation of al-Ghazālī's works, as mentioned earlier, is the *Hidāyat al-sālikīn fī sulūk al-muttaqīn* (*Guidance for Travellers on the Sūfī Path*), written by 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī and completed at Mecca, 5 Muharram 1192 / 3 February 1778. This book is a Jawi translation

¹ The term "Jawa" or "Java", as it is commonly written by Western writers, was used by the Arabs, especially the Meccans to indicate the region of Southeast Asia, including the southern part of Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei, the Philippines and Indonesia. They called the people of these areas *Jawī*. See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, trans. J. H. Monahan (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), 215-292.

of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat*. The first known publication of this work bears the date 1873 and was issued in Singapore.² This Malay work was printed for the first time in 1881 in Mecca,³ and was followed by another edition published in Bulak in 1892.⁴ Although this book is considered to be a translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat*, it is not merely a translation since the writer added much information which he took from other sources, therefore, it appears to have more of the characteristics of a commentary. This feature seems to have been common to 'Abd al-Ṣamad's translations of al-Ghazālī's works. Moreover, according to Hawash Abdullah, 'Abd al-Ṣamad's *Hidayat al-sālikīn* is not a direct translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat*. In translating the *Bidāyat*, 'Abd al-Ṣamad seems to have incorporated other sources by both al-Ghazālī and other writers. He says that 'Abd al-Ṣamad depended for his additional explanations on *Minhāj al-'ābidīn*, *Ihyā'*, and *Kitāb al-arba'in fī usul al-dīn* = Bouyges: 38, all by al-Ghazālī. As for the information which 'Abd al-Ṣamad took from other writers, Hawash Abdullah mentions several books such as *Yawāqīt wa al-jawāhir fī bayān 'aqa'id al-akābir* by Abū al-Mawahib 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 1565), and *Sharh 'alā maṭn al-hikam* by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abbād, etc.⁵ Although 'Abd al-Ṣamad inserted many additional explanations into his *Hidayat al-sālikīn*, the main idea which

² A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire des manuscrits indiens indochinois & malayo-polynésien* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), 217-218

³ Henri Chambert-Loir, "Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī sebagai Ulama Jawi," in 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī's *Sair al-Sālikīn* [microfilm], ed. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Museum Negeri Aceh (Banda Aceh: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Museum Negeri Aceh, 1985), xi

⁴ A. Cabaton, *Catalogue sommaire*, 218.

⁵ Hawash Abdullah, *Perkembangan Ilmu Tasawuf & Tokoh-Tokohnya di Nusantara* (Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, n.d.), 94-95

al-Ghazali had tried to put across in his *Bidāyat* is still dominant in the book, i.e. that Islamic law (*sharīʿa*) and Sufism (*taṣawwuf*) can be harmoniously reconciled.⁶

According to Hawash Abdullah, another Jawi translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidayat* is also available in a version done by Shaykh Dāwūd ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Idrīs al-Fatānī, a 19th century Malay writer. He says that Shaykh Dāwūd translated al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat* without giving any additional explanation to it, making his work a direct translation of *Bidāyat*.⁷ It is important to note, however, that Hawash Abdullah's remarks on this matter cannot be confirmed by any other authority. Some scholars, such as Raymond LeRoy Archer,⁸ P. Voorhoeve,⁹ Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker,¹⁰ for example, state that al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn* was the only book of al-Ghazālī to be translated by Shaykh Dāwūd. Therefore, it is very likely that Hawash Abdullah misunderstood Shaykh Dāwūd's translation.

The most important Jawi version of al-Ghazālī's works is *Sayr al-sālikīn* also done by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. He details in the work itself the progress he made in translating it. The first section, which discusses mainly faith (*imān*) and rites (*ʿibāda*), ʿAbd al-Samad finished in 1780 at Mecca. The second

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 94.

⁸ Raymond LeRoy Archer, "Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra," *JMBRAS* 15 (1937), 11.

⁹ H. A. R. Gibb et. al., eds. *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954-), s.v. "Dāwūd b. ʿAbd Allah b. Idrīs al-Fatānī," by P. Voorhoeve, 183.

¹⁰ Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani," *JMBRAS* 61 (1988), 24.

part explaining ethics (*akhlāq*) he completed in 1781 at Ia'it. The third section describing various kinds of vices was completed in 1783 in Mecca. The last part, dealing with certain kinds of good deeds which may lead the doer away from various bad qualities, 'Abd al-Samad finished in 1788 at Mecca.¹¹ According to Chambert-Loir, this book circulated widely in Indonesia even before appearing in a printed version. Several parts of this book can be found in some libraries and museums in Indonesia. The Museum Nasional (National Museum) in Jakarta, for example, has a complete text of the book which consists of 2,796 pages.¹² In 1888, a hundred years after 'Abd al-Samad completed this work, it was printed for the first time at Mecca and then at Bulak and Cairo in years following.¹³ A copy of a quite recent issue of *Sayr al-sālikīn*, consisting of three volumes, which was published in Egypt by 'Isā al-Bābī al-Halabī in 1953 is available at the library of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta.¹⁴

Sayr al-sāl-kīn played a very important role in introducing al-Ghazalī's thought among Indonesian Muslims, at least until a modern Indonesian translation of the book made an appearance in the second half of this century. According to Wamad Abdullah and Tgk. M. Dahlan al-Farusy, as quoted by Chambert-Loir, the library of Dayah Tanoh Abce at Aceh owned no fewer than 150 copies of Arabic works by al-Ghazalī as well as 14 copies

¹¹ Henri Chambert-Loir, "'Abd al-Samad al-Fa'imbanī," xi.

¹² Ibid., xiii.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi Perpustakaan IAIN Seluruh Indonesia* (Jakarta: Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, 1988/1989), 278.

of *Sayr al-sālikīn* ¹⁵ This gives us an important insight into the priorities of the Islamic educational system in that area a century ago.

The fact that *Sayr al-sālikīn* can be found in Aceh more easily than in any other part of Indonesia, is very likely because this place, to a certain extent, has held a key position in the development of Islamic society in Indonesia. Moreover, a number of the early prominent Muslim thinkers of Indonesia were born and grew up in this area, such as Hamzah Fansurī, Shams al-Dīn Pasai, and 'Abd al-Ra'ūf Singkel. In addition, Aceh is known to have been the most important Islamic center in the Indonesian archipelago since the coming of Islam to this region, ¹⁶ at least until the Kingdom of Aceh was completely destroyed by the Dutch in the beginning of this century ¹⁷

A romanized version of *Sayr al-sālikīn* was produced by Nasruddin Sulaiman, and then completed by H. A. Muin Umar. The text is based on a manuscript owned by the Museum Negeri Aceh (National Museum of Aceh) ¹⁸ This romanized *Sayr al-sālikīn* is available in the form of a microfiche copy of the original filmed by the Library of Congress Office in 1988 ¹⁹

¹⁵ Henri Chambert-Loir, "Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī," xiii.

¹⁶ See Ismail Hamid, *The Malay Islamic Hikayat* (Malaysia: Penerbit University Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1983), 21.

¹⁷ See Donald W. Fryer and James C. Jackson, *Indonesia* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1977), 53.

¹⁸ Henri Chambert-Loir, "Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbanī," xiii.

¹⁹ This microfiche is available in the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University. Some of the information which I employ in this thesis is provided by the microfiche.

*Minhāj al-‘ābidīn*²⁰ is another of al-Ghazālī's works which was translated into Jawi, this time by Shaykh Dāwūd ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Idrīs al-Fatani, who lived in the first half of the 19th century. According to R. O. Winstedt however, Shaykh Dāwūd's work entitled *Minhāj al-‘ābidīn ila jaannat rabb al-‘ālamīn* is in fact a Malay translation of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā’*, the *Kitāb asrar* and the *Kitāb al-qurba ilā Allah* (Bouyges: 309). Shaykh Dawud finished this work at Mecca in 1824.²¹

Nevertheless, most scholars acknowledge that Shaykh Dawud's translation entitled *Minhāj al-‘ābidīn* is merely a translation of al-Ghazālī's book of the same name. Among the writers who hold this opinion are Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker.²² A similar opinion is held by P. Voorhoeve, who says that Shaykh Dāwūd translated al-Ghazālī's *Minhāj al-‘ābidīn*.²³

It is very likely that Shaykh Dāwūd made use of several of al-Ghazālī's works in most of his writings, especially in relation to Sufism, since he is known to have stayed at Mecca in the first half of the 19th century at the time when al-Ghazālī's mystical teachings were very dominant in the holy

²⁰ This book has been considered by some writers to have falsely been attributed to al-Ghazālī. Ibn ‘Arabī denied its authenticity as al-Ghazālī's work. He ascribed it to Abū Hasan ‘Alī ibn Khalīl al-Sibtī. See Duncan B. Macdonald, "The life of al-Ghazzālī with especial reference to his religious experiences and opinions," *JAOS*, 20 (1899), 107; cf. W. Montgomery Watt, "Authenticity of Works attributed to al-Ghazālī," *JRAS* (1952), 37.

