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The Al-Muhasibi And Al-Ghazali Sufism Concept
(Intertextuality Study Of *Al-Washaya* And *Al-Munqidz Min Al-Dhalal*)

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the sufism of al-Muhasibi and al-Ghazali in the autobiography of *al-Washaya* and *al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal* book and the autobiography intertextuality of *al-Washaya* and *al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal*? The primary source used is the book of *al-Washayaby al-Muhasibi* and *al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal* by al-Ghazali. The Sufism science based on al-Muhasibi and al-Ghazali is the scientific culmination of various epistemologies whose validity can be accounted for. Both of them consider that sufism can satisfy their intellectual and spiritual thirst. The intertextual relationship between those two Sufism books can be seen in those two authors' cultural backgrounds. Their intertextual relations are also found in themes, plots, characterizations, and language styles.

Keywords: Sufism, Intertext, Autobiography

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INTRODUCTION

Sufism is a manifestation of one of the Islamic religious trilogies, namely *ihsan*. This discipline is based on the epistemology of *'irfanī* which puts forward intuition and *ẓanq* as a medium to get it. These knowledge seekers work hard and are disciplined in studying spiritual, psychological, scientific, and physical aspects. They believed those things could support the purifying process of the soul or heart (*tazkiyyah an-nafs*) to enclose Allah. It includes all dimensions of Islamic teaching, beginning with the stages of knowledge, action, and grace (Ibn 'Ajibah, tt: 25).

Therefore, to achieve that goal, in the *tasawuf* tradition, three stages must be carried out through the process of *takballi*, *tahalli* and *tajalli* or in Suwito-term described as, *Kuras*, *Isi*, and *Mancur/Mancar* (KIM). *Takballi* is draining bad behavior, which becomes the source of spiritual and physical illness such as arrogance, *riya'*, jealousy, prejudice, division, and

conquer. This character is in one's territory or an individual interior. After the *Kuras* process has been drained clean from all spiritual impurities, the following process is *Isi (tahalli)*, namely filling oneself with noble qualities such as sincerity, *tawadhu'*, compassion, willingness, love, and another characteristic that belongs to God. The good characters that are embedded are called individual interiors. Then those characteristics are reflected and manifested in the behavior of everyday life (individual exterior). This stage is called *tajalli* or manifested and radiated to the universe (Suwito, 2011: 41-42).

In the epistemology aspect, sufism is a science that emerges from *'irfānī*. *'Irfānī* is one of the epistemologies promoted by M. Abid al-Jabiri. For Sufis, the word *'irfānī* denotes the highest type of knowledge presented in the heart by *kasyf* or inspiration. However, the inspiration term has not developed among Sufis, except recently. At the same time, *ma'rifah* among Sufis is defined as direct knowledge about God based on revelation or God's instructions. It is not the result of a mental process, but it completely depends on the will and grace of God, who will give it as a gift from Him, which He has indeed created man with the capacity to receive. The divine light shines in the human heart and overflows on the body with dazzling rays of light (Hasan Ridwan, 2016:201).

A method of knowledge based on intuition, spiritual experiences, and inner experiences is very deep, authentic, innate, and almost unspeakable by language and logic. The validity of the epistemological truth of *'irfānī* can only be felt and internalized directly (*al-ru'ya al-mubasyirah*), intuition, *al-ḥauq*, psycho-gnosis, or passing over. This esoteric spirituality crosses cultures, languages, and religions that the *'irfānī* method wants to put forward (Edi Susanto, 2017: 127). At a technical level, this approach emphasizes social skills such as sympathy, empathy, and *verstehen* (Hidayatulloh, 2016: 905).

Meanwhile, *tasawuf* works based on experience cannot be separated from an author's creative process, which is poured into a narrative. The author pours all their thoughts to produce this work, combining their social context and the author's creativity. It proved that a literary work is not written in a cultural vacuum (Teeuw, 1984: 11). It also applies to Sufism work. The sufism work is a response to a work that was born. Therefore, a work of text cannot be separated from other texts; from this point, the true meaning of a literary work will be obtained.

