

POST-GHAZALI ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY IN THE SUNNI AND SHI'ITE TRADITIONS

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Abstract

This study refutes the unfounded yet prevalent view among Western scholars and some contemporary Muslim scholars that Islamic philosophy has declined after al-Ghazālī due to his vehement critique of the philosophers. This study supports the previous studies by George Saliba and Frank Griffel who criticised the decline narrative and argued that Islamic philosophy and science continue to thrive after al-Ghazālī. Moreover, this study gives a general overview of the development of intellectual sciences which include works on metaphysics, epistemology, logic, ethics and politics both in the Sunni and Shi'ite traditions, and especially in the Malay world. Contrary to the decline narrative, the study shows that the Sunni epistemic framework which was crystalized in al-Ghazālī's work contributed positively to the development of Islamic philosophy. His critique of Aristotelianism should be considered part of the Islamisation of Greek philosophy, and his works laid down a robust foundation for the development of intellectual sciences in the Islamic world.

Keywords: Islamic philosophy; the decline narrative; *hikmah*; al-Ghazali; post-Ghazali; Sunni and Shi'ite traditions.

Khulasah

Makalah ini menyanggah pandangan yang tidak berasas tetapi diterima secara meluas dalam kalangan sarjana Barat dan sebahagian sarjana Muslim masa kini bahawa falsafah Islam telah mengalami kemunduran setelah al-Ghazālī akibat kritikan keras beliau terhadap beberapa ahli falsafah Muslim. Makalah ini menguatkan lagi kajian George Saliba dan Frank Griffel sebelum ini yang berhujah bahawa falsafah dan sains tetap wujud dalam tradisi keilmuan Islam. Secara khusus, makalah ini memberikan gambaran keseluruhan perkembangan ilmu-ilmu *'aqliyyah* terutamanya metafizik, epistemologi, *mantiq*, etika, dan politik di dunia Islam baik dalam tradisi Sunni mahupun tradisi Shi'ah dan tidak kurang pentingnya perkembangan falsafah Islam di alam Melayu. Kajian ini membuktikan bahawa al-Ghazālī berperanan penting dalam menghidupkan falsafah di dunia Islam, dan kritikan beliau terhadap Aristotelianisme boleh dianggap sebagai sebahagian daripada usaha Islamisasi falsafah Yunani. Malah karya-karya beliau juga telah meletakkan batu asas yang teguh bagi pengembangan ilmu-ilmu *'aqliyyah* di dunia Islam.

Kata kunci: Falsafah Islam; naratif kemunduran; *hikmah*; al-Ghazali; pasca-Ghazali; tradisi Sunni dan Shi'i.

Introduction

In the history of Islamic philosophy, Muslim scholars' critical views of Greek philosophers contribute significantly to enriching the discussion of many aspects as well as providing some answers and solutions regarding philosophical matters. However, the introduction of the Greek philosophical tradition by Muslim Peripatetics raised some theological issues as evaluated and presented by al-Ghazālī in his *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*. Al-Ghazālī made a sharp attack by choosing a more specific topic, stating that some of these views can lead to disbelief while others

violate religious principles.¹ Based on that, therefore, quite characteristically, the history of Islamic philosophy-viewed from the usual Western perspective-practically comes to an end after al-Ghazālī's attack upon it in the eleventh century. Salomon Munk (d. 1867) states that al-Ghazālī's *Incoherence (Tahāfut al-Falāsifah)* strikes a blow against philosophy from which it never recovered in the Orient.² Ernest Renan (d. 1892 C.E.) describes al-Ghazālī as an enemy of philosophy who set off its persecution.³

In other words, according to these scholars, Islamic philosophy ended with the death of Ibn Rushd (d. 1198 C.E.),⁴ giving the impression that there was no notable

¹ In his work entitled *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*, al-Ghazālī vehemently criticised 20 contentions of the Peripatetics. 17 of them are considered as innovations in the religion, while the other 3 contentions may lead to unbelief they are: 1) the view on the eternity of the world, 2) that God has no knowledge of the particulars, and 3) the denial of bodily resurrection. See Abū Hamid al-Ghazālī, *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1980). Hereafter cited as *Tahāfut*.

² Salomon Munk, *Mélanges de la philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris: Alophe Franck, 1859), 382. Cited from Frank Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5.

³ Ernest Renan, *Averroès et l'averroïsme. Essai historique*. (Paris: Librairie Auguste Durand, 1852), 22-24, 133-36. Cited from Frank Griffel, *al-Ghazālī's Philosophical Theology*, 5.

⁴ On Ibn Rushd and his thoughts, refer to A. Hyman, "Aristotle's Theory of the Intellect and Its Interpretation by Averroes," in *Studies in Aristotle*, ed. Dominic J. O'Meara (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1981), 161-191; Barry Kogan, "Averroes and the Theory of Emanation," *Medieval Studies* 43 (1981): 384-404; 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Averroès* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1998); Oliver Leaman, *Averroes and His Philosophy* (Surrey: Curzon, 1998); A. Hyman, "Averroes's Theory of the Intellect and the Ancient Commentators", in *Averroes and Aristotelian Tradition*, ed. Gerhard Endress & Jan Aersten (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Alfred L. Ivry, "Averroes' Three Commentaries on *De Anima*," in *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition*, ed. Gerhard Endress & Jan Aersten (Leiden: Brill, 1999); Majid Fakhry, *Averroes* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2001); and many others.

Islamic philosophical work after Ibn Rushd. In fact, Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921 C.E.) stated this blatantly when he concluded that after Averroes (Ibn Rushd), the history of philosophy in Islam had come to an end.⁵ The decline narrative continues to influence many researchers and academics in contemporary times.

Among Muslim scholars, Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988 C.E.) confirmed the decline narrative when he said:

"There must have been a number of socio-economic and political reasons for the early death of philosophy as, for example, the political instability we have already described earlier. But one most fundamental and palpable reason is the fact that the orthodoxy, after the attack upon philosophy by al-Ghazālī, proscribed it completely and did not allow it to grow any further, or rather destroyed the very conditions for its growth."⁶

In his book, *Islam* (1966), Rahman said:

"Having failed to satisfy orthodox requirements, [philosophy] was denied the passport to survival".⁷

Seyyed Hossein Nasr also propagated a similar view, particularly he was referring to the Sunni world. In his book *Islamic Life and Thought*, he said:

"The Incoherence of the philosophers broke the back of rationalistic philosophy and in fact

⁵ Ignaz Goldziher, "Die islamische und die jüdische Philosophie des Mittelalters", in *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, ed. Wilhelm Wundt et al., 2nd ed. (Berlin/Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913), 321.

⁶ Fazlur Rahman, "The Post-Formative Developments in Islam-II: IV: The Philosophical Movement," *Islamic Studies* 2(3) (1963), 303; Fazlur Rahman, *Islamic Methodology in History* (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, 1974), 126-127. See also Rahman, *Philosophy*, vii.

⁷ Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 117.

brought the career of philosophy ... to an end in the Arabic part of the Islamic world".⁸

Based on the writings of these two Muslim scholars, Robert R. Reilly—a notorious Western scholar who wrote *The Closing of Muslim Mind: How Intellectual Suicide Created the Modern Islamist Crisis*—went so far as to conclude that the current problem of radicalism in Muslim society has its roots in Ash'arism and maintains that al-Ash'arī and al-Ghazālī's metaphysics promoted denigration of reason and intellectual suicide. The same conclusion was propagated by Ahmet T. Kuru who wrote *Islam, Authoritarianism and Underdevelopment* where he said:

“The ulema-state alliance began to emerge in the eleventh century—a critical juncture before which Muslims had achieved scholarly and socioeconomic progress and after which they started to experience intellectual and socioeconomic stagnation”.⁹

Unfortunately, this baseless narrative has been repeated *ad nauseam* in the present time.¹⁰

The prevalent view in the West in particular and the Muslim world in general is that philosophy has died in the Muslim world due to al-Ghazālī's critique of Muslim philosophers who followed Greek philosophy. Few works

⁸ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Life and Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1981), 72.

⁹ He also said, referring to al-Ghazālī: “This epistemology has been a source of the anti-intellectualism among the ulema, Islamists, and Sufi shaykhs”. Ahmet T. Kuru, *Islam, Authoritarianism and Underdevelopment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 8-9.