²¹ R. O. Winstedt, "A History of Classical Malay Literature," *JMBRAS* 17 (1939); revised edition, 31 (1958), 126.

²² See Virginia Matheson and M. B. Hooker, "Jawi Literature in Patani, The Maintenance of an Islamic Tradition," *JMBRAS* 61 (1988), 24.

²³ P. Voorhoeve, "Dāwūd b. ‘Abd Allah b. Idrīs al-Fatani," 183.

city.²⁴ The fact that Shaykh Dāwūd referred to certain books of al-Ghazālī quite frequently may lead to the emergence of various impressions concerning which of al-Ghazālī's books were translated by him

According to P. Voorhoeve, Shaykh Dāwūd's major works, including his *Minhaj al-'abidīn*, were for the most part printed at Mecca around 1845. Reprints of these and the first edition of others of his works were later published by his descendants some time later in various cities. Some of Shaykh Dāwūd's works in manuscript form are now preserved in Cambridge, Jakarta, Leiden and London.²⁵

The last Jawi adaptation of al-Ghazālī's work which should be mentioned here is the book entitled *Munabbih al-ghāfilīn* (Warning for the Negligent), written by 'Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Muhammad al-Jawī al-Kelantanī. This work is a Jawi translation of extracts from al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* and *Mishkāt al-anwār* (*The Niche of Light*, = Bouyges: 52). The latest known edition of this work is the one which was published in 1955,²⁶ a reprint of the 1868 edition.²⁷

All the above-mentioned Jawi adaptations of some of al-Ghazālī's works are still available in several libraries in Indonesia, in the Netherlands, and in France. *Sayr al-sālikīn*, the largest and perhaps the most important work

²⁴ See C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), 201.

²⁵ P. Voorhoeve, "Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allah b. Idrīs al-Fatānī," 183

²⁶ Unfortunately, I could not verify this information since the book itself is not available to me.

²⁷ A manuscript copy of this work is available at the library of the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.

among them, was even, as has been noted, transliterated into Roman script. These works served to provide certain preliminary information about aspects of al-Ghazālī's mystical teachings and created a favorable condition for the acceptance of his religious teachings in general and his mystical thought in particular.

The Javanese Translations of al-Ghazālī's Works

Javanese is the language spoken by the majority of the people of Java. Only the people of West Java and the people of Madura, a small island located on the northeast coast of Java, do not speak Javanese. The former are known as Sundanese and their language is called Sundanese, while the inhabitants of Madura are identified as Madurese and their language is known as Madurese. Javanese is important mainly because this language is spoken by the largest number of Indonesians since almost two-thirds of the population of this country live in Java. As a matter of fact, the position of this language in Indonesia can be considered second only to Indonesian, the national language which grew mainly out of the Malay language. On the basis of this fact, it is necessary to mention here several Javanese translations of al-Ghazālī's works, to which a number of Indonesian Muslims familiar with Javanese have access.

As with the Jawi translations, there are only a few known Javanese versions of al-Ghazālī's works. It is difficult to determine, however, the exact number of Javanese versions since there has not been any special effort made to list them. Some of the books which are available in several libraries both in Indonesia and in many other countries are considered to be

quite rare

It is not known at what date the first Javanese versions of al-Ghazālī's works began to circulate among the Javanese. The earliest printed publication, as indicated by several Javanese translations of al-Ghazālī's books, appeared in 1925. It is very possible that some Javanese versions of his works had been produced even earlier, following the flourishing of *pesantrens* in Java in the middle of the 19th century. This is because most Javanese *pesantrens* from the very beginning used the Javanese language as the language for both communication and instruction.²⁸

Maongidotoel moe'minin is the Javanese vocalization of *Maw'izat al-mu'minīn*, and is the Javanese title of a translation of an Arabic work entitled *Maw'izat al-mu'minīn min lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (*The Admonitions of the Believers from the Revival of the Religious Sciences*), originally written by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī and translated into Javanese by Mas Ihsanoeddin. This Javanese work was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1925.²⁹

Another Javanese version of al-Ghazālī's works is *Hikajatoel Arwah*, the Javanese corruption of *Hikāyat al-arwāḥ* (*A Story of the Soul*). This book describes the travel of the soul to the so-called intermediate world after death (*ālam al-barzakh*). The book was translated by Mas Ihsanoeddin and published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1927.³⁰ I could not find the

²⁸ See H. A. R. Gibb and H. J. Kramers, eds., "Pesantren," *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), 461.

²⁹ A copy of this book is held in the Wason Collection of the Olin Library of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

³⁰ Also available at the Wason Collection, Olin Library, Cornell University.

original title from which this Javanese translation was made since it is not listed in the bibliographical sources available to me

Rijalatoenoefoes is the Javanese version of *Riyadat al-nufus* of *Ihya'*, discussing the nature of the heart. The translation was done by Mas Ihsanoeddin, and was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1930.³¹

There is a Javanese book on *taṣawwuf* which bears the title *Lasawoef*, written by Kijai (Kiyai) Moefti Moehammadi and later edited by Kijai Moechtar Boechari and Kijai Idris. The contents of this book were taken from al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*. As indicated by its title, the book deals with Sufism as it had been developed by al-Ghazālī. The book was published for the first time in Surakarta (Solo) by the publication section of the Muhammadiyah in 1928.³²

Asraris Sijam is the Javanese rendition of *Asrār al-siyam* (*The Secrets of Fasting*), a selection taken from the first volume of al-Ghazālī's *Ihya'*. This translation was also done by Mas Ihsanoeddin and published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1929.³³

Kitab damoel galab walakdi walhasadi is a Javanese adaptation of a part of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, taken from volume three, entitled *Kitāb dhamm al-ghadab wa al-haqd wa al-ḥasad* (*The Book of Reproach for Anger, Malice, and Envy*). It was translated into Javanese by Mas Ihsanoeddin and was

³¹ Held in the Wason Collection.

³² Held in the Wason Collection.

³³ Held in the Wason Collection.

published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Samsijah in 1931.³⁴

Kitab damoen doenja is another Javanese translation of a book of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* known as *Kitāb dhamm al-dunyā* (*The Book of The Reproach of the World*). This Javanese translation was written by Mas Ihsanoeddin. It was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Samsijah in 1931.³⁵

The first part of the fourth volume of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, *Kitāb al-tawba* (*The Book of Repentance*), was also translated into Javanese by Mas Ihsanoeddin and bears the original title. It was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Samsijah in 1939.³⁶

In contrast to the above-mentioned Javanese books which consist of translations mainly from al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, there is another Javanese translation of al-Ghazālī's works which was done on the basis of his *Minhāj al-ʿābidīn*, and entitled *Kitab tanwiroel qoeloeb* (*Kitāb tanwīr al-qulūb* or *The Book of the Enlightenment of Hearts*). Like most of the other Javanese translations of al-Ghazālī's works, this book was also published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Samsijah in 1942.³⁷ Unfortunately, I could not find the name of the translator since the book itself is not available to me.

In addition to the above-mentioned Javanese works, one may include here a Sundanese work entitled *Kitab Tasaoep*, a Sundanese adaptation of the Arabic words *kitāb taṣawwuf* (*The Book of Sufism*). This Sundanese work

³⁴ Held in the Wason Collection.

³⁵ Held in the Wason Collection.

³⁶ Held in the Wason Collection.