The relationship between one text or work with another work is called intertext. Each text must be read against the background of other texts. So, no single text is truly independent (Kun Zachrun, 2010: 249). Therefore understanding a new text requires background knowledge of the texts that preceded it (Teeuw, 1984: 145-146). The works that appear recently are usually based on the previous existing works. They can be directly, indirectly, continuing, or deviating (rejecting, distorting the essence of) conventions (Nurgiyantoro, 2005: 50). The existing works used as the basis for writing subsequent works are called hypograms. The hypogram can be formed as forwarding conventions, something that has existed, deviation and rebellion against convention, twisting the essence and message of the previous text (Teeuw, 1983: 65). According to Riffaterre, literary works that are methodologically imagined as intertext source can vary according to the complexity of the previous reading activity. The hypogram is also the basis for creating new works by accepting or rejecting them (Nurgiyantoro, 2005: 51).

The main principle of intertextuality is the principle of understanding and interpreting the work. The work is predicted as a reaction, absorption, or transformation from another work. The intertextual problem is more than just influence, adoption, or plagiarism. However, it concerns how we get a work's whole meaning in contrast to other works that are hypograms, whether in fiction or poetry. The existence of intertextual relations can be associated with reception theory. The reader determines whether or not a connection between one text and another text, the hypogram elements, is based on their perception, understanding, knowledge, and experience in reading previous texts. The existence of hypogrammatic elements in work is an acceptance or reaction of the reader (Nurgiyantoro, 2005: 54).

In the study of classical sufism, in 650-1250 AD (Nasution, 2008: 50), Sufism work interrelated both textually and contextually. It is influenced by the author's doctrines and tendencies of thought. Among the works that have intertextual relations are the book *al-Washaya* by Harits al-Muhasibi (781 AD-857 AD) and *Al-Munqidz Min al-Dhalal* by Hujjatul Islam Imam al-Ghazali (1058-1111 AD). Both of these works are autobiographical works of their respective authors. Those works express the view that developed at the time;

various sects that claimed to be the most correct emerged. Interestingly, these two figures finally chose sufism to satisfy their intellectual and spiritual thirst.

Al-Muhasibi lived at the beginning of the Abbasid regime, which replaced the previous regime, namely the Umayyad Caliphate, which collapsed in 750 AD (132 H). At this time, Islamic thought began to be at a high level of development. The idea does not only stop as a result of individual cultivation but develops into their tendentious methods and systems (Ibn Hazm, 1317 H: 6-9). Each sect admits and claims that the truth is in itself and places other sects as wrong and even disbelievers (Yasir Nasution, 1999: 26-27). Al-Muhasibi is a person who masters various disciplines, both physical and spiritual. He is qualified in the fields of fiqh, hadith, and logic. Before finally "converted" the sufism because he was skeptical of the various disciplines he put in his autobiography, namely *al-Washaya*.

The same condition occurred approximately 300 years later in Al-Ghazali's *Hujjatul Islam*. A multi-talent in the field of Islamic studies. He can master different disciplines with different methodologies very well. Such fiqh, ushul fiqh, theology, and philosophy triggered him to experience doubts about philosophical, methodical, and metaphysical (Syukur and Masyharuddin, 2012: 148-150). In the end, al-Ghazali's "journey" also anchored in sufism, which he considered to be the science with the most reliable validity of the truth, as he stated in his autobiography, *al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal*.

At the beginning of his autobiography, Al-Ghazali wrote that society at that time was divided into several groups, and each group claimed to be the most correct and safe. He also quoted a hadith of the Prophet SAW, which stated that Muslims would be divided into 73 groups. Only one group would survive (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 61). The same thing had been done by al-Muhasibi about 300 years earlier (Al-Muhasibi, 1986: 59-60). Even the diction or choice of words used by al-Ghazali in several sentences is the same as that of al-Muhasibi. For example, *al-Muhasibi* wrote:

رأيت إختلافهم بحرا عميقا غرق فيه ناس كثير وسلم منه عصابة قليلة

I observe that human differences seem to be a deep ocean; many people drown. Few people can survive.

While al-Ghazali in *al-Munqidz* stated:

ثم إختلاف الأمة بحر عميق غرق فيه الأكثرون وما نجا منه إلا الأقلون

Then differences arise among the people.....is a deep ocean that drowns many people, and only a few can survive.