¹⁰ To name one of the examples, Muhammad Kamal says: “Al-Ghazālī's (1058-1111) polemic of rationalistic philosophy, along with the Seljuq dynasty's revival of Ash'arī Sunnī Theology, contributed to the eclipse of philosophical discourse in some parts of the Muslim world.” See: Muhammad Kamal, *Mulla Sadra's Transcendent Philosophy* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 12.

have challenged this widespread view, and even fewer scholars could provide evidence that the opposite is true, that philosophical works have indeed thrived in the Muslim world. One such attempt has been made by Montgomery Watt in his book, *Islamic Theology and Philosophy* (1962).¹¹ Watt maintained that,

“Al-Ghazālī’s critique of philosophy by no means put an end to philosophizing, but it may have contributed to the transformation... the end of a particular philosophical tradition did not mean the end of all philosophizing”.¹²

Even though Watt admitted that philosophy did not die after al-Ghazālī, he still believed that philosophy had declined after the attack. A strong effort to dispel this confusion comes from George Saliba who lamented the hegemony of what he called the ‘classical narrative’. Saliba offered the alternative view which argued that Islamic philosophy and Islamic science did not stop or even slow down after al-Ghazālī. In contrast to the classical narrative, he maintained that the golden age of Islamic astronomy was in the post-Ghazālī period, specifically during the 13th-16th century C.E. Besides astronomy, he mentioned logic, mathematics, medicine, optics and pharmacology.¹³ Since his study covers only Islamic science, it leaves questions regarding the status of Islamic philosophy after al-Ghazālī.

Frank Griffel further supports the alternative narrative and wrote several works to dispel the decline narrative arguments. To support his view, he mentioned several philosophical works by Muslim scholars who followed the footsteps of al-Ghazālī, namely, Abū al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Griffel, however,

¹¹ W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 117.

¹² *Ibid.*, 117.

¹³ George Saliba, *Islamic Science and the Making of the European Renaissance* (Cambridge, Massachuset: the MIT Press, 2007), 3-5.

recognises only two genres, i.e., *ḥikmah* and *kalām* as philosophical works.¹⁴ Here in this article, we include many other genres such as *uṣūl al-fiqh* (epistemology), *manṭiq* (logic), *akhlāq* (ethics), *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah* (philosophy of law), *siyāsah* (politics), *tārīkh* (philosophy of history), *'umrān* (sociology) as philosophical works or more aptly called intellectual sciences. In his conclusion, however, Griffel maintains that in "post-classical" Islam, philosophy has been integrated into *kalām*, and then he highlighted the fact that this science of *kalām* has different goals and methods compared to philosophy. Unlike in *kalām*, the study of any reality in philosophy is done through open-ended rational investigation; hence, it does not prioritise revelation over any other source of knowledge, whereas in *kalām*, the arguments and information that come from revelation are given priority.

By distinguishing the different natures of philosophy and *kalām*, Griffel discreetly denies the philosophical nature of *kalām*. Griffel's conclusion shows that to him ultimately philosophy in its real sense has indeed disappeared from the consciousness of the Muslim minds due to the fact that Muslims accept the Qur'an, i.e., revelation as a source of absolute truth. Here it is evident that Griffel's understanding of philosophy is biased toward modern Western philosophy by recognizing only the open-ended rational investigation which characterises modern Western philosophy.

In this article, we will first challenge the narrow and close-ended definition of philosophy that underlies Western scholars' arguments. Secondly, after establishing the broader meaning and open-ended definition of philosophy, we will highlight the great works that fall under the category of philosophy by scholars who have been influenced directly or indirectly by al-Ghazālī's

¹⁴ See Frank Griffel, *The Formation of Post-Classical Philosophy in Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 566-569.

philosophical and epistemological framework. It will be followed by investigating the philosophical works and activities in both Sunni and Shi'ite traditions and more thoroughly in the Malay world in order to illustrate the true picture regarding the matter at hand.

The Original Meaning and Definition of Philosophy

It should be noted from the outset that the term philosophy should be understood universally rather than parochially referring only to a certain tradition or culture. Hence, the absence of a certain philosophical tradition in a particular society does not mean the absence of philosophy per se. Only after we establish the fact that the term philosophy is not limited to the philosophy that was developed by the Greeks, that it should be understood in its original meaning, i.e., a branch of knowledge derived from the application of human intellect, will we be able to appreciate the development of philosophical tradition and intellectual sciences in a particular society.

In other words, the assumption about the decline of philosophy in Islamic civilisation may indeed signify the underlying Western-centrism or Greek-centrism which has affected the judgement of modern scholars on this matter. The general view regarding the term philosophy refers to a narrow sense as a discipline, whereas in the original meaning established since the time of Greek philosophers until the modern age, the term philosophy refers to a group of disciplines; according to *The Encyclopaedia of Britannica*, it is "the rational, methodical, and systematic consideration of those topics that are of greatest concern to man".¹⁵ *The Academic American Encyclopaedia* further specifies the subject of philosophy "to the study of the

¹⁵ See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 1984), 14: 248.

truths or principles underlying all knowledge, being, and reality".¹⁶

Hence, we can see that *The Encyclopaedia of Britannica* includes a wide range of philosophical works, such as metaphysics, epistemology, cosmology, ethics, theology, political philosophy, philosophy of language and educational philosophy. Whether it is Islamic philosophy, Greek philosophy, or any other philosophies, as long as these essential elements of philosophy exist, we should regard them as philosophical works regardless of their origins. It is also evident that the question of whether it should be an open-ended or closed-ended rational investigation has never been regarded as essential in the definition.

It is therefore argued here that this philosophy is synonymous with the intellectual sciences (*'ulūm 'aqliyyah*) developed in Islamic civilisation. Observing from this perspective, it should not be difficult to see that Islamic philosophy after al-Ghazālī has indeed thrived in the Islamic world. Many works that discuss the branches of philosophy were produced by Muslim scholars both in the Sunni and Shi'ite traditions. It is important to note that after al-Ghazālī's period, as recorded in the history of Islamic thought, many works were written explaining the great ideas in philosophy in various forms, such as the text (*matn*), summary (*khulāṣah* or *mukhtaṣar*), commentary (*sharḥ*), marginalia or super-commentary (*ḥāshiyah*), treatise (*risālah*) and poetry (*shi'r*) as well as other forms of writing in the various categories, such as metaphysics, epistemology, ethics, logics, politics, economics, aesthetics, history, law and language.

The emergence of the commentaries and marginalias in later periods does not mean that the later scholars gave no significant contribution to the development of these

¹⁶ See *Academic American Encyclopedia* (Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1983), 15: 240.

sciences. Rather, they are contributing significantly to clarify, contextualise, expand, and preserve the great work of the past scholars so that the present and future generations can benefit from those works. Hence, the preservation of these sciences is as important as producing new ones.

The Framework of Islamic Philosophy

Secondly, it is also important to note that, as a result of prolonged debate with the Mu'tazilite and other deviant sects, the Sunnis had developed their epistemic framework which was later crystallised before and during the time of al-Ghazālī. In this epistemic framework, the place of intellect or reason vis-a-vis revelation is clarified and finalised. As a summary regarding the place and the value of reason, al-Ghazālī succinctly states in *al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād*:

“The analogy of reason is a healthy eye and revelation is a bright sunlight. A person who is satisfied with only one of the two is a fool. A person who refuses to use reason because he thinks revelation is sufficient for him is like a person who has the sunlight and yet closes his eye; therefore, there is no difference between him and the blind. Hence, reason with revelation is light upon light.”¹⁷

Al-Ghazālī also stresses the role of reason in religious interpretation in an in-depth manner in his *Qānūn al-Ta'wīl*. After explaining the positions of four groups regarding the place of reason and revelation, he said:

“The fifth group is the moderate group. He who combined the search for both religious truth and rational truth. He who made both of them as the important foundations [of religion]. He who

¹⁷ Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *al-Iqtisād fī al-I'tiqād* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1983), 4.

denied the contradiction between reason and revelation, and that it is the truth. A person who renounces reason, he is in fact renouncing religion because it is through reason that we know the authenticity of religion. If not because of the veracity of rational proof, we do not know the difference between the prophet and the imposter, the truthful and the liar. How can reason be renounced through religious proof when religion itself is confirmed through reason."¹⁸

These two statements by al-Ghazālī should be sufficient to shed light on his position regarding the place of reason in Islamic epistemology. It is therefore a grave mistake for someone to conclude that al-Ghazālī was anti-reason and anti-philosophy. He is neither an ultra-rationalist who relegates Divine text nor a textualist-literalist who renounces rational proof. He is simply promoting a middle ground, accepting both as the foundations of religion, and this moderate approach is the one that truly represent the religion of Islam.

Contrary to the Mu'tazilite and the philosophers, al-Ghazālī did not place reason above revelation; intellectual reasoning should not be given a priority over the clear text of the Qur'an. The Sunnis also believed that reason and revelation are not of the same stature because such understanding will lead to dualism and double truth theory. This is imperative if one is to uphold the idea that there is no contradiction between reason and revelation. If the reason is prioritised over the clear Qur'anic text, then it is tantamount to believe that either one is right since both contradicting statements cannot be right. Whereas according to al-Ghazālī, when the two are apparently

¹⁸ Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, "Qānūn al-Ta'wīl," in *Majmū'at Rasā'il al-Imām al-Ghazālī* (Cairo: al-Maktabah al-Tawfiqiyah, n.d.), 626.

contradicting each other, then they both cannot be true; therefore, one should check the validity and the strength of both sources. If, for example, the Qur'anic text is clear and the validity of the text is not questionable, then the intellectual reasoning, because of its limitation, cannot overrule the Divine text as in the case of bodily resurrection. If the meaning of the text is not definitive, and rational proof demands it to be understood in a certain way, as is the case of *ṣifāt al-khabariyyah*¹⁹ and *ta'wīl*, which is part of intellectual reasoning, is necessary. In this way, the two channels of knowledge, i.e., reason and revelation, if both are equally valid, can be truly considered as the foundations of religion.