³⁷ Held in the Wason Collection.

was edited by G. J. Grashius under the title *Zedeleer naar Ghazali, Soendanesche tekst, met inleiding en aantekeningen* published in Leiden by Sijthoff in 1874.³⁸ The writer of this Sundanese work is not known; however, it is believed that he wrote the book on the basis of al-Ghazali's mystical teachings.

It is important to note that the above-listed Javanese works are only those which are available in the Wason Collection of the Library of Cornell University. It is quite possible that there are still other Javanese adaptations or translations of certain of al-Ghazālī's works. The main problem in identifying such books is that there has not been any special effort made until now to list them. Because of the low priority given in the past to recording and preserving written materials in Indonesia, there are often great difficulties in identifying works by earlier writers, and this is especially true in the present case.

All the above mentioned Javanese adaptations or translations of al-Ghazālī's works indicate that his mystical thought occupied a special position within the religious life of Javanese Muslims, more in fact than any other aspect of his thought. This is perhaps because the religious life of most Javanese seems to be very mystically oriented. This characteristic is still to be found among most Javanese, especially those who live in rural areas. The term "*Islam-Kejawen* (Islam-Javanism)," which is very well-known in Indonesia, denotes this religious tendency.

³⁸ B. J. Boland and I. Farjon, *Islam in Indonesia: A Bibliographical Survey* (The Netherlands: Foris Publications Holland, 1983), 89

The Indonesian Translations of al-Ghazālī's Works

The majority of the Indonesian translations of al-Ghazālī's works are of selections taken from his *Ihyā'*. These works are intended to provide particular information on specific matters of Islamic teachings. Like the Indonesian adaptations of the *Ihyā'* itself, some of these small books have been published several times in order to instruct their readers on certain details of faith. It is impossible, however, to mention all of these works here due to the lack of bibliographical information covering them. Most of the books which will be mentioned in this section are listed in several sources belonging to the library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University some of which are

- 1 Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Perpustakaan Nasional dan Biro Perpustakaan, *Bibliografi Nasional Indonesia: Kumulasi 1945- 1963*, 2 vols (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1965)
- 2 Koninklijk Institut voor Taal-, Land, en Volkenkunde (KITLV), *Katalog Perpustakaan* (Jakarta: Koninklijk Institut voor Taal, Land, en Volkenkunde, 1977-).
- 3 Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi Perpustakaan IAIN Seluruh Indonesia* (Jakarta: Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, 1988/1989).
- 4 Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam Sejak Tahun 1945*, 3d ed (Jakarta: Haji Masagung, 1990).

Unfortunately, most of the sources which are employed here do not provide sufficient bibliographical details. Nevertheless, their information, to a certain extent, has been useful in providing certain basic details. *Buku Islam* (*Books on Islam*) a bibliography-like work, published in Jakarta by Masagung in 1988, for example, does not provide sufficient bibliographical information on the books listed in it. The book does not mention the title of the original

work nor the translator's name (in the case of translation) or number of the edition. It does, however, provide information about the author's name, the title of the work, the publisher, the place and the date of publication. One example will suffice:

al-Ghazali, Imam. *Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf*. Bulan Bintang. Jakarta, 1960³⁹

On the basis of this bibliographical information, one may not realize that the book *Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf* is an Indonesian translation of al-Ghazali's *Bidāyat al-hidāya*. In addition, this information does not provide the translator's name.

The vast majority of Indonesian translations of al-Ghazālī's works have probably come into being only in recent times. This is because the use of Indonesian as the national language can be said only to have officially begun in 1928 when the language was chosen by the Kongres Pemuda Indonesia (Congress of Indonesian Youths) held in Batavia (Jakarta) to be the only language of official communication among the people of Indonesia.⁴⁰ Since this language has not been functioning long enough as the main language for Indonesians, (with exception of the Malay, the people of Sumatra), hardly any book on Islam was written in the Indonesian language before the 1920s.

The translations of al-Ghazālī's works into Indonesian, like those into Jawi and Javanese, aim mostly at the bettering the understanding of Islamic teachings by Indonesian Muslims. Since the language is now very common

³⁹ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam Sejak Tahun 1945*, 3d. edition (Jakarta: Haji Masagung, 1990), 98-98.

⁴⁰ See Wilfred T. Neill, *Twentieth Century Indonesia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 306.

among them, the position of the Indonesian translations of al-Ghazālī's works has become very important. Most Indonesian Muslims are, to some extent, indebted these translations works through which they may be able to know the teachings of their religion more properly.

Al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* is the first of his works known to have been translated into Indonesian. The translation bears the title *Ihya al-Ghazali (The Revival of al-Ghazali)* and was translated by Tgk. H. Ismail Ja'kub (d. 1984?). This Indonesian translation of *Ihyā'* was published for the first time in Medan (North Sumatra) by C. V. Faizan, a publisher specializing in books on Islam, in 1964.⁴¹ This complete Indonesian translation of *Ihyā'* has been published several times in different cities in Indonesia such as in Jakarta by Widjaja in 1964,⁴² in Medan by Faizan in 1964, in Jakarta by Tintamas in 1966,⁴³ in Semarang (Central Java) by Faizan in 1977 and again in 1979,⁴⁴ and in Jakarta by Faizan in 1986.⁴⁵ In addition to the above translation, another Indonesian adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* has been available in the translation of Maisir Thaib and A. Thaher Hamidy. It bears the title *Ihya' Ulumiddin (Djawa Agama or The Soul of Religion)*. This translation was published for the first time in Medan by Pustaka Indonesia in 1966.⁴⁶ Both of

⁴¹ Inter Documentation Company, *Indonesian Monographs: a catalogue of monograph publications 1945-1968* (Switzerland: Inter Documentation Company, 1974), 148.

⁴² The Library of Congress, *Accession List: Indonesia* (Jakarta: American Libraries Book Procurement Center, 1964), vol. 1, 356.

⁴³ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 98.

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid, 98-100.

⁴⁶ The Library of Congress, *Accession List: Indonesia*, vol. 2, 181.

the above-mentioned Indonesian translations of the *Ihya* have provided the material for published excerpts taken from the book. Some of these excerpts have been reprinted many times for the benefit of Indonesian Muslims.

The presence of both Indonesian translations of al-Ghazali's *Ihya* in Indonesia indicates to a certain extent the importance of the book in terms of the process of the development of Islamic understanding among Indonesian Muslims. The fact that these books have been reprinted several times in different places in Indonesia, as mentioned above, indicates their popularity among Indonesian Muslims.

Keadjaiban Hati (The Mystery of the Heart) is an Indonesian translation of *Kitāb sharḥ 'ajā'ib al-qalb*, the second edition of which was published in 1965 in Djakarta by Jajasan Kessedjahteraan Keluarga.⁴⁷ This Indonesian translation of part of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* was done by Nurlukmah. Some editions of this work were published in Jakarta by Tintamas who reprinted it several times, in 1966, 1972, 1984.⁴⁸ There is also another edition of the same book which was published under the title *Rahasia Keajaiban Hati (The Secret of the Mystery of the Heart)* brought about by Mahkota in 1986 in Surabaya.⁴⁹

Taubat, Sabar dan Sjukur (Repentance, Patience, and Gratefulness) is an Indonesian translation of both the *Kitāb al-tawba* and the *Kitāb al-sabr wa al*

⁴⁷ The Library of Congress, *Accession List: Indonesia*, vol. 1, 356

⁴⁸ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 98, 102

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

shukr of al-Ghazalī's *Ihya'*. This book is known to have been reprinted several times. The 6th edition of the Indonesian translation of these books was published in 1983 by Tintamas in Jakarta.⁵⁰ This book was translated into Indonesian by Nurhikmah and R. H. A. Suminto. In addition, there is another version of the Indonesian translation of the *Kitāb al-tawba* entitled *Ilakakat Taubat sebagai Penebus Dosa (The Essence of Repentance as the Savior)* which was published in Surabaya by Bintang Pelajar in 1983.⁵¹ Another Indonesian adaptation of the *Kitāb al-tawba* is *Pintu Taubat Masih Terbuka (There Is Still a Chance To Repent)* published at Bandung by Hasan in 1988.⁵²

An Indonesian translation of the *Kitāb riyāḍat al-nafs (The Book of the Devotions of Soul)* from the *Ihyā'* is entitled *Pembuka dan Penerang Hati (The Disclosing and the Enlightening of the Heart)* published in Bandung by Alma'arif in 1983.⁵³ There is another Indonesian version of this book entitled *Pembersih Jiwa (The Purification of the Soul)* published in the same city by Pustaka in 1989.⁵⁴

Kitāb āfāt al-lisān (The Evils of the Tongue) is another part from the *Ihyā'* which was translated into Indonesian under the title *Bahaya Lisan (The Danger of the Tongue)*. This book was published in Surabaya by Bintang

⁵⁰ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, 262.

