

Exploring Ethical and Epistemic Virtues in the Philosophy of Al-Ghazali – A Critical Review

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Abstract

A towering individual among the galaxy of scholars in the medieval era is, no doubt, Al-Ghazali who ushered forth formidable contribution in the field of philosophy and especially that of education. There can be a variety of angles where from the intellectual pursuits of Al-Ghazali can be discussed, however, this research paper is limited to the epistemic and ethical virtues as expounded by him. The problem under investigation was, "Exploring epistemic and ethical virtues in the philosophy of Al-Ghazali – a critical review". The objectives were: i, to explore the epistemic virtues as laid down by Al-Ghazali; ii, to explore the ethical virtues as expounded by Al-Ghazali. Research questions were: what epistemic virtues are proposed by Al-Ghazali ?; what ethical virtues are presented by Al-Ghazali ?The methodology adopted for the study was analytical as the original text of the philosophy of Al-Ghazali was analyzed with reference to the above-mentioned objectives. It was found that among all the Muslim scholars Al-Ghazali was the first who talked about the inculcation of epistemic and ethical virtues among the learners which he considered integral for the very survival of the Human family. It was concluded that the same values are necessary for the growth of any society as per Al-Ghazali's views. Possible measures were recommended for incorporating the same values in the Pakistani Education system which is the dire need of the time.

Keywords: Al-Ghazali, Epistemology, Ethics, Virtues, Educational philosophy

INTRODUCTION

Al-Ghazali is one of the outstanding scholars of the Muslim world in the medieval era. Born in A.D.1058 (A.H.) in the city of Tus in Khurasan to a Persian family Ghazali and his family members had a reputation for knowledge and have had an inclination towards Sufism later in life. AL-Ghazali started his elementary education at the age of seven and studied Arabic, Persian, the Quran, and the principles of religion. After the completion of his early education, he moved to Jordan to study *fiqh* under Imam Al-Isma'ili. After this, he met Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Seljuq minister and



stayed with him for six years. He was appointed in the court of law as a Judge. During his stay there, he was also appointed as a professor to the Nizamiya madrasa at Baghdad. He died in 1111¹.

According to a tradition attributed to the prophet Mohammad (S.A.W), after every hundred years, Allah sends someone to revive the faith of the Islamic community² and Imam Al-Ghazali is considered one of the reformers of the Islamic faith. In his works, he stressed a system of ethics, a field of life which is central to all the stakeholders in most spheres of life. "He was plainly ethical in his attitude and lays stress on the value for as a piece of knowledge"³ Al-Ghazali's contribution in the field of ethical and epistemic virtues is a foundation stone in the edifice of virtues. Ethical and epistemic virtues are very important for human life, hence significant in the field of education.

Statement of the Problem:

Keeping in view the importance of ethical and epistemic virtues in the teaching-learning process the researchers carried out an analytical study of the philosophy of Al-Ghazali with reference to ethical and epistemic virtues. The problem under study was, "Exploring epistemic and ethical virtues in the philosophy of Al-Ghazali and their utilization in the Pakistani education system".

Objectives of the Study:

The objectives were: i, to explore the epistemic virtues as laid down by Al-Ghazali; ii, to explore the ethical virtues as expounded by Al-Ghazali.

Research Questions:

Research questions were: what epistemic virtues are proposed by Al-Ghazali ?; and what ethical virtues are presented by Al-Ghazali ?

Methodology of the Study:

The methodology adopted for the study was analytical as the original text of the philosophy of Al-Ghazali was analyzed with reference to the above-mentioned objectives.

Analytical review of the related Literature:

Al-Ghazali's Ethics provide a link between knowledge and action which is a means of attaining man's highest end.⁴ In his book 'The Criterion', Al-Ghazali extends these ethical principles to the knowledge and actions which concludes in the happiness of humanity as a whole. The principal aim he pointed out is to identify the ways and means to simplify and promote good actions which further leads to happiness and prosperity of humanity.

Al-Ghazali's division of Wisdom:

He divides the science of wisdom into two main branches. The first pertains to man's actions and he calls it practical science. The principal aim of practical science is to find out the human activities friendly to man's well-being in this world as well as in the Hereafter. Practical science is further

divided into three sections and they are: i-the science of governance of man's relations with others that culminates in political science; ii- the science of the governance of man's relations with the household; iii- the science of Ethics (*Ilm-al-Akhlaq*) which means, the way human beings ought to act, to be good in one's transactions and virtuous in his/her character and actions.