As stated above, al-Ghazālī stressed the need to use both reason and revelation which enable man to arrive at the truth and to uncover his potential. This simultaneous respect to reason and revelation become the distinctive characteristic of Islamic philosophy. In this connection, Griffel's distinction between *kalām* and philosophy is problematic in many ways. Firstly, it presupposes a dualism between reason and revelation, that one must choose between the two. This shows that Griffel is unable to appreciate al-Ghazālī's position on the inherent harmonious relation between these two sources of knowledge. Clearly, this dualistic view upon reason and revelation is only relevant to Western philosophy; it has no bearing on Islamic philosophy. Secondly, Griffel's conclusion about *kalām* also undermines his main purpose of writing the book, which is to establish the fact that philosophy did not die after al-Ghazālī. Given the different nature of *falsafah* and *kalām*, coupled with the assumption that *falsafah* was

¹⁹ In *ṣifāt al-khabariyyah*, such as verses and hadith concerning *istawā'*, *wajh*, *yad*, *yamīn* etc. The Sunnī scholars' resort to *ta'wīl* because the literal interpretation amounts to anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) and corporealism (*tajāsīm*) which is against the principle of *tawhīd*.

integrated into *kalām*, the logical conclusion is that *falsafah* (philosophy) in its true sense has since then disappeared.

Philosophy in the Sunni Tradition

Following al-Ghazālī, later Muslim scholars continued to produce intellectual and rational works that combine the truth of revelation and rational investigation. In metaphysics and theology (*kalām*), the most notable scholars are ‘Umar Najm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (1142 C.E.) who wrote *‘Aqā’id al-Nasafī*, Abu al-Barakāt al-Baghdādī (1165 C.E.) wrote *Kitab al-Mu‘tabar*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1210 C.E.) wrote *al-Maṭālib al-‘Āliyah*, Rūmī (1273 C.E.) wrote *Mathnawī*, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ījī (1355 C.E.) wrote *al-Mawāqif*, Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (1390 C.E.) wrote *Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafīyyah* and *Sharḥ al-Maqāṣid*, al-Sanūsī (1490 C.E.) wrote *Umm al-Barāhīn*, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Jāmī (1492 C.E.) wrote *al-Durrah al-Fākhirah*, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī (1656 C.E.) wrote *Hāshiyat Siyālkūtī ‘alā Hāshiyat al-Khayyālī ‘alā Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafīyyah*, al-Bājūrī (1860 C.E.) wrote *Tuḥfat al-Murīd ‘alā Jawharat al-Tawḥīd*, Zāhid al-Kawthārī (1952 C.E.) wrote *al-‘Aqīdah wa ‘Ilm al-Kalām* and Muṣṭafā Ṣabrī (1954 C.E.) wrote *Mawqif al-‘Aql wa-al-‘Ilm wa-al-‘Ālim min Rabb al-‘Ālamīn* (in 4 volumes).

In epistemology and legal philosophy (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), there were, among others, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1210 C.E.) wrote *al-Maḥṣūl fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*, al-Āmidī (1233 C.E.) wrote *al-Iḥkām fī Uṣūl al-Aḥkām*, al-Subkī (1370 C.E.) wrote *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*, al-Shāṭibī (1388 C.E.) wrote *al-Muwāfaqāt*, al-Jurjānī²⁰ (1413 C.E.) wrote *Kitāb al-Ta‘rīfāt* and Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (1520 C.E.) wrote *Ghāyat al-Wuṣūl ilā Sharḥ Lubb al-Uṣūl* (which is a commentary of *Jam‘ al-Jawāmi‘*).

²⁰ Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī wrote more than 50 books on theology, logic, astronomy, philosophy, *fiqh* and many others. See his biography in *Kitāb al-Ta‘rīfāt*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mar‘ashlī (Beirut: Dar al-Nafa’is, 2012).

In logic (*mantīq*): al-Abharī²¹ (1264 C.E.) wrote *Sharḥ Ḍāghūjī*²², ‘Alī al-Qazwinī (1276 C.E.) wrote *al-Risālah al-Shamsiyyah fī al-Qawā'id al-Mantīqiyyah*, al-Taftāzānī wrote *Tahdhīb al-Mantīq wa al-Kalām*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī wrote *al-Maṭla'* and al-Akhḍarī (1575 C.E.) wrote *Sullam al-Munawraq fī 'Ilm al-Mantīq*.

In ethics and moral education (*akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf*), al-Ījī (1355 C.E.) wrote *al-Mukhtaṣar fī 'Ilm al-Akhlāq* and *al-Akhlāq al-'Aḍuḍiyyah*, al-Ṭūsī (1274 C.E.) wrote *Akhlāq al-Nāṣirī*, al-Dawwānī (1512 C.E.) wrote *Akhlāq al-Jalālī*, Aḥmad Zarrūq (1493 C.E.) wrote *Qawā'id al-Taṣawwuf* and Muḥammad al-Birkiwī (1573 C.E.) wrote *Rasā'il al-Birkiwī*.

In social and political philosophy (*siyāsah*), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī wrote *Kitāb Jāmi'-'i-'Ulūm* (in Persian where the statement about the circle of power²³ appeared for the

²¹ Al-Abharī also wrote on astronomy, mathematics, philosophy, and other sciences. See *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 1:81, 206.

²² Interestingly, this work on logic by al-Abharī has received the attention of numerous scholars who wrote commentaries and supercommentaries and marginalias. Among others, marginalias by ‘Umar al-Tuqādī who wrote *Ta'liqāt al-Durr al-Najī' bi-Isagūgī* (1260), Shaykh Rushdī (1253) who wrote *Tuhfat al-Rushdī* and Shams al-Dīn al-Fanārī (1304); commentary by Husām al-Dīn al-Kāfī (760 H.) with supercommentaries by al-Rahāwī (934 H.), ‘Allāmah al-Shirwānī (1036 H.) and Muḥy al-Dīn al-Tālīshī. Another commentary by Shaykh Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī (910 H.) entitled *al-Maṭla'* with supercommentaries such as *Kashf al-Lithām* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghunaymī, and then by al-Kharshī al-Mālikī (1101 H.) and Aḥmad ‘Alī al-Miṣrī (1122) entitled *al-Majma'*, and Yūsuf al-Hafnāwī (1171 H.); Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (1236 H.); ‘Illīsh al-Mālikī (1283 H.); Abū al-Faḍl al-Ramfūrī (1309 H.); Muḥammad Shākīr entitled *al-Īdāh* (1325); Mahmud bin Hafiz al-Maghnasī entitled *Mughnī al-Ṭullāb* (1259H.) and summarized in the form of poetry by al-Akhḍarī entitled *Sullam al-Munawraq*.

²³ This book by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is a summary of 60 sciences which include metaphysics, logic, astronomy and politics (*siyāsāt*), among others. About ‘the circle of power’, he said: “The world is a garden, irrigated by the state. The state is a power whose guardian is the Sharī’ah. The Sharī’ah is the governing principle which safeguards the

first time), Ibn Khaldūn (1406 C.E.) wrote *al-Muqaddimah* and Kinalizāde (1571 C.E.) wrote *Akhlāq-ī-‘Alā’ī* (in Persian).

The book *al-Mawāqif* by al-Ījī on *kalām* has received the attention of many scholars. There are at least three known commentaries: first, by al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī; second, by Muhammad al-Kirmānī; third, by Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī. In addition to that, there are numerous super-commentaries written by, among others, Ḥasan al-Fanārī (1481 C.E.), Ibn al-Hā’i, Muṣṭafā Yūsuf, ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, Mirzajan al-Shīrāzī, ‘Alā al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Qāsim al-Kirmiyānī, Faṭḥ Allāh al-Shirwānī, Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Khāṭib, and Ghars al-Dīn bin Ibrāhīm. The book also has been summarised by al-Ījī himself entitled *Jawāhir al-Kalām*, and this summary was later explained by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (956 H) and Shams al-Dīn al-Fanārī (1431 C.E.).