⁵¹ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 101.

⁵² Ibid., 141.

⁵³ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 146.

Pelajar in 1983.⁵⁵ In addition, there is another Indonesian adaptation of it entitled *Pandangan al-Ghazālī tentang Bahaya Lidah* (*al-Ghazālī's View on the Liability of the Tongue*) which was also published in Surabaya by Al Ikhlas in 1984.⁵⁶

Kitāb al-khawf wa al-rajā' (*The Book of Fear and Hope*) of the *Ihyā'* was translated into Indonesian entitled *Masalah Takut dan Harapan* (*Fear and Hope*). This book was printed in Surabaya by Mahkota publishers in 1986.⁵⁷

Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa mā ba'dahu (*The Book of the Remembrance of Death and the Life after it*) of the *Ihyā'* was translated into Indonesian under the title *Konsep Hidup Sesudah Mati* (*The Life After Death*). This work was published in Surabaya by Andalas in 1986.⁵⁸

Kitāb dhamm al-ghaḍab wa al-ḥaqd wa al-hasad (*The Book of the Reproach of Anger, Malice, and Envy*) has appeared in two different Indonesian adaptations, one of which is entitled *Pandangan al-Ghazālī tentang Dengki* (*al-Ghazālī's View on Envy*) published in Surabaya by Al Ikhlas in 1984,⁵⁹ while the other entitled *Pandangan al-Ghazālī tentang Marah, Dendam dan Dengki* (*al-Ghazālī's views on Anger, Malice, and Envy*) was published by the same publisher in 1986.⁶⁰ The former is merely a translation of selected passages

⁵⁵ Ibid., 98.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 99.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 63.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 100.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

showing al-Ghazali's views on hatred, while the latter appears to be a complete translation of the above mentioned part of the *Ihyā'*, which covers all the above mentioned vices

Kitab asrar al-sala (The Book of the Secret of Prayer) is another part of the *Ihya'* which has also been translated into Indonesian. The Indonesian version of this book is entitled *Cahaya Di Balik Shalat Khusyu'* (*Light Behind the Submissive Prayer*). This work was published in Solo by Ramadhani in 1988⁶¹. Another Indonesian version of this book is *Menangkap Rahasia Kedalaman Rohaniyah Peribadatan (Perceiving the Secret of the Inner Dimension of Worship)*. This work is known to have been published in Jakarta by Rajawali in 1987⁶².

The book *Menundukkan Nafsu (Suppression of the Two Passions)* is an Indonesian adaptation of the *Kitāb kasr al-shahwatayn (The Book of Suppression of the Two Passions)*. This book was published in Surabaya by Bungkul Indah in 1988⁶³. In addition, there is also another Indonesian adaptation of this book entitled *Pandangan al-Ghazālī tentang Nafsu (al-Ghazali's View on Passions)* which was published in Surabaya by Al Ikhlas in 1980⁶⁴.

Menyingkap Hakekat Perkawinan (Discovering the Essence of Marriage) is a free translation or adaptation of al-Ghazālī's ideas on marriage as they

⁶¹ Ibid , 142

⁶² Ibid , 71

⁶³ Ibid , 100

⁶⁴ Ibid

appear in the *Kitāb al-nikāh* (*The Book of Marriage*) from the *Ihya'*. This book was published in Bandung by Karisma in 1988.⁶⁵

The book *Renungan* (*Meditation*) is the Indonesian translation of the *Kitāb al-tafakkur* (*The Book of Meditation*) from the *Ihya'*. This book was published in Jakarta by Tintamas in 1983 and 1984.⁶⁶

There are several Indonesian versions of al-Ghazali's writings which seem to be summaries of sections from the *Ihyā'*. It is not always clear, however, whether these works summarize the *Ihya'* directly or are merely translations of works which themselves summarize the work, such as *Iubab*, *Bidāyat*, and *Minhāj al-'ābidīn*.

The book *Ichtisar Ihya' Ulumuddin* (*The Summary of Ihya' 'ulum al-din*) was written by Tgk. H. Ismail Ja'kub. This book was published in Yogyakarta by Al-Falah in 1966.⁶⁷ In addition, there is another similar work with a slightly different title, *Mukhtasor Ihya' Ulumuddin*, published in the same city by UPP Indonesia in 1982.⁶⁸ Another similar work entitled *Mutiara Ihya' Ulumuddin* (*The Jewels of the Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*), published much earlier than the above mentioned summary works, appeared for the first time in Jakarta published by Mulia in 1964.⁶⁹ The book was reprinted in Semarang by Wicaksana in 1985.⁷⁰ The book *Ihya' Ulumuddin: Menuju Filsafat Ilmu* (*Ihya' 'ulum al-din*)

⁶⁵ Ibid., 144.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 102

⁶⁷ Ibid., 98

⁶⁸ Ibid., 100

⁶⁹ Ibid., 7.

Towards the Philosophical Sciences) is another free adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. This book was published in Surabaya by Bintang Pelajar in 1987.⁷¹

It is necessary to mention here a book entitled *Imam al-Ghazālī tentang Falsafah Akhlak* (*Imām al-Ghazālī on Ethical Philosophy*) written by M. Said who adapted the contents of the book from al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. The fourth edition of this work was published in Bandung by Alma'arif in 1963.⁷² Reprint editions were published in 1971, 1981, and 1987.⁷³

Having listed some Indonesian versions of al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, let us turn now to his other works which have also been translated into the language. Like the *Ihyā'*, these other works have become popular among Indonesian Muslims as a result of their availability in a language mostly understood and spoken by them. Unfortunately, the present work is not able to be exhaustive due to the lack of sufficient information of a reliable bibliographical nature. Consequently, it is very possible that some books which should be mentioned here have inadvertently been omitted.

Al-Ghazālī's *Ayyuhā al-walad* (*O Disciple*, = Bouyges: 46) was translated into Indonesian under the title *Imam Ghazali O Anak: Keputusan Kata Kepada Seorang Muridnya* (*Imām al-Ghazālī's O Disciple. His Admonitions to His*

⁷⁰ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, 262

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 99

⁷² Giok Po Oey et al., *The John M. Echols Collection: Southeast Asia Catalog*, 1st Supp. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1983), vol. 2, 34. See also The Library of Congress, *Accession List: Indonesia*, vol. 1, 227

⁷³ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 101

Disciple) by M. Zain Djambek. The first edition of this work was published in Jakarta by Tintamas in 1937. It is very likely that this work was the first Indonesian translation of al-Ghazālī's works to be available among Indonesian Muslims since other translations did not come into being until several years later. The popularity of this book has caused it to be reprinted many times, i.e. 1940, 1951, 1953, 1956, 1960, 1962, 1973, and 1980.⁷⁴ The translator of this work says that the basic material for this work was taken from a collection of al-Ghazālī's writings entitled *al-Jawāhīr al-qhawāli min rasā'il Imām al-Ghazālī*, first edition (Egypt. Muhyī al-Dīn Sabrī al-Kurdī, 1343 H.)⁷⁵ Another Indonesian translation of al-Ghazālī's *Ayyuha al-walad* is entitled *Kepada Murid-Muridku. Surat Imam Ghazali (To My Disciples: Imam Ghazālī's Letters)* translated by Zeid Husein and Herry Muhammad. This work was published in Jakarta by H I Press 1989.⁷⁶

Tjinta dan Bahagia (Love and Happiness) is an Indonesian adaptation of certain works by al-Ghazālī. According to Abdullah bin Nuh (d. 1987), the translator of the book, he translated the book on the basis of al-Ghazālī's *Kitāb al-mahabba* from the *lhyā'* and *Minhāj al-'abidīn*.⁷⁷ This book was published for the first time in Jakarta by Tintamas in 1958.⁷⁸ Since then, the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 116.