Al-Ghazali pointed out that good and evil are not abstract concepts but having relationships with concrete actions. It is not the act simply but the aim which determines how an action should be evaluated. Whether an action is good or evil, he argues, for those acts which the doer agrees with, is regarded as good. On the contrary, those acts which dispute the doer's aim are regarded by him as evil. The acts which neither agree nor contradict with one's aim are termed by him as futile or useless. The doer of such acts is called stupid.⁵

Ghazali subjects ethics to the agents. Almost all the actions can be seen through the eyes of the beholder and evaluated in accordance with one's aims. Actions are viewed by different individuals differently. Ghazali provides an example of how a single act could be viewed differently by different individuals. He cites an example, the killing of a king. The action of the murderer is considered to be good by his enemies, but it is considered as an evil by his supporters or well-wishers.⁶

The above example points out that Al-Ghazali rejects any objective value of an act. Therefore, there is no intrinsic value in an act according to Ghazali. In his two major ethical works, the Criterion and the Revival, Ghazali mentions virtues with what he calls the "mothers" (*Ummahat*) or principal virtues; the "mothers of character".⁷

Al-Ghazali viewed ethics as an attitude that must be cultivated, and made as guidance when dealing with human beings in their daily tasks. He divides human beings into three categories namely: anonymous, friends, and known people. He mentions some manners while dealing with the unknown people. He advise not to bother with people who behave or talk nonsense or useless issues; avoid the words of those who are determined to do bad things to you; don't seek their help; do advise those who are involved in misconduct but make an assessment whether they are willing to accept your advice. Regarding dealing with friends or companions, one should consider, how to fulfill their rights, a friend who can offer a hand in difficulties, is sensible, wise, noble, truthful etc. While dealings with the Non-companions one should keep in mind not to insult anyone; do not make glorification or useless praises; don't respond to their verbal enmity; don't be jealous of their positions, give advice only when one is able to receive; when seeing they are doing good things, thank Allah, when doing bad things then let their affairs to Allah, avoid debates; smile, be humble and modest when doing something, avoid crowds unless there is a need; when sit in the crowd avoid raising legs, tossing fingers, stroking beard, touching teeth, playing with nose, spitting, shooting flies, stripping and yawning etc. Further, he emphasized attentive

listening; not to dress like women and children; avoid boastings; act nobly rather than foolishly in case of disagreement; and be careful in case when someone is closer to the ruler.⁸

Al-Ghazali listed four virtues and they are wisdom (Hamah), courage (shuja'ah), temperance (*Iffah*) and justice ('*modal*).⁹ He remarks on the psychological basis of virtues by differentiating the body-soul relationship. He is of the opinion that soul and body are two different things. The soul is created and immaterial, so it does not come to an end when the body is relieved. He used the following terms for word soul in the light of Islamic literature: Heart (*qalb*), soul or "self", spirit (*Ruh*) and intellect (*aqal*). He mentions three powers or faculties (*quash*) which belongs to it and can be divided into three: The Vegetative, the Animal and the Human. He took interest in the latter two as they have a direct relevance to ethics. He further explains that the Animal soul has two faculties i.e. the motive and the perceptive. The motive faculty gives the power which is distributed through nerves and muscles and can be regarded as appetitive. The motive faculty is further divided into two faculties one is called the faculty of desire and the second is called anger. The desire provides a movement of the organs that brings one near to things predicted to be useful or necessary in the search for getting pleasure. The faculty of anger which drives the subject to a movement of the limbs in order to replace things imagined to be harmful or destructive and thus to overcome them.¹⁰

The perspective faculty in the animal soul can be divided into two parts: internal sense and external sense. The internal senses may include: The representative faculty, the retentive faculty, the simulative faculty, the recollective faculty and the last one is called "sensitive imaginations", in relation to the human soul. Al-Ghazali points out that animal soul exists in man as well and his detail exposition of it helps one in the determination of most of the human virtues. He further says that human virtues cannot be actualized without the introduction of the human soul. The human soul is further divided into two parts i.e. knowing or theoretical and acting or practical. Both are known as intellect through vaguely. To further highlight the practical faculty, the movement of the human body most of the times gives ways and means to one's actions. These actions are initiated on the basis of debates, whether they are in accordance with the rules defined by the theoretical faculty or not. The practical faculty realistically governs and guides the other subordinate faculties of the body. The inactive dispositions can make inroads to bad character qualities i.e., vices. If this faculty governs other body faculties, it will require a positive temperament which is called virtue or good character quality.¹¹