Other prominent scholars of the twelfth century who produced intellectual works on theology (*kalām*) include Abū al-Mu‘īn al-Nasafī (d. 1114/5 C.E.), Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd (d. 1126 C.E.), Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Tūmart (d. 1130 C.E.), ‘Umar ibn Ibrāhīm Khayyām (d. 1131 C.E.), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Bājjah (d. 1138 C.E.), Najm ad-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 1142 C.E.), Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144 C.E.), Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥusayn Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1150 C.E.), Abū al-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī (d. 1153 C.E.), Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn Ṭufayl (d. 1185 C.E.), Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabash Suhrawardī (d. 1191 C.E.).

Kingdom. The Kingdom is the city (*madīnah*) that the army brings into existence. The army is able to be maintained through material resources. Material resources come from the subjects (*ra’iyyat*). The subjects become subservient through justice. Justice is the axis of the well-being of the world.” See: Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Jamī’ al-‘Ulūm* (Mumbai: Matba’ Muzaffarī, 1905), 206.

and Abū al-Walīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd (d. 1198 C.E.).

In the following centuries, other than the ones we mentioned above, there were Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240 C.E.), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274 C.E.), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1288 C.E.), Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d. 1311 C.E.), Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328 C.E.), ‘Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355 C.E.), Sa‘d al-Dīn Mas‘ūd ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390 C.E.), Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1413 C.E.), Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. *circa* between 1486-90 C.E.), Ḥamzah Fanṣūrī (d. *circa* 1590 C.E.), Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī (d. 1631 C.E.), ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm ibn Shams al-Dīn al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1656 C.E.), Nūr al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī al-Rānīrī (d. 1658 C.E.), Shah Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1762 C.E.), Muḥammad al-Faḍālī (d. 1821 C.E.), and Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bājūrī (d. 1860 C.E.) and many others.

In the nineteenth century, we see more scholarly activity. They are, among others, Muḥammad ibn ‘Arafā al-Dusūqī (d. 1813 C.E.), Ḥasan al-‘Attār (d. 1835 C.E.), Isma‘īl al-Hāmdī (d. 1898 C.E.), Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī (d. 1860 C.E.) and Muḥammad ‘Ileysh (d. 1882 C.E.). Other scholars authoring works in *kalām* and logic were Abdul-Qādir al-Sanandjī (d. 1886 C.E.) (famous for his extensive commentary on Taftāzānī’s *Tahdhīb al-Kalām*), Abdurrahmān al-Panjiyuni (d. 1901 C.E.), Maḥmūd Abū Daqīqah (the author of *al-Qawl al-Sadīd* which contains a relatively concise and readable summary of the central questions taken from the main *kalām* canon, including works like *Sharḥ al-Maqāsid*, *Sharḥ al-Mawāqif*, *Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-Nasafīyyah*, *Sharḥ al-‘Aqā’id al-‘Adudīyyah*, *Tawālī’ al-Anwār* and their commentaries) and ‘Umar ibn Muḥammad Amīn al-Qaradaghī (d. 1936 C.E.).

In the Malay world, the intellectual sciences and philosophical activities continue. The sixteenth and

seventeenth centuries of the Malay world can be said to be a fertile period of philosophical, metaphysical, and rational theological literature that has no comparison anywhere and in any era in Southeast Asia; the translation of the Qur'an, various works of translation, commentaries, super-commentaries, marginalia as well as original works in the fields of philosophy, Sufism and the knowledge of kalam have all been written in this period as well.²⁴ Also in this century, many books appeared in the discipline of *kalām* discussing *tawhīd*, *uṣūl al-dīn*, the twenty attributes of God and many others.

Among the earliest manuscripts of this century is the translation of '*Aqā'id al-Nasafi*', which is dated 1590 C.E. / 998 H by Muḥammad al-Ḥāmid,²⁵ followed by the work written by a scholar of Kedah, Aḥmad bin Amīn al-Dīn al-Qāḍī, entitled *Ilmu Tauhid*, which was completed in 1622 C.E. / 1032 H. Eight years later, on Thursday, 27 Rabī' al-Awwal 1630 C.E. / 1040-1 H, al-Rānīrī completed his other works entitled *Durr al-Farā'id bi Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id*²⁶ and *Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li Daḥ al-Zindīq*.²⁷ Then ten years after that, that is in 1640 C.E. / 1050 H, al-Rānīrī began to

²⁴ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu* (Bangi: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1972), 44-45.

²⁵ Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *The Oldest Known Malay Manuscript: A 16th Malay Translation of the 'Aqā'id al-Nasafi* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1988).

²⁶ Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud and Khalif Muammar have produced an in-depth study of this work. The important study was completed in an article entitled, "Kerangka Komprehensif Pemikiran Melayu Abad ke-17 Masihi Berdasarkan Manuskrip *Durr al-Faraid* Karangan Sheikh Nurudin al-Raniri," *SARI: Jurnal Alam dan Tamadun Melayu* 27(2) (2009), 119-146.

²⁷ Al-Attas has completed a complete and comprehensive study and commentary on this work. See Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *A Commentary on the Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī* (Kuala Lumpur: Ministry of Culture Malaysia, 1986).

compose his work entitled *Laṭā'if al-Asrār li-Ahl Allāh al-Aṭyār*.²⁸

In epistemology (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), Yāsīn al-Fādānī (1916-1990 C.E.) wrote *al-Fawā'id al-Janiyyah*. In logic (*manṭiq*), 'Abd al-Qādir al-Faṭānī (1813-1894 C.E.) wrote *Mabda' al-Fikrah fi al-Maqūlāt al-'Asharah* and Yāsīn al-Fādānī wrote *Risālah fi 'Ilm al-Manṭiq*.

In ethics (*akhlāq* and *taṣawwuf*), al-Rānīrī wrote *Laṭā'if al-Asrār*, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī (1693 C.E.) wrote *'Umdat al-Muhtājin* and 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (1704-1832 C.E.) wrote *Sayr al-Sālikīn* and *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*.

In political thought and philosophy (*siyāsah*), the most notable are Bukhārī al-Jawharī (1603 C.E.) who wrote *Tāj al-Salāṭīn*, al-Rānīrī wrote *Bustān al-Salāṭīn*; Raja Ali Haji (1873 C.E.) wrote *Thamarat al-Muhimmah* and *Muqaddimah fi Intizām Wazā'if al-Malik*.²⁹

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, precisely in 1702 C.E., Muḥammad Zayn bin Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn bin Kamāl al-Dīn completed the writing of the book *'Ilm al-Tawḥīd*. This was then followed by the birth of work from his father entitled *Hidāyat al-'Awwām*, which was completed in 1727 C.E. In addition to the two works above, in the same century, other works were also written, such as *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah* (completed in 1756 C.E. / 1170 H) by Muḥammad Zayn bin Faqīh Jalāl al-Dīn himself, *Zahrat al-*

²⁸ A first comprehensive study of the book *Laṭā'if al-Asrār* based on two original manuscripts of the book was completed by Muhammad Zainiy Uthman as his doctoral thesis at the International Institute of Islamic Thought (ISTAC) under the supervision of Professor Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas in 1997. This doctoral thesis was also published for the first time in 2011. See: Muhammad Zainiy Uthman, *Laṭā'if al-Asrār li Ahl Allāh al-Aṭyār of Nūr al-Dīn al-Ranīrī* (Johor Bahru: Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, 2011).

²⁹ These two books have been edited and published recently in Malaysia. See, Khalif Muammar A. Harris, *Ilmu Ketatanegaraan Melayu Raja Ali Haji* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2016).

Murīd fī Bayān Kalimat al-Tawhīd (completed in 1764 C.E./1178 H) by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (d. after 1789 C.E./1203 H)³⁰ and *Tuhfat al-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Haqīqat al-Mu’minīn* (completed in 1774 C.E./1188 H) by Muḥammad Arsyad al-Banjārī (d. 1812 C.E.).

Malay scholars continue to produce great works in ‘*aqīdah*’ (theology) in the nineteenth century. Among them are Muhammad Nafīs Idrīs al-Banjārī (d. 1812) who wrote *Durrat al-Nafīs* or *al-Durr al-Nafīs*³¹ and *Majmū’ al-Asrār li Ahl Allah al-Atyār* or *Majmū’ al-Sarā’ir* or *Perhimpunan Sekalian Rahsia*;³² Dāwūd bin ‘Abdullah al-Faṭānī (d. 1847 C.E./1265 H) who wrote *al-Durr al-Thamīn* (completed in 1817 C.E./1232 H), *Ward al-Zawāhir*³³ (completed in 1831 C.E./1245 H), *al-Bahjah al-Saniyyah fī ‘Aqā’id al-Sunniyyah* (completed in 1844 C.E./1232 H) and many others; Ismā’īl bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Minangkābawī (d. 1864 C.E./1280 H), author of the book *al-Muqaddimah al-Kubrā al-latī Tafarra’at minhā al-Nuskah al-Ṣughrā*; Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Muḥammad al-Faṭānī (known as Tuan Minal al-Faṭānī) and his famous work, *‘Aqīdat al-Nājīm fī Uṣūl al-Dīn* (completed in 1890 C.E./1308 H); ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Abd

³⁰ One of his masterpieces is *Sayr al-Sālikīn ilā ‘Ibādat Rabb al-‘Ālamīn*. Further detail on the book and its content related to the discussion on *Waḥdat al-Wujūd*, refer to Khalif Muammar A. Harris, “Faham Waḥdat al-Wujud dan Martabat Tujuh dalam Karya Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī,” *TAFHIM: IKIM Journal of Islam and the Contemporary World* 8 (2015): 97-131; See also Nik Roskiman bin Abd al-Samad, “Some Aspects of Spiritual Thoughts of Sheikh Abd al-Samad al-Falimbani”, Ph.D Dissertation, Academy of Islamic Studies, University of Malaya, 2013.