⁷⁵ M. Zain Djambek, trans., *Imam Ghazali O Anak Keputusan Kata Kepada Seorang Muridnja* (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1937; reprint, 1956), 9. See also C. Brockelmann, *GAL* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), 1st Supp. 745.

⁷⁶ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 106.

⁷⁷ See al-Ghazālī, *Tjinta dan Bahagia*, trans. Abdullah bin Nuh (Jakarta: Tintamas, 1958), 3. See also The Library of Congress, *Accession List Indonesia*, vol. 1, 227.

⁷⁸ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 98.

book has been reprinted several times, i.e. in 1960, 1965, 1973, and in 1986 by the same publisher.⁷⁹

In addition to the above-mentioned work, Abdullah bin Nuh also translated *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl* (*The Deliverance from Error*, = Bouyges: 56 henceforth cited as *al-Munqidh*) into Indonesian under the title *Pembebas dari Kesesatan* (*The Deliverance from Error*) published for the first time in Jakarta by Intamas in 1960,⁸⁰ its second edition being issued by the same publisher in 1962.⁸¹ This book has been published several times, e.g. in 1966 and in 1984.⁸² Another Indonesian translation of this work was done by H. Rus'an whose work bears the title *Perjuangan Melawan Kesesatan* (*The Struggle Against Deception*). One edition of this work appeared in Jakarta published by Bulan Bintang in 1963.⁸³ In addition, there is another version of *al-Munqidh* entitled *Penyelamat dari Kesesatan* (*The Savior from Error*) which was published in Gresik, East Java by Bintang Pelajar in 1986.⁸⁴

Al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat* seems very likely to have been among the most popular of his works for Indonesian Muslims, for it has been translated so many times into Indonesian under various titles and with different modifications by several publishers. One of the Indonesian adaptations of

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliografi*, 277

⁸¹ The Library of Congress, *Accession List: Indonesia*, vol. 1, 227.

⁸² Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 114

⁸³ Ibid , 14

⁸⁴ Ibid , 146

this book is *Kumpulan Adab dan Doa (A Collection of Teachings on Ethics and Prayers)* written by Audi J Sannadba. This book was published for the first time in Medan by Tjerdas in 1952.⁸⁵ Another Indonesian adaptation of *Bidāyat* is *Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf (An Introduction to Sufism)* translated by H Rus'an. The first issue of this book was published in Jakarta by Indonesiana in 1957.⁸⁶ The next two editions were printed by Bulan Bintang in 1960 and in 1965. There is also another Indonesian version of *Bidayat* entitled *Bimbingan Perulaan Mencapai Hidayah (A Preliminary Instruction for Attaining Guidance)* published in Surabaya by Bina Ilmu in 1982.⁸⁷ The last Indonesian adaptation of *Bidāyat* which should be mentioned here is the book *Menjelang Hidayah: Mukaddimah Ihyā' Ulumiddin (Approaching Guidance: An Introduction to Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn)* which was translated by H. M. As'ad El-Hafidy and edited by Ilyas Hasan. The second edition of this work was published in Bandung by Mizan in 1985⁸⁸ and in 1987.⁸⁹

Kīmīyā' al-sa'āda (The Alchemy of Happiness, Bouyges 222) has also been translated into Indonesian by H. Rus'an. His work bears the title *Menyingkap Rahasia Kebahagiaan (Discovering the Secret of Happiness)* and seems to have been reprinted several times. Its first edition was published

⁸⁵ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Proyek Perpustakaan Nasional dan Biro Perpustakaan, *Bibliografi Nasional Indonesia Kumulasi 1945-1963* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1965), 97.

⁸⁶ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 98.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁸⁸ Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land, en Volkenkunde, *Katalog Perpustakaan* (Jakarta: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land, en Volkenkunde, 1986), 4.

⁸⁹ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 11.

in Jakarta by Bulan Bintang in 1956. Afterwards, the book was reprinted several times, such as in 1962 and 1963, also in Jakarta by Bulan Bintang.⁹⁰

Al-Ghazali's *Minhaj al-'ābidīn*, was also translated into Indonesian by Abdullah bin Nuh and entitled *Minhaj al-Abidin Menuju Mukmin Sejati* (*The Way of the Worshipers Towards a Sincere Believer*). This work seems to have been published by a number of different publishers, some of whom even issued the work simultaneously in 1986. Some of these publications bear the same title. The book published in Jakarta by Beunebi Cipta in 1986, entitled *Minhajul 'Abidin Menuju Mukmin Sejati* (*The Way of The Worshippers Towards a Sincere Believer*)⁹¹ The book of the same name was also issued in Banda Aceh by Tenaga Tani in 1986.⁹² Another Indonesian translation of *Minhāj al-'abidin* was also published in Surabaya by Media Idaman in 1986 bearing the title *Wasiat Imam Ghazali* (*The Admonitions of Imām Ghazālī*).⁹³ The same work was also available under the title *Pedoman Ahli Ibadat* (*Guideline for the Worshippers*), published in Surabaya by Al Ikhlas in 1986.⁹⁴ Finally, a similar version of the work which should be mentioned here is *Pedoman Amaliyah Ibadah* (*Practical Instruction of Worship*), also published in Semarang by Wicaksana in 1989.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Projek Perpustakaan Nasional dan Biro Perpustakaan, *Bibliografi Nasional*, 98.

⁹¹ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 102.

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Ibid., 71.

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Ibid., 142

Al-Ghazālī's *Mizān al-'amal* (*The Scale of Deeds*, Bouyges 111) was translated into Indonesian as *Timbangan Amal Menuju Kebahagiaan* (*The Scale of Deeds for Perceiving Happiness*). This work was published in Semarang by Thoha Putra in 1982 and in 1983.⁹⁶

The book *Jawāhir al-qur'ān* (*The Jewels of the Qur'an*, Bouyges 37) has also been translated into Indonesian in a book entitled *Permata al-Qur'an* (*The Jewels of the Qur'ān*) written by Saifullah Mahyuddin. This work was published in Jakarta by Rajawali in 1983.⁹⁷

Tahāfut al-falāsifa (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*, Bouyges 16) was translated into Indonesian by Ahmadi Thoha and entitled *Tahafut al Falasifa: Kerancuan Para Filosof* (*The Incoherence of the Philosophers*). The first edition of this book was published in Jakarta by Pustaka Panjimas in 1986.⁹⁸

Al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār* (*The Niche of Light*, Bouyges 52) was translated into Indonesian under the title *Misykat Cahaya-Cahaya* (*The Niche of Light*) by Muhammad Bagir. The second edition of this book was published in Bandung by Mizan in 1985.⁹⁹

Al-Hikma fī makhlūqāt Allāh (*The Wisdom of God's Creations*, Bouyges 74) was translated into Indonesian under the title *Hikmah Penciptaan Makhluk*

⁹⁶ Ibid., 102.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 40.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 113.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 102.

This book was published in Bandung by Pustaka in 1986.¹⁰⁰

Al-Ghazālī's *Talbīs Iblīs* (*The Intrigue of the Devil*, Bouyges: 55) has also been translated into Indonesian in two versions: one of these is *Tipu Daya Syaithon* (*The Deceit of the Devil*) while the other one bears the title *Memerangi Syaitan* (*Fighting Against Satan*). The first book was published in Surabaya by Bintang Pelajar in 1985, while the second one was published by the same publisher in 1987.¹⁰¹

Al-Ghazālī's *al-Adab fī al-dīn* (*Ethics in Islam*, = Bouyges:188) was translated into Indonesian by Yudian Wahyudi Asmin. The Indonesian version of this book bears the title *Tatakrama Islam* (*Islamic Conduct*) and was published in Solo (Central Java) by Pustaka Mantiq in 1988.¹⁰²

Intunanan Ke Sorga (*Guide to Paradise*) is the Indonesian adaptation of al-Ghazālī's work entitled *Qusṭās al-mustaqīm* (*The Straight Path*, = Bouyges: 42). The first edition of this book was published in Surabaya by Bintang Pelajar in 1984.¹⁰³ There is another Indonesian version of this work which came out in 1986, published by Pustaka Amani in Jakarta. This edition bears the title *Meniti Jalan Menuju Sorga* (*Stepping to Paradise*).¹⁰⁴

Surat-Surat Imam Ghazali Kepada Para Penguasa, Pejabat Negara dan Ulama Pada Masanya (*Al-Ghazālī's Letters to Rulers, State Authorities, and*

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 116

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 55, 99.