Al-Ghazali stated the intertextuality between those two works. He admitted that he was heavily influenced by al-Muhasibi in his works. Abdul Halim Mahmud, who is very concerned about the works of al-Muhâsibî said that al-Ghazali was an "incarnation" of al-Muhasibi (Mahmud, t.tp: 233), even according to Annimarie Schimmel in her analysis stated that methodologically al- Ghazali relied almost entirely rely on al-Muhasibi (Schimmel, 1986: 56).

This article is literary research (pure library research). The sources used in data collection were primary and secondary data sources. The primary sources in this research are al-Muhasibi's autobiography in his book *al-Washaya* (Al-Muhasibi, 1989) and Al-Ghazali's autobiography in his book *al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal* (Al-Ghazali: 1967). The secondary sources were research, journals, or other study related to the research title. This research examines the concept of *tasawwuf* in the autobiography of *al-Washaya* and *al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal* and how the intertextual studies of those two.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

1. Sufism: Definition, development, and flow

Etymologically, sufism has various meanings. One comes from the word Ahl Al-Shuffah, the name for people of the Prophet Muhammad era. They lived in a hut built by Rasulullah SAW around the Medina Mosque. They followed the Prophet when he migrated from Mecca to Medina. They migrated, leaving their wealth, so they lived in poverty. They put their trust (surrender) and dedicated their lives to worshipping Allah SWT. They lived around the Prophet's mosque and slept on benches made of stone and saddles called suffahs as pillows.

Moreover, the word sufism comes from pure clean (Shafa'). It denotes a group of people who purify their hearts and souls for God. Sufi means people whose hearts and souls are pure, clean, and illuminated by wisdom, monotheism, and oneness with Allah SWT. Sufism also comes from the word shaff, which means a line. It implies that Sufis are in the front row before Allah. Another word is from the word "sufiya" in the Greek language. It interprets as wisdom (Ahmad Isa, 1992: 11).

Meanwhile, the popular word sufism comes from shuf (clothing derived from wool). They are called Sufis because they wear cloth made of sheep's wool. Clothing derived from sheep's wool became the typical clothing of the Sufis. Their wool clothing was not as soft as now but very coarse. Then, it became the symbol of simplicity at that time, unlike the rich people that wore silk. They live a simple and poor (Al-Taftazani, 1979: 19-20) but have noble hearts. Then, at the beginning of suluk (the journey to Allah in religion), they live very wara' (protecting themselves from sin and immorality). Indeed, this last opinion was chosen by Abu al-Wafa al-Ghanimi al-Taftazani (Al-Taftazani, 1979: 21). Meanwhile, in the sense of the term sufism is a system of how people want to achieve an intimate relationship with God, the Most Eternal and Most Perfect (Saifudin Anshari, 1991: 127). Other religions, whether Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, or Judaism, must have a spiritual aspect called a mystical aspect (mysticism). Annemarie Schimmel states that mysticism is a great current of spirituality that flows in all religions (Schimmel, 1986: 2). In Islam, this mystical aspect is known as sufism. This view was confirmed by Harun Nasution, who stated that mysticism in Islam was given the name sufism, which western orientalist called sufism. Thus the word "Sufism" in terms of western orientalist is specifically used to refer to Islamic mysticism. However, sufism is never used to refer to the mysticism found in other religions (Nasution, 1992: 56). Therefore, the term sufism is a distinctive designation, which is only intended to refer to mystical aspects (mysticism) in Islam and not for other religions. So there is no Christian sufism, Hindu sufism, or Buddhist sufism because if it is called sufism, it must be referred to Islamic mysticism.

Muhammad Abdul Haq Ansari stated that when Abu Husein An-Nuri was asked what tasawuf was, he replied: tasawuf is not an external movement (rasm) or knowledge ('ilm), but it is a virtue (khulq). Al-Junaid stated that sufism is surrendering yourself to Allah and not for any other purpose. Sahl Ibn Abdullah al-Tustari said that sufism is eating a little and uzlah to seek peace in Allah SWT (Anshari, 1997: 40). Ma'ruf al-Kharkhi said that sufism is choosing God and giving up on whatever is in the hands of creatures (Simuh, 1996: 43). Abu Muhammad al-Jariri stated that sufism is entering into the noble mind according to the example left by the Prophet and leaving the bad thought.