³¹ *Durrat al-Nafīs* or *al-Durr al-Nafīs* (completed in 1875 M/1200 H) and was published by Maṭba‘ah al-Miṣriyyah, Cairo in 1884 C.E. / 1302 H.

³² The manuscript of *Majmū’ al-Asrār li-Ahl Allah al-Atyār* or *Majmū’ al-Sarā’ir* or *Perhimpunan Sekalian Rahsia* is preserved in the Islamic Museum (MI 24) and the Malay Manuscript Center (MSS 1409) in Kuala Lumpur.

³³ This book can be recognised as the thinnest yet comprehensive book in the field of Muslim creed in the Malay world.

al-Rahmān al-Faṭānī (d. 1897 C.E./1314 H) with his work *'Aqīdah Sanūsīyyah: Matn Umm al-Barāhīn li-Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Sanūsī*; Muḥammad al-Nawawī bin 'Umar al-Bantanī (d. 1897 C.E./1314 H) with his work *Faṭḥ al-Majīd fī Sharḥ Durar al-Farīd fī 'Ilm al-Tawḥīd* (completed in 1877 C.E.), *Tijān al-Darari in Sharḥ Risalat al-Bājūrī* (completed in 1880 C.E.), *Dharī'at al-Yaqīn fī Sharḥ Umm al-Barāhīn* or *al-Durrah al-Naḍrah 'alā al-'Aqīdah al-Ṣughrā* (completed in 1885 C.E.) and other works.

In the early period of the twentieth century, the names of great figures appeared, such as Aḥmad al-Faṭānī (d. 1908 C.E.) and his works *Minhāj al-Salām fī Sharḥ Hidāyat al-'Awwām*, *Munjiyyat al-'Awwām li Manhaj al-Hudā min al-Zallām*³⁴ and *Jumānat al-Tawḥīd* (both completed in 1876 C.E./1293 H), *Farīdat al-Farā'id fī 'ilm al-'Aqā'id* (completed in 1895 C.E./1313 H); Muḥammad Ṭayyib bin Mas'ūd al-Banjārī and his work *Miftāḥ al-Jannah*; Muḥammad bin Khāṭīb Langien with his work *Asrār al-Dīn li-Ahl al-Yaqīn* and *Dawā' al-Qulūb*,³⁵ 'Uthmān bin 'Abd Allāh bin 'Aqīl bin Yahyā al-Batāwī, also known as Mufti Betawi, (d. 1914 C.E. / 1332 H) and his works *Manhaj al-Istiqāmah fī al-Dīn al-Salāmah* (completed in 1890 C.E.), *Mustika Pengaruh buat Menyembuhkan Penyakit Keliru* and *Sifat Dua Puluh*; Haji 'Abd al-Laṭīf bin Haji Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn, also known as Haji Tambi Melaka, (d. 1939 C.E./1358 H) with his work *Hidāyat al-Rahmān*³⁶ (completed in 1900 C.E./1318 H); Muhammad 'Alawī bin 'Abd Allāh Khāṭīb Endur al-Kamparī and his work *'Aqīdat*

³⁴ This book contains 184 baits.

³⁵ MSS 1044, Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The book *Asrār al-Dīn li-Ahl al-Yaqīn* has been printed many times along with the book *Miftāḥ al-Jannah* of Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭayyib bin Mas'ūd al-Banjārī. Among the publishers was Maṭba'ah al-Miṣriyyah in Makkah, 1321 H/ 1903 C.E. However, on the Maṭba'ah al-Miṣriyyah's printing, the name of the author is never mentioned.

³⁶ The book was published by Maṭba'ah al-Laṭīfiyyah al-Malakawīyyah, Melaka in 1348 H.

Munjiyat fī Bayān ‘Aqīdat al-Mu‘minīn wa al-Mu‘mināt (completed in 1906 C.E./1324 H); Haji Muḥammad Qāsim bin Nakhoda Haji Aḥmad bin ‘Abd Allāh al-Funtinānī, better known as Dato Senara, (d. 1923 C.E./1341 H) and his work *Uṣūl al-Dīn fī Sabīl al-‘Itiqād* (completed in 1910 C.E./1328 H);³⁷ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq bin Muḥammad ‘Afīf al-Banjārī, Muftī of the Inderagiri Sultanate, Sumatera (d. 1930 C.E./1348 H) who wrote *‘Aqā’id al-Īmān* (completed in 1919); Tuan Hussain Kedah (d. 1936 C.E./1354 H) who wrote *al-Nūr al-Mustafīd fī ‘Aqā’id al-Tawḥīd* (completed in 1888 C.E./1305 H),³⁸ *Uṣūl al-Tawḥīd fī Ma‘rifat Ṭuruq al-Īmān ilā Rabb al-Majīd* (completed in 6th Shawwāl 1346 H/ 1928 C.E.)³⁹ and other works; Wan Ismā‘īl bin ‘Abd al-Qādir bin Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī, also known as Pak Da’el,⁴⁰ (d. 1965 C.E./1384 H) who wrote *Bakūrat al-Amānī* and its commentary⁴¹, *Īdāh al-Murām li Tahqīq al-Salām*⁴², and *Tabṣīrat al-Amānī* and Muḥammad Basyuni or Maharaja Imam Sambas (d. 1986 C.E./ 1406 H) who wrote *Bidāyat al-Tawḥīd fī ‘Ilm al-Tawḥīd* and many other scholars and works. In 1929 Muhammad Idris al-Marbawi wrote an encyclopaedic book called *Kitab Perbendaharaan Ilmu* (The Book of Encyclopaedia of Knowledge), the book describes and summarises all sciences that the author was capable to

³⁷ The second edition of the book was printed by Maṭba‘ah al-Ikhwān, Singapore in 1337 H.

³⁸ The content of this book discusses *tawḥīd* and the doctrines of Ahl al-Sunnah wa-al-Jamā‘ah.

³⁹ The second edition of this book was published by Maṭba‘ah al-Zainiyyah, Taiping, Perak on 4th Jamādilakhir in 1347 H. The content of this book discusses the philosophy of *tawḥīd* and Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

⁴⁰ He is the cousin of Shaykh Ahmad bin Muhammad Zain bin Mustafa al-Fathani.

⁴¹ Both completed in 1916 C.E. / 1335 H. The book was published by Khazanah Fathaniyyah, Kuala Lumpur in 2000 C.E.

⁴² Completed in 1917 C.E. / 1336 H.

compile such as logic, philosophy, ethics, history, *kalām*, *taṣawwuf*, medicine etc.⁴³

In the mid-to-late twentieth century, there were still authoritative scholars who contributed their works in the Islamic intellectual tradition in the Malay world. In this period, works of *'aqīdah* seem to occupy a less prominent position in the curriculum compared to the number and variety of works in the field of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). Comparatively, the previous period and generation showed great interest in cosmology, eschatology, and metaphysical speculation as witnessed in the writings of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkilī (d. 1615 C.E.), al-Rānīrī (d. 1658 C.E.) and 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī (d. 1704 C.E.).⁴⁴ All the works above have a strong connection with al-Ghazālī's work.

Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas—a contemporary Muslim philosopher, metaphysician, *mutakallim*, historian, commentator of the Qur'an (*mufasssir*), and Sufī—who has produced great works in these fields,⁴⁵ is another example which shows that Islamic philosophy in the Sunni world in general and the Malay world in particular is still thriving, and they are all following the epistemic framework laid down by the classical Sunni scholars and particularly Imam al-Ghazālī.

Therefore, among al-Ghazālī's contributions pertaining to the intellectual sciences (*'ulūm 'aqliyyah*) are as follows: firstly, his criticism of the philosophers is

⁴³ Muhammad bin Idris al-Marbawi, *Kitab Perbendaharaan Ilmu* (Cairo: Maṭba'ah al-Marbawiyah, 1929).

⁴⁴ See Martin van Bruinessen, *Kitab Kuning, Pesantren, dan Tarekat* (Yogyakarta: Gading Publishing, 2012), 174.