The theoretical faculty in contrast to practical faculty, plays the role of perceiving the real nature of the intelligible as they are retrieved from matter, places, positions and different domains. In short, human soul is a faculty which can be divided into two domains: the practical faculty which is applied

to lower principles i.e. controls the body and functions related to it; while the theoretical faculty is related to the higher plans i.e. related to the higher principles and having an virtuous potential.¹²

For Al-Ghazali, both virtue and good character denote the state in which bodily faculties are subordinated to the practical faculty of the human soul. He summed up the faculties which must be competent for the desirable characteristics. The deliberative faculty if trained will realize the virtue of wisdom; the concupiscent faculty if trained will produce temperance and the irascible if trained, will produce courage. The latter two, which are basically faculties of the animal soul, if trained and placed on the disposal to the first, then one can find, the virtue of justice.¹³

Al-Ghazali also explains the relations among these three faculties. He named the deliberative faculty as “reason” or “intellect” and the other two faculties are named as “passions”. Most of the times Passions and intellect are in continuous conflict with each other, but if one is desirable to achieve virtue he/she must follow the dictates of reason rather than passions. For Ghazali, good character means training of the three faculties, namely, the deliberative, concupiscent and irascible faculties. Character is not identified with actions, a faculty or knowledge; rather it is the disposition of the soul from which actions emerge and have an impact on the personality of the concerned individual/individuals.¹⁴

Attainment of virtues:

As an essential part and parcel of character, virtues can be attained in three different ways according to Al-Ghazali and they are habituation, training, and divine generosity. The Habituation means a positive and constructive attitude on the part of the individual in seeking to acquire virtue. It is an effort on the part of human beings to excel in one’s environment. Ghazali quotes a well-known prophetic tradition which says: “Every child is born with a natural disposition (*fitra*); it is his/her parents/guardians who make him/her a Jew or a Christian or a Marian”.¹⁵

Al-Ghazali considered habit (*Adah*) as the decisive factor in the acquisition of virtue by the majority of the silent majority. It assists virtue as a habit, a good habit influenced by both reason and revelation. He believes that habit can create almost a second nature. He links acquiring vice to eating clay (tin), which is not natural to the body.¹⁶ In his package for educating children, he is of the view that if the child is habituated in goodness i.e provision of conducive environment then one will grow up a virtuous man/woman and vice versa.¹⁷

Generally, it is believed that learning is dependent on an **authority** and

mostly it is outside the individual that teaches one. Now, how to act virtuously in the face of difficulty or even if one does not want to attain, is dependent on the learner and the authority. An example of such an authority could be the father/mother or spiritual master.

Another mean of acquiring virtues is **divine generosity** and it is a gift from God's blessings, such as in the cases of Jesus, John the Baptist, and other prophets. It is God's discretion to shower upon anyone, a divine bounty to acquire virtue without habituation or training.¹⁸

According to Quranic tradition, Jesus was reported to have spoken at the times of his birth and during his early childhood, he deliberated on the difficult issues such as life and death. Al-Ghazali is of the belief that the virtue which is transmitted through divine favor is the most perfect of the three, as the person who attains virtue through all the three ways at the same time will be the most virtuous person.¹⁹

In this respect the thoughts of Aristotle are contrary to this as he is of the view that man possesses virtue not by nature but through habituation only. He is of the opinion, that not even a single moral virtues arise in humans by nature and the reason is nothing that exists by nature can form a habit contrary to nature. Al-Ghazali, on the contrary, says that virtue can be acquired by nature and that nature permits the acquisition of virtue as well as its opposite. Therefore, he brings to the front the possibility of one's being born virtuous, a possibility that has been introduced by the Holy Quran and Hadith.²⁰

How can virtue be acquired? To this question, Al-Ghazali believes that man must practice good deeds so that they become a second nature for the individual concerned. If one is able to gain a new good habit that should be reinforced by performing good deeds boundlessly. To start with, for example, in order to be just, one must, first of all, behave in a just way.²¹

Adopting the Mean:

Another solution to the acquisition of virtue is adopting the mean. Al-Ghazali argues that equilibrium or the mean is the middle way between the two poles, each of which is regarded as an extreme. Virtue like the mean can be found in this state i.e. the middle way and more or less the same views has been expressed by Aristotle.²²

To explain equilibrium, Al-Ghazli presents an analogy of an ant who has been placed in the middle of a hot ring on the ground; fleeing away from the heat of the ring around it, finally, the ant settles in the center. If it dies, it will die in the center, because the center is the coolest place inside the ring.