¹⁰² Ibid., 145

¹⁰³ Ibid., 9

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 102

Learned Muslims of His Period) is an Indonesian translation of the *Risala 'ila ba'di 'asrihi* (*al-Ghazālī's Letters to Some Peoples of His Age*) compiled originally by 'Abd al-Qayyūm. The Indonesian adaptation was done by Haidar Bagir and its second edition was published in Bandung by Mizan in 1985.

There is another work in Indonesian written by H. Rus'an entitled *Intisan Filsafat al-Ghazālī* (*The Essence of al-Ghazālī's Philosophy*). One edition of the book was published in Jakarta by Bulan Bintang in 1963.¹⁰⁵ In view of the title of the work, it is very likely that the book is a free adaptation of certain of al-Ghazālī's works concerning philosophy such as *Fahafut al-falasifa*, and *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*.

In addition to the above-mentioned works, it is necessary to cite here some other Indonesian works which appear to have been written on the basis of some of al-Ghazālī's particular works. These Indonesian versions of certain works of al-Ghazālī are listed by bibliographical works such as the *Buku Islam Sejak 1945* without mentioning both the title of the original work and the name of the translator. Among those which can be mentioned here are, *Adab dan Kepribadian* (*Ethics and Personality*) published in Medan by Islamijah in 1963,¹⁰⁶ *Bimbingan untuk Mencapai Tingkat Mukmin* (*A Guide to Achieving the Level of Believer*), published in Bandung by Diponegoro in 1981 and 1986, *Amalan Ghaib Menurut Imam Ghazali* (*The Spiritual Acts According To al-Ghazālī*) published in Jakarta by Bintang Terang in 1988,¹⁰⁷ *Cacat Ceta*

¹⁰⁵ The Library of Congress, *Accession List: Indonesia*, vol. 1, 14

¹⁰⁶ Yayasan Masagung, Pusat Informasi Islam, *Buku Islam*, 98

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 147.

Budi Pekerti (Reprehensible Acts) published in Surabaya by Bungkul Indah in 1986, and *Mencari Etika Sufi (Searching for Sūfī Ethics)* published in Solo by Ramadhani in 1987

There are some Indonesian translations of foreign works (Arabic or English) about al-Ghazālī which may worthy of mention here. One of them is *Konsep Pendidikan Imām al-Ghazālī (al-Ghazālī's Concept of Education)* which is a translation of an Arabic work, *al-Tarbiya 'ind al-Ghazālī*, written by Fathiya Hasan Sulaymān. The Indonesian translation was done by Ahmad Hakim and Imam M. Azis and was given an introduction by Hasan Langgulung. The first edition of this book was published in 1986 in Jakarta by Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat (P3M).¹⁰⁸ There is another work dealing with the same issue as the above-mentioned book, which is also available in Indonesian and written by Hamid Fahmy Zarkasyi, entitled *Pemikiran al-Ghazālī tentang Pendidikan (al-Ghazālī's Concept of Education)*. This book was published in 1990 in Kuala Lumpur, by The Committee for Language and Literature of the Ministry of Education of Malaysia

In addition, there are English works dealing with certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's thought which have been translated into Indonesian. Syed Nawab Ali's book, entitled *Some Morals and Religious Teachings of al-Ghazālī*, published in Lahore by S. M. Ashraf in 1920,¹⁰⁹ has been translated into

¹⁰⁸ P3M is a non-government organization which is an association for *pesantren* and community development

¹⁰⁹ A copy of this book is available at the Smith Collection of the Library of the Institute of Islamic Studies of McGill University bearing the call number C6 G41: A39567

Indonesian under the title *Rahasia-Rahasia Ajaran Tasawuf Imam Ghazali (The Secrets of Mystical Teachings of Imām al-Ghazali)*, and published in Bandung by Gema Risalah in 1988

Another important English work of this category was written by Ali Issa Uthman and entitled *The Concept of Man in Islam in the Writings of al-Ghazali* (Cairo: Dār al-ma'ārif, 1960). The Indonesian translation of this book was done by Johan Smith, Anas Mahyuddin, and Yusuf and bears the title *Manusia Menurut al-Ghazālī (Man According to al-Ghazali)*. This book was published in Bandung by Pustaka in 1987.¹¹⁰

The above-mentioned works are among the many Indonesian translations or adaptations of several of al-Ghazali's works as well as a number of works written by either Indonesian or non Indonesian Muslim writers, which are available in Indonesia. These books have played an important role in spreading al-Ghazālī's thought among Indonesian Muslims. The availability of these works in the languages understood and spoken by them has made these works an important reference for those who wish to learn further about Islam according to the interpretation of al-Ghazali.

¹¹⁰ Departemen Agama, Proyek Peningkatan Perguruan Tinggi Agama/IAIN, *Penyusunan Bibliography*, 397

CONCLUSION

Islam reached Indonesia at the time when Hinduism and Buddhism were dominant throughout most parts of the Indonesian archipelago.¹ The inclination towards the esoteric life, which had been emphasized by these religions and the so-called native religions that existed in Indonesia, provided good soil for the growth of Islam, which was later embraced by the majority of the people. Having understood the common feature of the religious background of Indonesian people, the early Muslim preachers who introduced Islam to them seem to have had no difficulty in asking them to embrace Islam. Despite the fact that the conversion of Indonesian people to Islam has often been regarded as an unfinished task, due to the efforts by the early Muslim preachers to extend full respect and tolerance to indigenous beliefs, its effect has nevertheless created favourable conditions for the flourishing of mystical tendencies in the religious life of most Indonesian people.

Al-Ghazali's teachings seem to have found good soil here, enabling them to provide the dominant stream of Islamic teachings held by Indonesian Muslims. One of the possible reasons which have made al-Ghazali and his teachings so popular among Indonesian Muslims is because he offered a system of a religious life which does not deviate from the mystical tradition, but rather gives it an important part within Islamic life.

¹ See Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and the Rising Sun* (The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1958) 12

Since most Indonesian Muslims are familiar with a religious experience which tends to be mystical, al-Ghazālī's teachings seem to have had a special position enabling it to fit the spiritual needs of most Indonesian Muslims.

Al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* is known to have been in Indonesia as early as the beginning of the 16th century when Islam had just begun to reach most parts of this country and was becoming increasingly accepted by most of its people in lieu of their previous beliefs. Sunan Bonang is the first known native Indonesian to refer to al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'* as the main source for his works dealing some basic teachings of Islam. This is clear from his works, which have been partially edited by B. J. O. Schrieke² and G. W. J. Drewes³.

The translation of al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya* and *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* into Jawi (Malay) by 'Abd al-Ṣamād al-Falimbani was very important in that it made available two of al-Ghazālī's works in the language of Indonesian Muslims, giving countless more Muslims access to his teachings. In addition, another Malay adaptation of al-Ghazālī's *Minhaj al-'abidīn ila jannat rabb al-'ālamīn* which was done by Shaykh Dawūd ibn 'Abd Allah al-Fatani, also played an important role in introducing al-Ghazālī's teachings among the Malay-speaking people.

As for Javanese-speaking Muslims there were several translations of certain selections taken from al-Ghazālī's works. None of these works,

² B. J. O. Schrieke, "Het Boek van Bonang," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden, 1916).

³ G. W. J. Drewes, *The Admonitions of Sheikh Bani* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969).

however, is known to have been written during the early period of Indonesian Islam. The earliest known Javanese adaptation of al-Ghazali's works did not come into being before the 1900s. The presence of al-Ghazali's works in Javanese enabled the rapid spread of al-Ghazali's teachings among the Javanese Muslims who are the largest cultural group in Indonesia. Most of the Javanese adaptations of al-Ghazālī's works which are still available in several libraries both in Indonesia and abroad indicate that al-Ghazali's *Ihya' 'ulūm al-dīn* has always occupied a special position as his most popular work among the Javanese Indonesian Muslims. It is interesting to note that the Javanese translations of excerpts taken from al-Ghazali's *Ihya' 'ulūm al-dīn* almost all discuss questions involving Sufism. This is because the Javanese have historically been mystically oriented. This characteristic, however, seems to have been a common feature of the Islamic life practiced by most Indonesian Muslims, particularly before the idea of Wahhabism was launched in Saudi Arabia in the 18th century and the so-called Islamic reformation launched from Egypt during the 19th century reached this country.