⁴⁵ His works include, among others, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri* (1970), *Islam in Malay History and Culture* (1972), *Islam and Secularism* (1978), *The Concept of Education in Islam* (1980), *Islam and the Philosophy of Science* (1989), *Prolegomena to Metaphysics of Islam* (1995), *Historical Fact and Fiction* (2012), *On Justice and the Nature of Man* (2015) and *Islam: The Covenants Fulfilled* (2023).

rightly deemed as Islamisation of Greek philosophy,⁴⁶ that is, reconstructing philosophy by introducing Islamic epistemological foundation so that knowledge of truth and reality can be achieved by humans with the support of both reason and religion; secondly, his critique saved Muslims from an attempt to Hellenize the Islamic thought, the same Hellenization that caused the Christian world to experience metaphysical crisis before the advent of the modern age; thirdly, al-Ghazālī also succeeded in harmonising *taṣawwuf* (spiritual and metaphysical aspect of Islam) with *Sharī'ah* (the moral and legal aspect of Islam) through his revival of religious sciences (*Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*); fourthly, al-Ghazālī also contributed to the strengthening of *uṣūl al-fiqh* (legal philosophy) with the introduction of *manṭiq* and philosophical argumentation; fifthly, because he stressed the importance of developing both *naqlī* and *'aqlī* sciences, Muslim scholars after al-Ghazālī developed further the new Islamic sciences that he has introduced such as *manṭiq*, *akhlāq* (ethics), political philosophy (*siyāsah*) and legal philosophy (*maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*).

In conclusion, the Islamic intellectual tradition and philosophical works and activities still continue to thrive to this day, even in Muslim countries in the Far East, such as in the Malay Archipelago. This is proven by the presence of works that discuss great ideas as well as sophisticated discussions. After al-Ghazālī, only Ibn Sīnā's philosophical framework has declined in the Sunni world, but philosophy in general continues to thrive.

⁴⁶ Islamisation of knowledge has been defined as "the returning to the metaphysical worldview, epistemic framework, and ethical and legal principles of Islam." See al-Attas, *Islam and Secularism*, 41-42; Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud, *Islamization of Contemporary Knowledge and the Role of the University* (Skudai: UTM, 2013), 18. The above statement is Wan Mohd Nor Wan Daud's summary of al-Attas' idea of Islamisation.

Philosophy in the Shi'ite Tradition

The situation in the Shi'ite world is similar to the Sunni; the life of Islamic philosophy did not end with al-Ghazālī nor with Ibn Rushd, as proclaimed by most Western scholars for several centuries. Rather, philosophical works continued to thrive during the later centuries, as claimed by Nasr, particularly in Persia and other Eastern lands of Islam, and it was revived in Egypt during the last century.⁴⁷ Moreover, Nasr concludes that after Ibn Rushd, the main home of Islamic philosophy became Persia,⁴⁸ although this statement needs to be further elaborated. In this regard, Izutsu seems to agree with Nasr because he argues that what came to an end was only the first phase of the history of Islamic philosophy.⁴⁹

In the history of Islamic philosophy in Persia, at the end of the thirteenth century, there was a major figure who shaped the intellectual discourse in the Shi'ite tradition. His name is Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274),⁵⁰ a scholar who sought to revive the Ibn Sīnā's school by responding to all refutations against it, especially in his work entitled *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*, which is an important and most prominent work of the revival of peripatetic philosophy. He also wrote a work specifically to refute the *Muṣāra'at al-Falāsifah* of

⁴⁷ Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Philosophy from Its Origin to the Present: Philosophy in the Land of Prophecy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 108.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ See: Mehdi Mohaghegh & Toshihiko Izutsu, *The Metaphysics of Sabzavārī* (New York: Caravan Books, 1977), 1-2, hereafter cited as *Metaphysics*.

⁵⁰ He is Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, also called Muḥaqqiq al-Ṭūsī or Kwājā-i Ṭūsī. He is the most important and influential Shī'ī scholar in the fields of theology, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and geometry. For more detail on al-Ṭūsī, refer to P. J. Bearman et al. eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), vol. X, 746-752, entry 'Al-Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn'.

al-Shahrastānī⁵¹ entitled *Muṣāri' al-Muṣāri'*⁵² and a systematic work of *kalām* entitled *Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id*.⁵³ Later, the step was followed by his disciple named Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf, also known as al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, (d. 1325 C.E.).⁵⁴ Al-Ṭūsī was also known as the person who made the foundation of philosophy and *kalam* into Shi'ite tradition. He was also greatly influenced by Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, al-Rāzī, and Ibn 'Arabī (d. 1240 C.E.). In the following century, there are several great figures who were influenced by al-Ṭūsī, namely, al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, Quṭb

⁵¹ Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Karim al-Shahrastani, *Struggling with the Philosophers: A Refutation of Avicenna's Metaphysics*, trans. by Wilferd Madelung & Toby Mayer (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001). Linguistically, the translation of *Muṣāra'ah* as 'Struggling' is also inaccurate, this is because the word in Arabic is more accurately translated as fighting, battling, etc.

⁵² Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, *Muṣāri' al-Muṣāri'* (Qum: Maktabah Āyātullāh al-Mar'ashī al-'Ammah, 1984).

⁵³ *Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id* or *Tajrīd al-I'tiqād* is an important work that exerted a great influence on the development of *kalām*, whether among Sunnīs or Shi'ites. Throughout history, there have been many works that have commented on the book of *Tajrīd*. Among them are *Kashf al-Murād fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-I'tiqād* by al-Ḥillī (d. 1325), *Tasdīd al-Qawā'id fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id* by Shams al-Dīn al-Asfahānī (d. 1348) and its marginalia (*hawāshī*) by Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413), *Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Kalām* by 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qushjī (d. 1474) and its marginalia (*hawāshī*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī (d. 1502), *Shawāriq al-Ilhām fī Sharḥ Tajrīd al-Kalām* by 'Abd. al-Razzāq Lāhijī (d. 1661), and others. After al-Ṭūsī, there are many of the Shi'ite philosophers who began to bring important questions into philosophy.

⁵⁴ Lest it be misunderstood, there is another prominent scholar from Ḥilla often described as *Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī* or *Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal*. He is not al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, but is Najm al-Dīn Ja'far ibn Ḥasan, a jurist-theologian who wrote the book *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, which came to be recognised as the authoritative source on Shī'ī law. He died in 1326 C.E., which is a year after the death of al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 1325). For further detail on al-Ḥillī's biography, see Muḥsin al-'Āmilī, *A'yan al-Shī'ah*, 277-334; Ḥasan Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah li 'Ulūm al-Islām*, 270, 313 and 397; Agha Buzugh al-Tihrānī, *al-Dharī'ah ilā Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah*, xiii, 117 and 133; B. Lewis et al. eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. III, 390; *GAL*, vol. II, 164, entry 'Al-Ḥillī'.

al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1365 C.E.), and Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī, also known as Amīr Sultān, (d. 1368 C.E.). Among them, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1365 C.E.) wrote a book entitled *al-Muḥākamāt bayna Sharḥay al-Ishārāt*.⁵⁵ The book is a very important work in which Quṭb al-Dīn evaluates and critically compares the commentaries of al-Ṭūsī and al-Rāzī.

More than a century after Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's period, the establishment of the Safavid state in 907 H/1501 C.E. by Shāh Ismā'īl I marks an important turning point in Persian history.⁵⁶ When the Ṣafavids took power at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century, especially in the time of Shāh 'Abbās I (c. 995-1038 H/1587-1629 C.E.), the philosophical discourse flourished.⁵⁷ One of the most influential scholars who lived in the earliest Ṣafavid era and served the region's pre-Ṣafavid political establishment was Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dawwānī al-Ṣiddīqī (d. 1502-3 C.E.), a Sunni scholar who was based in Shīrāz and studied under the students of al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413 C.E.). He also wrote many peripatetic and illuminating philosophical works, including on logic and theology. His works include *al-Hujaj al-Bāhirah*, *Hāshiyah 'alā Tajrīd al-Kalām* of al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wa-al-Kalām* of al-

⁵⁵ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Ilāhiyyāt min al-Muḥākamāt bayna Sharḥay al-Ishārāt* (Tehran: Miras Maktoob, 1381 H). On Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī: Osman Bakar, *Classification of Knowledge in Islam: A Study in Islamic Schools of Epistemology*, reprint edition (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2019), 229-270.

⁵⁶ For further detail, see Bosworth, Edmund et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), vol. VIII, 765, entry 'Ṣafawids'; Kaveh Farrokh, *Iran at War: 1500-1988* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2011), 7.

⁵⁷ According to Pourjavady, in Persia during this period, it is not only the re-emergence of philosophy, but also theology or *kalām* in general and in particular, Shī'ī theology. For further details, see Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Islam Iran: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmud al-Nayrīzī and His Writing* (Brill: Leiden, 2011), ix, hereafter cited as *Philosophy in Early Safavid Islam*.