Similarly, a man surrounded by his desires should match the experience of this ant by seeking the mean. He quotes the prophet's saying, "the best in all things is the mean".²³

The Holy Quran also supports this doctrine of the mean: In the words of the Holy Quran: "Eat and drink, but don't waste, for God does not loveth those who are wasters."²⁴

Al-Ghazali mentions four virtues which are again based on the analysis of the faculties of the soul. He begins his discussion of virtue with wisdom, whereas Aristotle begins with courage rather than wisdom. He divides wisdom into two: i.e. theoretical and practical wisdom.²⁵

Theoretical wisdom according to Al-Ghazali, deals with the knowledge of God, His attributes, His angels, His prophets and His revelations. He regarded the knowledge of God is one of the best because whoever knows all but does not know God does not deserve to be called wise. Those who know God are wise even if their knowledge of the rest of the "formal" sciences is weak. Although theoretical wisdom is not the highest, it is higher than moral (i.e. practical) wisdom. Al-Ghazali defines practical wisdom in his famous book 'The Criterion' thus: a state and virtue of the rational soul, by which it governs the hot-tempered and consistent faculties that consist of the knowledge of the rightness of an action.²⁶

Al-Ghazali defined virtue as, "a state of the soul by which it perceives right from the wrong in all voluntary actions. His ethical system and the subdivision of practical wisdom receive only obligatory treatment. He lists these as five virtues namely: direction, the excellence of discernment, penetration of ideas, the correctness of opinion and awareness of subtle actions and of the hidden evils of the soul.²⁷ He defines the virtue of courage as, the mean between cowardice and recklessness. In his words, courage is a virtue when it is practiced in the right circumstances and in the right way. In this connection Al-Ghazali quotes a verse of the Holy Quran, "Muhammad is the apostle of God, and those who are with him are strong against the unbelievers but merciful amongst each other".²⁸

Thus, neither the strength nor mercy is commendable in itself but it is the circumstances and reason that determines the appropriateness of that strength and mercy. Subordinated to courage are fearlessness, fortitude, amity, nobility, and manliness. Magnificence is classified as the first of virtue subordinated to courage. Magnificence is spending gratefully for things of high worth and great usefulness. It is the mean between vulgarity and paltriness, the extreme of the defect.²⁹

Another important virtue that is subordinated to courage is the

greatness of soul. An individual who achieves this virtue is judiciously pleased by great honor accorded to him/her by learned men but is not pleased by irrelevant honors or kind of happiness which are brought about by chance and fortune. An alternative important virtue that is subordinated to courage is 'gentleness' because it is directly related to anger which is the basic psychic quality of bad-tempered faculty. Gentleness has been defined by Al-Ghazali as restraining the soul from anger and excitement. The last one of the subordinate virtue of courage is the virtue of "correct appraisal of self. "He regarded the correct evaluation as the mean between arrogance and humility". A humble person is the one who intentionally gives up some of what one deserves.³⁰

Al-Ghazali values humility more highly than some other moral virtues when he grades it as an essential quality of higher learning. It is the "great struggle" against the passions of the soul through which one can attain the ultimate happiness. Temperance is another principal virtue which occupies a central place in Al-Ghazali's virtue ethics. Temperance belongs to the lowest desires and for this reason, is considered one of the basic virtues. The desire for food and sex is the starting point of all character training. The desire for food is one of the damaging desires in man if it is not properly controlled. Control does not mean a complete self-denial from eating food but it is only beneficial when it is moderate.³¹

Similarly, sex is the second more important desire and unless this desire is controlled, it can pave the way for great tragedies in one's life. The desire of the generative organ is a natural desire which aims at preserving the human species, just as food sustains the body. Al-Ghazali uses the term *nice*, which primarily means marriage, for sexual gratifications. Marriage is one of the unadulterated sources that can give gratification and the continuity of the race.³²

Liberality is another division of temperance which is important in connection with the question of wealth. He defines liberality as, "as a mean between prodigality and meanness". His ideal definition of liberality is "giving without expecting anything in return". Temperance has been defined thus: good management of means of livelihood in the right way.³³

Justice is another principal virtue that has been defined as, it is a state in which the consistent and the hot-tempered faculties are subordinated to the rational faculty. It is the perfection of all other virtues.³⁴

THE NATURE OF INTELLECT:

Al-Ghazali articulates that reason is the origin of knowledge and it is a

route through which man can attain happiness in this world as well as in the hereafter. Intellect is the main source of knowledge according to Ghazali.³⁵ In this connection, Al-Ghazali quotes a Hadith, “It was stated on the authority of Aisha (R.T.A) that she once asked, O! Apostle of God! Wherein, do people excel at one another “in this world? “He, replied, “in intellect.” And in the Hereafter? she added. “In Intellect”, he replied. Then Aisha (R.T.A) said, “But are they not awarded according to their works? “To which the Apostle replied! ‘Aisha! Have they ever achieved anything except in proportion to what God has given them of intellect? Their works will always be in proportion to their intellect which God has given them and their reward will be in proportion to their works.³⁶

Further, he states that reason or intellect is among the first things God had created and its nature can be known instinctively. In this connection he quotes a Hadith: The prophet said, the first thing God shaped was the intellect. On creating it God ordered it saying, “Return, and it returned. “Consequently God said, “By My Power and Glory I have created nothing more relevant to Me than thee. Through thee I take, and through thee I punish.³⁷

Moreover, he mentioned another Hadith by the authority of Ibn’ Abbas that the Apostle of God said, “For everything there is an instrument and a tool, and the instrument of the believer is intellect; for everything there is a backbone and the backbone of the man is his/her intellect; for everything there is a support and the support of religion is the intellect; for every group there is a goal, and the goal of the worshipers is the intellect; for every people there is missionary who calls the people towards the right path, and the missionary of the devote is intellect.³⁸

Al-Ghazali argues that the word ‘intellect’ is used interchangeably in four meanings i.e. in the same way as the term eye can be used in several meanings: i- intellect is a quality which distinguishes man from other animals and enables him/her to understand the theoretical science and master other such metaphysical ideas and inferences; ii- the word intellect is applied to that knowledge which separates the possibility of possible things and the impossibility of the impossible things i.e. the knowledge that the two are greater than one and that one individual cannot be in two different places at the same time; iii-the word intellect is applied to that knowledge which is acquired through experience (empirical knowledge) in the course of events; iv- the word intellect is applied when the power of the instincts is developed to such an extent that its originator is able to pacify its appetite that wants immediate gratification. The first two are natural while the last two are

acquired.³⁹

Al-Ghazali on sense-perception and reasoning:

Al-Ghazali viewed that knowledge and awareness are the key characteristics of human beings. Man gets knowledge from different sources but the main sources are senses and reason. Both these sources are succint to errors but they are the sources with the help of which one live in the world. The other sources of knowledge like Revelation and inspiration enable man to identify and search the invisible world. Factual knowledge in the view of Al-Ghazali can be discovered once the self has been civilized through what is carved on the well-guarded tablet or the Holy Quran to be imprinted on one's mind. The more the self comprehends this knowledge, the closer one comes to Allah and multiply the happiness as a result.

The man of virtue according to Al-Ghazali is one who focuses on the hereafter and prefers seclusion instead of the company of men. The virtuous man is governed by reliance on Allah. Intellectuals in Al-Gazali's view play a significant role in order to secure society's well-being. They require skills of choice similar to those of a money changer or Goldsmith who can distinguish between a genuine gold coin and a counterfeit.⁴⁰

Al-Ghazali's philosophy regarding intellectual and ethical education was an expression of the spirit of the age in which he lived than a response to its challenges. Childhood is the base for character formation and molding. A good upbringing on the part of parents and caregivers will give children a good character. It can help one in living a virtuous life whereas a bad rearing will definitely tarnish their character from which they can hardly bring back to the straight path. As a part of education children and youngsters should be trained at Maktabas (schools) to obey their parents, teachers, elders, and attain manners to behave well with their classmates. Similarly Children should be taught from a tender age modesty, generosity civility etc. Additionally, children should be advised to keep friendship with those who are: Intelligent, having good morals, abstemiousness, and truthfulness.⁴¹ True learning in Al-Ghazali's view is that which affect behavior positively and whereby the learner makes practical use of knowledge and their understandings.

Al-Ghazali stressed the **role of scholars** in a society and established a certain benchmark for it. They are: to reach the truth; acting on the dictates of knowledge one has attained; a determination to disseminate the truth. As opposed to Protagoras and Nietzsche who says man is the measure of all things, Al-Ghazali viewed that truth is the measure of all humans.