The most important step in the introduction of al-Ghazali and his works to Indonesian Muslims began in the second quarter of this century when several of his works were translated into Indonesian, the most common spoken language of the people of this country because of its position as the national language of Indonesia. In contrast to the above-mentioned Javanese and Javanese translations which focus mostly on al-Ghazali's mystical teachings, the Indonesian translations seem to be drawn from a variety of works by the great thinker, such as those dealing with theology, philosophy, etc. Despite this fact, however, the largest number of Indonesian

translations of al-Ghazali's works deal with Islamic ethics, which to a certain extent gives support to the flourishing of Sufism, especially the Sufism of the orthodoxy

The availability of al-Ghazālī's works in Indonesian has enabled al-Ghazali's name and his teachings to rise above that of any other Muslim thinkers. His works seem to have been widely read by most Indonesian Muslims, from Muslims with no claim to intellectual pursuits up to the well educated Muslim groups including those who study at university level, and even those scholars whose daily activities have nothing to do with Islamic studies. As a matter of fact, both al-Ghazālī's works and works on his life and thought have been widely circulated within the Indonesian Muslim community

The fact that al-Ghazālī's teachings have been easily accepted by Indonesian Muslims can be seen very clearly in the large number of Indonesian editions of his works, in addition to those in Jawi and Javanese. The Indonesian productions of al-Ghazālī's works have tended to increase alongside the flourishing of Sufism practiced by many Indonesian Muslims in reaction against the material orientation which seems to be so dominant in today's world. On the basis of this notion, many Indonesian Muslims seek a solution for their spiritual needs by reading al-Ghazālī's works.

As a great thinker of Sunni Islam, al-Ghazālī's works have played an important role in promoting Sunni Islam among Indonesian Muslims. The orthodox revival of Indonesian Islam began to take place in the 16th and 17th centuries when al-Ghazālī's works were introduced to Indonesian Muslims, especially to those who pursued Islamic teachings in Indonesian

pesantrens or *madrassa*. The position of *pesantrens* is very important in promoting Sunni Islam which to a considerable extent is based on al-Ghazālī's teachings, as Clifford Geertz says

The orthodox revival, thus began to take firm hold in Indonesia only six or seven years later in the guise of a gradual educational reform that turn the *pesantren* into a mediator of that durable amalgam of Shari'a legalism and *taṭīqa* mysticism that Ghazālī had legitimized.⁴

Al-Ghazālī's commitment to performing religious obligations according to the *sharī'a* (Islamic law) without losing their inward meanings is the main characteristic of al-Ghazālī's teachings, as can be perceived in most of his works.

In spite of the popularity of al-Ghazālī and his works in Indonesia, there has been a growing tendency to deal critically with certain aspects of his thought, mainly as a result of the development of Islamic education in this country. The establishment of several institutions for Islamic studies from the elementary up to the university level on the one hand, and the appearance of several books criticizing certain aspects of al-Ghazālī's teachings on the other, are two aspects of this development. A. Aziz Dahlan, a member of the teaching staff of IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta for example, does not hesitate to criticize al-Ghazālī for having misunderstood some Muslim philosophers' propositions, such as God's knowledge only of universals. He, on the other hand, maintains that all Muslim philosophers believe that God knows everything.⁵ It is necessary to

⁴ Clifford Geertz, "Modernization in a Muslim Society: The Indonesian Case," in *Religion and Progress in Modern Asia*, ed. Robert N. Bellah (New York: The Free Press, 1968), 100.

⁵ A. Aziz Dahlan, "Tasawuf Sunni dan Tasawuf Falsafi: Empirisme Filosofis,"

note, however, that these factors seem not to have had much impact on the majority of Indonesian Muslims

The significance of al-Ghazālī and his works for Indonesian religious life lies mainly in the nature of Indonesian Islam which is dominated by a Sunni stream which to a considerable extent follows al-Ghazālī's teachings, especially his mystical thought. In addition, the fact that most Indonesian Muslims associate themselves with the *ahl al-sunna wa al-jamā'a*, for which al-Ghazālī was the prime spokesman, can be seen as the main factor enabling him as well as his works to achieve widespread popularity among Indonesian Muslims. Despite the fact that some Indonesian Muslims have started to study certain aspect of al-Ghazālī's thought by applying the critical approach, the majority of Indonesian Muslims are still among the greatest admirers and sincerest followers of the great thinker

APPENDIX

A List of Jawi, Javanese, and Indonesian Translations of al-Ghazālī's Works

I The Jawi Translations

1. *Bidāyat al-hidāya*

Hidāyat al-sālikīn fī sulūk al-muttaqīn, translated by 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī. The work was completed at Mecca in 1778, and was first published in Singapore in 1873. One manuscript copy of the work is held in the Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, France) of its collections of the manuscrits malayo-polynesiens no. 29.

2. *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

Sayr al-sālikīn ilā 'ibādāt rabb al-'ābidīn, translated by 'Abd al-Samad al-Falimbanī. The work was completed at Mecca in 1788. A complete manuscript copy of this work is preserved in the Museum Negeri Aceh, Indonesia no. 923.

3. *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and *Mishkāt al-anwar*

Munāẓibih al-ghāfilīn, translated by 'Abd al-Samad ibn Muhammad al-Jawī al-Kelantanī. This work was first issued in 1868. The latest known edition of this work was published in 1955. One copy of the printed text is available at the library of the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra, Australia.

4. *Minhāj al-'ābidīn ilā jannat rabb al-'ālamīn*

Minhāj al-'ābidīn ilā jannat rabb al-'ālamīn, translated by Shaykh Dawūd ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Idrīs al-Fatānī, and completed at Mecca in 1824. A complete manuscript is held in the Museum Nasional (Jakarta) and bears the catalog number Cat. ML 755 [XI 53].

II The Javanese Translations

1. *Maw'izat al-mu'minīn min Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

This book was written by Jamal al-Dīn al-Qasimī and was translated into Javanese by Mas Ihsanoeddin under the title *Maonqdotool moe'minin*, published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1925.

2. *Hikāyat al-arwāḥ* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

The Javanese version of this work is *Hikajatoel Arwah*, and was translated by Mas Ihsanoeddin. It was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1927.

3. *Lasawwuf* (extracted from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*)

Lasawwuf is a Javanese work based on al-Ghazālī's mystical teachings extracted from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. This work was compiled by Kijai Moefti Mochammadi and edited by Kijai Moechtar Moechari and Kijai Idris. It was published in Solo by Muhammadijah in 1928.

4. *Asrar al-siyam* of *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

The Javanese version of this work is *Asraris siyam*, translated by Mas Ihsanoeddin. It was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1929.

5. *Riyadat al-nufūs* of *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

The Javanese version of this work is *Rijalatoenoefoes*, translated by Mas Ihsanoeddin and published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1930.

6. *Kitab afat al-ghadab wa al-haqd wa al-hasad* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

The Javanese version of this work is *Kitab damoel galab walakdi walhasadi*. This work was translated by Mas Ihsanoeddin and was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1931.

7. *Kitab dhanim al-dunyā* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

This work was translated into Javanese as the *Kitab damoen doenja* by Mas Ihsanoeddin and was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1931.

8. *Kitab al-tawba* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

This work was translated into Javanese as the *Kitab taoebat* by Mas Ihsanoeddin and was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1931.

9. *Kitāb tanwīr al-qulūb* from *Minhāj al-'ābidīn ilā jannat rabb al-'ālamīn*

The Javanese version of this book is *Kitab tanwiroel qoeloeb*. It was published in Solo by A. B. Sitti Sjamsijah in 1942.

III The Indonesian Translations

1. *Ihyā' 'ulum al-dīn*

A. Complete translations

1. *Ihya al-Ghazali*, translated by Ismail Ja'kub. Medan, Faizan, 1964; Djakarta: Widjaja, 1964; Djakarta: Tintamas, 1966; Semarang: Faizan, 1977, 1979; Djakarta: Faizan, 1986.