Taftāzānī, *Ghāyat al-Tahdhīb fī Tahrīr al-Manṭiq*, *Sharḥ al-'Aqā'id al-'Aḍūdiyyah*, *Hāshiyah 'alā Tahrīr al-Qawā'id al-Manṭiqiyyah* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Risālah Burhāniyyah* and many others. During the same period, he lived alongside Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Dashtakī (d. 1498 C.E.) and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr al-Dashtakī (d. 1542 C.E.).⁵⁸ The latter was a well-known Persian scholar who, beside al-Dawwānī, authored a commentary on Suhrawardī's *Hayākil al-Nūr*, which appears to be somewhat of a reply to Dawwānī's, entitled *Ishrāq Hayākil al-Nūr li Kashf Zulūmāt Shawākil al-Ḥūr*.⁵⁹ Among Dawwānī's disciples was Jamāl al-Dīn al-Astarābādī (d. 1524-5 C.E.).

After the tenth/sixteenth century, philosophy's development kept growing in the East, particularly in Persia. Thus, we have names like Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarabādī, commonly known as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631/2 C.E.), Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640 C.E.), 'Abd. al-Razzāq Lāhījī (d. 1662) and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1680 C.E.) and other scholars.

Other names of scholars that appeared at that time were Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī (d. 1621 C.E.) and Sayyid Aḥmad al-'Alawī al-'Āmilī (d. between 1644 and 1650 C.E.) who began to be patronised by the Safavid government.⁶⁰ In the later period, the study of Islamic philosophy gave birth to what is known as *the School of Isfahan* with the central figure who was known as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631-2 C.E.),⁶¹ the one who was influenced by

⁵⁸ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, 781, entry 'Safawids'.

⁵⁹ Bilal Kuşpınar, *Ismail Ankaravi on the Illuminative Philosophy. His Izahul-Hikem: Its Edition and Analysis in Comparison with Dawwani's Shawakil al-Hur, together with the Translation of Suhrawardi's Hayakil al-Nur* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1996), 55.

⁶⁰ Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Islam*, ix.

⁶¹ On Mīr Dāmād and his contribution see, Fazlur Rahman, "Mīr Dāmād's Concept of *Ḥudūth Dahrī*: A Contribution to the Study of

the school of illumination (*ishrāq*) founded by Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl (d. 1191 C.E.). He wrote more than forty works; one of his most important works is *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq* (The Philosophy of Illumination).⁶² Suhrawardī was very critical to Peripatetic philosophers, including Ibn Sīnā.⁶³

As mentioned earlier, Mīr Dāmād was an outstanding figure of Ṣafavid-period philosophy. Subsequent Persian evaluations have only echoed this assessment, and he was

God-World Relationship Theories in Safavid Iran," *Near Eastern Studies* 39 (1980), 139-151; Hamid Dabashi, "Mīr Dāmād and the Founding of the School of Isfahan," in *A History of Islamic Philosophy*, eds. Oliver Leaman and Seyyed Hossein Nasr (London: Routledge, 1996), vol. 1, 597-634; and Mohaghegh, "Revival of Islamic Philosophy in the Safavid Period with Special Reference to Mīr Dāmād," in Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alawī, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-Qabasāt Mīr Dāmād*, ed. Hāmed Nājī Isfahānī (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought (ISTAC) in a collaboration with Institute of Islamic Studies, University of Tehran, 1997), 7-19; Mathieu Terrier, "Mīr Dāmād (m. 1041/1631), philosophe et *mujtahid*: Autorité spirituelle et autorité juridique en Iran Safavide Shī'ite," *Studia Islamica* 113 (2018), 121-165.

⁶² There are two major commentaries of *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*; the first was written by Muḥammad al-Shahrāzūrī (d. 1288) and the second one by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1311).

⁶³ Suhrawardī's criticism of Peripatetic philosophy—especially Ibn Sīnā—can be found in his works such as *al-Mashāri' wa al-Muṭarāḥāt* (Beirut: Manshūrāt al-Jamal, 2011). For further details on Suhrawardī and the philosophy of illumination, refer to Max Hörten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardī* (Halle, Ger.: Strauss und Cramer, 1912); Henry Corbin, *Suhrawardī d'Alep, fondateur de la doctrine illuminative* (Paris: G. P. Maisonneuve, 1939); W. M. Thackston Jr., *The Mystical and Visionary Treatise of Shihabuddīn Yahya Suhrawardī* (London: The Octagon Press, 1982); Hossein Ziai, *Knowledge and Illumination: A Study of Suhrawardī's Ḥikmat al-Ishraq* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 97; Hossein Ziai, "Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī: Founder of the Illuminationist School," in *History of Islamic Philosophy*, ed. Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (London: Routledge, 1996), 1:434-496.; Mehdi Amin Razavi, *Suhrawardī and the School of Illumination* (Surrey: Curzon, 1997); John Walbridge, *The Leaven of the Ancients: Suhrawardī and the Heritage of the Greeks. SUNY Series on Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); and many others.

accorded such titles as *Sayyid al-Hukamā'* (Master of the Wise Men), *Sayyid al-Falāsifah* (Master of Philosophers), and *Mu'allim al-Thālith* (the Third Teacher, after Aristotle and al-Fārābī).⁶⁴ Mīr Dāmād's teachings were then perfected by his pupil, Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640 C.E.), who was born around 980 H/1571 C.E. He came to Iṣfahān⁶⁵ at a young age and studied with the theologian Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī (d. 1622 C.E.) and to an extent with the Peripatetic philosopher, Mīr Fendereskī (d. 1641 C.E.),⁶⁶ but his principal teacher was Mīr Dāmād.⁶⁷ Ṣadrā also studied the Twelver Shī'ī religious sciences with Shaykh Bahā'ī (d. 1621 C.E.). Among other Bahā'ī's students were Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d. 1659 C.E.), Muḥammad Bāqir Sabzawārī (d. 1679 C.E.), and Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī (d. 1680).⁶⁸ His philosophy, what Ṣadrā tries to offer, is aimed at harmonising the knowledge obtained through the means of Sufism (*'irfān*), illumination (*ishrāqiyyah*), peripatetics (*mashshā'iyyah*) and *kalām*.

Thus, it can be concluded that the underlying principles of Mullā Ṣadrā's thinking are intellectual illumination (*kashf*, *dhawq* or *ishrāq*), rational reasoning or proof (*'aql*, *burhān* or *istidlāl*), and revelation (*shar'*). As for *kalām* tradition, although the philosophy of Ṣadrā is

⁶⁴ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, 781-782, entry 'Ṣafawids'.

⁶⁵ A town and province in Persia. Iṣfahān, in view of its central position, has experienced most of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the Arab opening. Shah Ismā'īl (the founder of the Ṣafavid empire) took Iṣfahān in 908/1502-3. Then in the period of Shah 'Abbās, he made Iṣfahān as his capital. He replanned and largely rebuilt the city. For more details on the history of Iṣfahān, see E. Van Donzel et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), vol. IV, 97-107, entry 'Iṣfahān'.

⁶⁶ However, the relationship between Ṣadrā and Mīr Fendereskī is not yet certain. Therefore, further research is needed to ascertain this. In Iṣfahān, Mīr Fendereskī taught the books *al-Qānūn* and *al-Shifā'* by Ibn Sīnā.

⁶⁷ Rahman, *Philosophy*, 1.

⁶⁸ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. VIII, 779.

completely permeated by Shi'ite thought, Ṣadrā also sometimes quotes the views of theologians, such as the Ash'arite or Mu'tazilite. Regarding Shi'ite theology, the main reference of Ṣadrā is the work of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī entitled *Tajrīd al-'Aqā'id*, whereas sources derived from the Sunni tradition include the works written by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 C.E.), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209 C.E.), Qāḍī 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 1355 C.E.), Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1389 C.E.), Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 1413 C.E.) and others. In fact, the influence of the writings of the Sunni *kalām* figures is clearly seen in the works of Ṣadrā.

However, Mullā Ṣadrā was not the first person to make efforts for harmonisation between disciplines in the Shi'ite tradition. There are some figures who have worked in that direction, such as Sayyid Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. 1385 C.E.) who sought to harmonise between Sufism and Shi'ite teachings by showing the essential unity between the two. In fact, he asserts that Shī'a and Sufism are identical. It is this form of harmony that forms the basis of his work entitled *Jāmi' al-Asrār wa-Manba' al-Anwār*. Ṣā'in al-Dīn ibn Turkah al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1432 C.E.), or better known as Ibn Turkah, was the first to synthesise the teachings of Ibn Sīnā, Suhrawardī, and Ibn 'Arabī into Shi'ite esotericism, as seen in his work entitled *Tamhīd al-Qawā'id*.⁶⁹ Then at the end of the fifteenth century, there was a figure named Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. 1499 C.E.), a man who combined the theology, peripatetics, illumination and mysticism of Ibn 'Arabī as well as poured in a form coloured by Shi'ite Imamology, as is clearly seen in his work entitled *Maslik al-Afhām fī 'Ilm al-Kalām*. Based on that, some figures have preceded Ṣadrā in the effort to synthesise various disciplines in their works.