Al-Ghazali's **assessments on teachers** includes: teachers shall be

mighty in the kingdom of heaven, for he/she like a sun brightens other bodies or musk whose fragrance the rest of nearby objects. The scholars who do not act on his knowledge or withhold their knowledge will be punished for their misery. He regarded teaching as an excellent profession.⁴²

Discussion:

Based on the above analysis it can be summed up that Al-Ghazali has given a detailed description of the nature and *modus operandi* of the ethical and epistemic virtues in human life. He thinks of the former as an outcome of habituation while the latter is the outcome of education and training. Many other scholars such as Aristotle, Hurthouse, Nussbaum etc. also believe as Al-Ghazali does. Al-Ghazali thinks of the ethical and epistemic virtues as the core of human happiness. The inculcation of ethical and epistemic virtues is considered by Al-Ghazali as the primary function of the educative process. The same must be inculcated among the teachers so that such cherished virtues may be down-filtered into the young generation through the teaching-learning process. However, this is worth-mentioning that some scholars have leveled severe criticism on Al-Ghazali.

Jabri a historiographer, regards Al-Ghazali is liable for two damaging developments in the History of Muslim intellectual thought. First, he is a thinker who justified mysticism as a way of life. Secondly, he criticized the philosophers and replaced naturalistic ontology which is observed as an ultimate defeat to the advocates of a rationalist Muslim Epistemology.⁴³

Another Egyptian thinker Hasan Hanfi criticized Al-Ghazali like this: He holds Al-Ghazali responsible for the defeat of reason in the epistemic circles of Muslim Intellectuals. His ideas serve as an obstacle for reform and transformation on scientific grounds. In his words Al-Ghazali is at the, “heart of the bulwark against the free and healthy use of reason”.⁴⁴

Another thinker Ibn Tufail from Spain leveled a serious charge against Al-Ghazali. He said Al-Ghazali was a crowd-pleaser i.e. expedient. About Al-Ghazali he says, “For he prohibits and in one instance and permits in another; anathematizing certain practices and then deem the same permissible in other instances”.⁴⁵

Findings:

During the analysis it was found that:

1. Al-Ghazali is the first thinker in the medieval era who talked about ethical and epistemic virtues.
2. Al-Ghazali gave a vivid description and the related bifurcation of the various types/forms of these two mother virtues

3. He provided a link between knowledge and action.
4. Believed that good and evil are not abstract concepts.
5. Al-Ghazali viewed ethics as an attitude that must be cultivated.
6. Virtue is attainable through habituation (*Aadat*).
7. Acquisition of virtue lies in the mean (middle way/ average).
8. Al-Ghazali articulates that reason is the origin of knowledge.
9. Al-Ghazali viewed that the main sources of knowledge are senses and reason.
10. Childhood is the base for character formation and molding.
11. Truth is the measure of all things.
12. He regarded teaching as an excellent profession.

Conclusion:

Based on the findings it can safely be concluded that the thoughts of Al-Ghazali are unique in the sense that he has elaborated ethical virtues as well as epistemic virtues which are rarely discussed especially in case of the latter. He has linked the acquisition of knowledge with its relative application. He thinks of the teaching profession as a sacred one. Ethical and epistemic virtues can be inculcated through the teaching-learning process.

Recommendations:

In the light of the findings of the study it was recommended that ethical and epistemic virtues can only be attained through proper education.

Ethical virtues may be inculcated among students through habituation; hence a value-based education may be introduced in educational institutions.



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- ³⁰ Al-Ghazali (1898), *Ihy' Ulum ad-Din* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences), Cairo, Al-Matba'a al-Azhariya,vol 4.111,2.1474.
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- ³² Ibid, p: 1442
- ³³ Al-Ghazali, (1963). *Mizan al-Amal* (1963), The Criterion of Action, Cairo, Maktabat Sabi, pp.98-99
- ³⁴ Ibid, p:83
- ³⁵ Faris, Nabi Amin. (1962), *The Book of knowledge*, (Beirut: Islamia Book Service, New Delhi). p.221
- ³⁶ Ibid, p.224-25
- ³⁷ Ibid, p.222
- ³⁸ Ibid, p.225
- ³⁹ Ibid, p.224-25
- ⁴⁰ Musa Ebrahim (2005), *Ghazali and the poetics of Imagination*, (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina press). p.23
- ⁴¹ Ibid, p.25
- ⁴² UNESCO (1993), *The Quarterly Review of Comparative education*. International Bureau of Education. Paris, Vol.xx111, no.,3/4,1993, p.519-542.
- ⁴³ Opcit, p.226-228
- ⁴⁴ Ibid, p.24
- ⁴⁵ Musa Ibrahim (2005), *Ghazali and the poetics of imagination*, (Capitol Hill London: The University of North Carolina Press). p.142