2. *Ihya Ulumuddin (Jiwa Agama)*, translated by A. Haaher Hamidy and Maisir Ihaib. Medan: Pustaka Indonesia, 1966

B. Summaries in translation

1. *Ichtiisar Ihya Ulumuddin*, abridged by Ismail Ja'kub. Jogjakarta: al-Falah, 1966
2. *Mukhtasor Ihya Ulumuddin*. Yogyakarta: U. P. Indonesia, 1982
3. *Mutiara Ihya Ulumuddin*. Jakarta: Mulia, 1964; Semarang: Wicaksana, 1985
4. *Ihya Ulumuddin Menuju Filsafat Ilmu*. Surabaya: Bintang Pelajar, 1987

C. Partial translations

1. *Kitāb sharh 'ajā'ib al-qulub*
 - a. *Keadjaiban Hati*, translated by Nurihkmah, Djakarta: Jajasan Kesedjahteraan Keluarga, 1966, Djakarta: Tintamas, 1966, 1972, and 1984
 - b. *Rahasia Keajaiban Hati*. Surabaya: Mahkota, 1986
2. *Kitāb al-tawba* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Hakekat Taubat sebagai Penebus Dosa*. Surabaya: Bintang Pelajar, 1983
 - b. *Pintu Taubat Masih Terbuka*. Bandung: Hasani, 1988
3. *Kitāb al-tawba wa al-sabr wa al-shukr* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Taubat, Sabar dan Syukur*, translated by Nurihkmah and R. H. A. Suminto. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1983
4. *Kitāb al-mahabba wa al-shawq* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Tjinta dan Bahagra*, translated by Abdullah bin Nuh. Djakarta: Tintamas, 1958, 1960, 1965, 1973, and 1986
5. *Kitāb al-tafakkur* from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Renungan*. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1983, 1984

6. *Kitāb āfāt al-lisan* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Bahaya Lisan*. Surabaya: Bintang Pelajar, 1983.
 - b. *Pandangan al-Ghazali tentang Bahaya Lidah*. Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, 1984.
 - c. *Bahaya Lidah*, translated by Zainuddin. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara, 1992.
7. *Kitāb āfāt al-ghadab wa al-ḥaqd wa al-hasad* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Pandangan al-Ghazali tentang Dengki*. Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, 1984.
 - b. *Pandangan al-Ghazali tentang Marah, Dendam dan Dengki*. Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, 1986.
8. *Kitāb āfāt al-shahwatayn* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Pandangan al-Ghazali tentang Nafsu*. Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, 1980.
9. *Kitāb al-khawf wa al-rajā'* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Masalah Takut dan Harapan*. Surabaya: Mahkota, 1986.
10. *Kitāb dhikr al-mawt wa mā ba'dahu* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Konsep Hidup Sesudah Mati*. Surabaya: Andalas, 1986.
11. *Kitāb uyāḍat al-nafs wa tahdhīb al-akhlāq* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Pembuka dan Penerang Hati*. Bandung: Alma'arif, 1983.
 - b. *Menundukkan Nafsu*. Surabaya: Bungkul Indah, 1988.
 - c. *Pembersih Jiwa*. Bandung: Pustaka, 1989.
12. *Kitāb asrār al-ṣala wa muhimmātīha* from *lhyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*
 - a. *Cahaya Di Balik Shalat Khusyu'*. Solo: Ramadhanī, 1988.

- 13 *Kitāb asrar al-sawm and kitab asrar al-zaka* from *Ihya' 'ulum al-dīn*

a *Rahasia Puasa dan Zakat*, translated by Muhammad al Baqir Bandung: Karisma, 1990

- 14 *Kitāb ādāb al-nikāh* from *Ihya' 'ulum al-dīn*

a *Menyingkap Hakekat Perkawinan* Bandung: Karisma, 1988

2 Other Works

1 *Ayyuhā al-walad*

- a *Imam Ghazali O Anak: Keputusan Kata Kepada Seorang Muridnya*, translated by M. Zain Djambek. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1937, 1940, 1951, 1953, 1956, 1960, 1962, 1973, and 1980
- b *Kepada Mund-Mundku. Surat Imam Ghazali*, translated by Zeid Husein and Hery Muhammad. Jakarta: H I Press, 1989

2 *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl*

- a. *Pembebas dari Kesesatan*, translated by Abdullah bin Nuh. Jakarta: Tintamas, 1960, 1962, 1966, and 1984
- b. *Perjuangan Melawan Kesesatan*, translated by H. Rus'an. Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1963
- c. *Penyelamat Dari Kesesatan*. Gresik: Bintang Pelajar, 1986

3. *Bidāyat al-hidāya*

- a. *Kumpulan Adab dan Do'a*, selected by Audi J. Sannadba. Medan: Tjerdas, 1952.
- b. *Pengantar Ilmu Tasawuf*, translated by H. Rus'an. Jakarta: Indonesiana, 1957; Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1960, 1965
- c. *Bimbingan Permulaan Mencapai Hidayah*. Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1982.
- d. *Menjelang Hidayah Mukaddimah Ihya' Ulumuddin* translated by H. M. As'ad El-Hafidy and edited by Ilyas Hasan. Bandung: Mizan, 1985, 1987

4 *Minhaj al-'abidin ila jannat rabb al-'ālamīn*

- a *Minhajul Abidin Menuju Mukmin Sejau*, translated by Abdullah bin Nuh Jakarta: Beunebi Cipta, 1986, Banda Aceh: Tenaga Iani, 1986
- b *Wasiat Imam Ghazali* Surabaya: Media Idaman, 1986.
- c *Pedoman Ahli Ibadat*. Surabaya: Al Ikhlas, 1986.
- d *Pedoman Amaliyah Ibadah* Semarang: Wicaksana, 1989
- e *Ijnta dan Bahagia*, written by Abdullah bin Nuh on the basis, according to him, of al-Ghazālī's thought in the *Kitāb al-mahabbah wa al-shawq* and *Minhāj al-'ābidīn* Djakarta: Tintamas in 1958, 1960, 1965, 1973, and 1986

5 *Kimiyā' al-sa'āda*

- a *Menjungkap Rahasia Kebahagiaan*, translated by H. Rus'an. Djakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1956, 1962, and 1963.
- b *Kimia Kebahagiaan* Bandung: Mizan, 1984

6 *Mizān al-'amal*

- a *Timbangan Amal Menuju Kebahagiaan*, Semarang: Thoha Putra, 1982, and 1983

7 *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*

- a *Permata al-Qur'an*, translated by Saifullah Mahjuddin. Jakarta: Rajawali, 1983.

8 *al-Qustās al-mustaqīm*

- a *Tuntunan Ke Sorga* Surabaya: Bintang Pelajar, 1984.
- b *Meniti Jalan Menuju Sorga* Jakarta: Pustaka Amani, 1986

9 *Mishkāt al-anwār*

- a *Misykat Cahaya-Cahaya*, translated by Muhammad Bagir. Bandung: Mizan, 1985.

10 *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*

- a *Tahafut al-Falasifa Kerancuan Para Filosof*, translated by Ahmadie Thoha. Jakarta. Pustaka Panjimas, 1986

11 *Talbīs Iblīs*

- a *Tipu Daya Syaithon* Surabaya Bintang Pelajar, 1935
- b *Memerangi Syaitan* Surabaya Bintang Pelajar, 1987

12 *al-Hikma fī makhlūqāt Allāh*

- a *Hikmah Penciptaan Makhluk* Bandung Pustaka, 1986

13 *al-Adab fī al-dīn*

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3. *Di Balik Ketajaman Matahati*. Jakarta: Pustaka Amani, 1984, 1987
4. *Menangkap Kedalaman Rohaniyah Peribadatan*. Jakarta Rajawali, 1987
5. *Cacat-Cela Budi Pekerti*. Surabaya Bungkul Indah, 1986
6. *Rahasia-Rahasia Shalawat* Bandung: Karisma, 1986
7. *Ciri-Ciri Ulama Dunia dan Akhirat*. Surabaya Mahkota, 1986
8. *Mencari Etika Sufi* Solo. Ramadhani, 1987
9. *Amalan Ghaib Menurut Imam Ghazali*. Jakarta Bintang Terang, 1988

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