Subsequently, Mullā Ṣadrā became the leading intellectual figure in the Ṣafavid era. His explanation of

⁶⁹ This work is a commentary on the book *Qawā'id al-Tawḥīd* written by Abū Ḥāmid al-Iṣfahānī.

ilāhiyyāt, as claimed by Nasr, is more profound, more gnostic, and broader than Ibn Sīnā. However, Ibn Sīnā's explanation of the *ṭabī'īyyāt* is more comprehensive than his. The metaphysics of Mullā Ṣadrā is based—like other philosophers—and is derived from al-Kindī, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, specifically on the difference between existence (*wujūd*) and quiddity (*māhiyyah*) or essence.⁷⁰ When the Ṣafavid fell, there was a change in the religious environment of the community at that time, thus indirectly affecting the school of Mullā Ṣadrā. It is even said that the main genealogy of the Ṣadrā's school's continuing transmission effort was reduced to only one or two figures, and the most important figure in this period was Mullā Muḥammad Ṣādiq Ardīstānī (d. 1721 C.E.) who was driven from Iṣfahān after the Afghan attack.⁷¹

Ardīstānī was a philosopher during the Ṣafavid era. His full name was Muhammad Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad Qāsim ibn Muḥammad Maḥdī ibn Kamāluddīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ardīstānī. He was born in Ardistan in 1644 C.E. He studied in Iṣfahān and was taught under the guidance of Mīr Fendereski (d. 1640 C.E.), Rajab 'Alī al-Tabrīzī (d. 1670 C.E.), and Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1680 C.E.). One of his magnum opuses is *al-Hikmah al-Ṣādiqiyyah fī Mas'alat al-Nafs wa Malakātihā fawq al-Hissiyyah*. Among his students was Ḥazīn Lāhījī (d. 1766 C.E.). Ardīstānī died in 1134 H or 1721 C.E. After Ardīstānī, another essential figure from the same century was Mūhammad Meḥdī ibn Abī Dharr Meḥdī al-Narāqī. He was born in Narāq near Kāshān around 1715 C.E. and died in Najaf in 1794 C.E..⁷² Among his works are *Kitāb Jāmi'*

⁷⁰ Nasr, *The Metaphysics of Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrazī*, 178-179.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² More on al-Narāqī's biography and thoughts, see: Amin Razavi, "Muḥammad Maḥdī Narāqī," in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia* ed. Nasr & Razavi (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), vol. 3, 431-432; Meḥdī Mohaghegh, "Introduction", in Muḥammad Maḥdī Narāqī, *Sharḥ al-Ilāhiyyāt min Kitāb al-Shifā'*, ed. Meḥdī Mohaghegh

al-Afkar fī al-Ilāhiyyāt, Qurrat al-'Uyūn fī Ahkām al-Wujūd, al-Lam'āt al-'Arshīyah fī Hikmat al-Ishrāq, Anīs al-Hukamā' and many others.

Mullā 'Alī Nūrī (d. 1831) began teaching Ṣadrā's works at Iṣfahān; he taught *al-Asfār* and other Ṣadrā's works for more than fifty years. He was an indispensable link in the transmission of Mullā Ṣadrā's teachings and an important commentator of his works. In his year of death, in 1831 C.E., he not only produced important works under the teachings of Mullā Ṣadrā but also succeeded in giving birth to a generation of new philosophers who followed Ṣadrā's school.⁷³ Some of 'Alī Nūrī's works are *Ta'līqāt Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb* of Mulla Ṣadrā, the commentary of Ṣadrā's *Asfār*⁷⁴ and *Mashā'ir*, the commentary of al-Lāhījī's *Shawāriq* and many other works. Ashtiyānī states that during the Qājār period, all important teachers of philosophy in Tehran came from Nūrī's school.⁷⁵

Among Nūrī's contributions was the guidance of students who later became outstanding figures, such as Mullā Muḥammad Ismā'īl Iṣfahānī (d. 1853 C.E.), Mullā 'Abd Allāh Zunūjī (d. 1841 C.E.), Mullā Ja'far Lāhījī Langarūdī (d. 1839 C.E.), and Mullā Ismā'īl Khājū'ī (d. 1859 C.E.). From 'Alī Nūrī and his students appeared a famous Qājār philosopher, Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī (d. 1873 C.E.). The other figures in the Qājār period were Mullā 'Alī Mudarris Zunūzī (d. 1890 C.E.) and Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā Qumsha'ī (d. 1889 C.E.). These are the key figures that

(Tehran: Society for the Appreciation of Cultural Works and Dignitaries, 2005); Ḥasan Majīd al-'Ubaydī, *al-Narāqī: al-Wujūd wa al-Māhiyyah* (Beirut: Difaf Publishing, 2015).

⁷³ Nasr, *The Metaphysics of Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrazī*, 190.

⁷⁴ Nūrī's commentary of Ṣadrā's *Asfār* was the first systematic commentary. But for Rahman, the perceptive and sensitive commentator of the *Asfār* is Sabzawārī. Rahman, *Philosophy*, 20.

⁷⁵ Rahman, *Philosophy*, 20.

made the metaphysical teaching Mullā Ṣadrā thrived in the 19th century of Persian Qājār.⁷⁶

In the late Qājār and Pahlavī periods, the teachings of Mullā Ṣadrā were continued by famous philosophical figures such as Mirzā Ṭāhir Tunkābunī (d. 1931 C.E.), Mirzā Maḥdī Ashtiyānī (d. 1952 C.E.), and Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ṭabaṭabā'ī (d. 1981 C.E.) who were students of great masters of Ṣadrian metaphysics and transmitted the teachings of Mullā Ṣadrā to the *ḥakims* of the last two generations who have kept the flame of this school burning to the present day.⁷⁷

Conclusion

In this article, we have listed more than a hundred important works on Islamic philosophy by post-Ghazālī Muslim scholars which include the genres of metaphysics, theology, epistemology, ethics, logic, law, and politics. It is therefore incomprehensible that those scholars who prolong the decline narrative have missed all these works and yet claim that they are experts in Islamic studies. Our study shows that philosophy never ceased to exist in the Islamic world, even during challenging periods such as war, colonisation, and civil strife. Philosophical activities continue to thrive in the Sunni tradition, albeit with different nomenclatures.

Islamic philosophy continues to thrive until today and is manifested in the disciplines of *kalām*, *taṣawwuf*, *uṣūl al-fiqh*, *manṭiq*, *akhlāq*, *siyāsah*, *maqāṣid al-Sharī'ah*, etc., where philosophical and rational investigation to the subject is blended with religious and didactic approach. The works of these Muslim scholars can be classified as philosophical works if we consider the content and the nature of discourse taking into consideration the broader meaning and definition of philosophy.

⁷⁶ Nasr, *The Metaphysics of Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrazī*, 190.

⁷⁷ Nasr, *The Metaphysics of Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrazī*, 191.

The development of philosophy in the Shi'ite tradition took a different form. Especially since the 16th century, when the Shi'ite became centralised in the region of Persia, they developed what they called *ḥikmah* or theosophy with the purpose of harmonising various philosophical traditions, namely, the Hellenistic, *kalām* and Sufi traditions. Even though traces of Ibn Sīnā's philosophical ideas can be gleaned from these works, it is safe to say that the only philosophical tradition that truly declined was the philosophical framework established by Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, which formed the *mashsha'i* tradition, and which can be considered as part of Hellenization.

In conclusion, Islamic philosophy in the Islamic world has not declined as proclaimed by orientalist and modern Muslim scholars. The reason that Western scholars who promoted the decline narrative could not see the works we have shown is because they were looking from a Western perspective, and they were looking for something that is only relevant to secular civilisation. The decline of Hellenistic philosophy was not peculiar to Islamic civilisation, the same thing also happened in the West. Aristotelianism was renounced in favour of the Cartesian scientific creed and modern mechanical philosophy. Now, this modern philosophy is also being questioned with the rise of postmodern philosophy. In contrast, Islamic philosophy remained the same until today due to the solid foundation laid down by the likes of al-Ghazālī. Furthermore, from the evidence we have put forward in this article, the accusation against al-Ghazālī betrays their ignorance about his works and the intellectual sciences which indeed have thrived in the Islamic world after al-Ghazālī.

Al-Ghazālī's critique of Aristotelianism can thus be considered as the Islamisation of philosophy. He facilitated the transformation of Greek philosophy to become a philosophy that conforms with the worldview of Islam.

Philosophy as a science has survived, al-Ghazālī only criticised some aspects of Greek philosophy, particularly its metaphysics, which is neither based on scientific evidence, rational investigation nor Divine truth. Al-Ghazālī's critique was indeed necessary so that Muslim scholars could develop what is known today as Islamic philosophy, or more aptly, Islamic intellectual sciences.

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