Thus, we can know that the meaning of sufism is varied. Ibrahim Basyuni has even chosen 40 definitions of sufism from the formulas of Sufi experts who lived in the third

century (200-334 H). However, these definitions can still not provide a comprehensive and representative understanding of the Sufism meaning. From the various understandings of sufism, that may be the same and not disputed is that sufism is morality based on Islam. Therefore Ibn al-Qayyim, in *Madarij al-Salikin*, stated that sufism is moral. Sufism is the spirit of Islam because all Islamic law is based on an ethical foundation (Asmaran, 1994: 49).

2. Al-Muhasibi and Kitab al-Washaya

His full name is Abu Abdillah Harith bin Asad al-Muhasibi (A. Sells, 1996: 171 and Khalikan, t.th: 57). He was born in the Basrah, where the Mu'tazilah School emerged around 165 H / 781 AD (Arberry, 2008: 46). His father, Asad al-'Anazy was a follower of the Qadariyah sect while his mother was very hostile to the Qadariyah (Khalikan, t.th: 57). Another history says that his father was a Rafidlah or Wâqifiyyah (al-Isfahani, t.th (X): 75). Not much is known about his childhood, but since childhood al-Muhasibi enjoyed going on intellectual adventures different with other children at his age. He moved from one place to another in search of knowledge. He and his family moved to Baghdad. He became the intellectual and cultural center of Islam and the world, and most of his life was spent in that city. However, based on historical information, Basrah, the birthplace of the Mu'tazilah Islamic rationalist movement, also shaped his personality. At least before moving to Baghdad, he may have studied with the Mu'tazilah in Basrah even though he later really disagreed with the Mu'tazilah (Uwaydhah: 31). In the end, the intellectual methods that he got from the Mu'tazilah also affected his Sufism thinking. That is why Ibn 'Arabi commented –as stated by al-Dzahabi- " Haris al-Muhasibi studied fiqh, memorized hadiths and practiced zuhud practices to the point of being intelligent (Az-Zahabi, 1980 (15): 209).

The brilliance of his brain supports him in absorbing the various science taught by masyaikh in various fields of science. It qualified him as an expert in fiqh, hadith, and the science of kalam. In al-Subki's *Thabaqat al-Syafi'iyah*, it is stated that al-Muhâsibî is a leader of hadith, kalam, and sufism who is categorized in the first (thabaqat) group. Although, he also lived during the time of the al-Syafi'î era (d. 204 H). It was also stated that none of the ashabs of al-Syafi'î was qualified in fiqh, kalam, ushul (theology), qiyas (analogy), zuhud, wara', and makrifat at the same level except for Harith al-Muhasibi (Al-Sulami, 1998: 21). Then, it acceptable that Abû Nu'aim gave him the nickname al-Bahr al-'Amîq (deep ocean)

(Al-Isfahani: 109). Hujjah al-Islam, al-Ghazâlî, is widely referred to by researchers as a person who was greatly influenced by al-Muhâsibî (47:2008, Arberry). Al-Ghazali asserted that al-Muhâsibî is "the best in his generation in the science of muamalah, he has a special advantage regarding the reproach of the soul and the damage of deeds (uyûb al-nafs wa âfât al-a'mâl), in several aspects, his words are very worthy." In another book, al-Ghazali also stated that he read the works of al-Muhasibi. It was referred to as a person who contributed Sufi thoughts and experiences to himself besides al-Junaid, al-Syibli, Abû Thalib al-Makkî, and Yazîd al-Busthâmî (Al-Ghazali, al-munqidz: 68).

Al-Muhasibi left works in various disciplines such as on zuhud, tasawuf, hadith, kalam, refutation of deviant schools of thought such as rafidlah, and Mu'tazilah. His works reached about two hundred (Al-Subki, 1324 H.: 37). Unfortunately, only a few of his works still exist. Among the works of al-Muhâsibî are: the book al-Ri'âyah li Huquq Allah, Kitab al-Tawahhum,; Kitab al-Khalwa; Risâlah al-Mustarsyidîn; Book of Fahm al-Qur'an; The Book of Mâhiyyat al-'Aql wa ma'nâhu wa ikhtilâf al-nas fihî; Kitab al-Masâ'il fi A'mâl al-Qulub wa al-jawârih wa al-'Aql; Kitab al-'Azama; Kitab al-Washâyâ wa al-Nasâ'ih al-Diniyyah wa al-Nafahât al-Qudsiyyah li Naf'i Jamî' al-Bariyyah. Among these, al-Muhasibi's masterpiece and peak work in the discipline of sufism is the book al-Ri'âyah because it was written in his maturity as a Sufi, which according to Massignon, as quoted by al-Taftazani, is the most beautiful Islamic work that talks about the heart (Al-Taftazani, 1997: 124).

Among his students who later became famous in the world of Sufism were Junaid al-Baghdâdî (d. 297 H), Sirrî Shaqtî (Uncle Junaid) (d. 251 H), Ma'ruf al-Karkhi (200 H), 'Amr bin 'Uthman al-Makki (d.291 H) and Ibn 'Atha (d. 209 H). Besides, he has produced works in fiqh, tasawuf, exegesis, and theology. Then, through his students, his teachings were spread, and they joined the Sufi school called Muhasibiyah (Al-Hujwiri, 1997: 166). Approaching his death, he advised those around him, "If I see what I am pleased with, then I will smile at you, but if what I see is another thing (bad behavior), then you will see it on my face." Not long after, Al-Muhâsibî died with a smiling face (Al-Baghdadi, VIII: 215).

The Book of Al-Washaya

The full title of this book is al-Washâyâ wa al-Nasâ'ih al-Diniyyah wa al-Nafahât al-Qudsiyyah liNafi Jami` al-Bariyyah usually abbreviated as al-Washaya only. This book contains the idea of spiritualizing religious teachings (Riyadi, 2016: 29). This work is brilliant because it appeared in an era of quiet scientific work. Mostly they were busy talking about textual understandings of religion, political debates, and political debates, and others. Besides, Al-Muhasibi goes further despite many challenges, especially among the scholars of al-Hadith

Interestingly, in the introduction to this book, al-Muhasibi writes that the setting for writing this book is a kind of autobiography. About 5-6 sheets of al-Muhasibi reveal the condition of the people at his time. Forty-one chapters in this book contain the idea of spiritualizing religious teachings. After expressing praise to Allah, blessings, and peace be upon the Prophet Muhammad, he wrote as follows:

وسدبعين بضع على تفترق الأمة هذه أن إلى البيان انتهى وقد
 أنظر عمري من برهة أزل فلم يسهلها أعلم والله ناجية فرقة منها فرقة
 العلم من وأطلب القاصد والسبيل الواضح المنهاج وألتمس الأمة إختلاف
 ...والعمل

This ummah is divided into more than 70 groups. Only one group is safe. The other group is Allah, who knows best (his fate). I always observe the differences between people, and I choose a clear method, the straight path, and seek knowledge and practice it (Al-Muhasibi, 1989: 59-64).

The emergence of various firqahs or groups made al-Muhasibi confused. It's just that al-Muhasibi always holds on to the scholars of the hereafter. He also observed the opinions and actions of the various schools of thought. Even according to al-Muhasibi, the disputes of the ummah were likened to a deep ocean that drowns many people. A few people will survive. It is because each group claims that their group survives.

عصابة منه وسلم كـ بـير ناس فيه غرق عميقا بحرا إختلافهم ورأيات
 لمن المهالك وأن تبعهم لمن النجاة أن يزعم منهم صنف كل ورأيات قلية
 ...خال فهم

I see their strife like a deep ocean that drowns many people; few survive. I also saw that every faction thinks that the survivors are the ones who follow them, while those who are different will be destroyed (Al-Muhasibi, 1986: 60).

There are nine human categories, and al-Muhasibi explains their respective characteristics. None of them interested him; instead, they confused him. Then he explained the character and characteristics of one of the groups who referred to Sufism experts. In the end, al-Muhasibi chose this tasawuf group as his "last standpoint" after all this time of searching. As he says:

I want to follow their group, take benefits from them, follow them obediently, and not deviate from them, so Allah gave me clear and bright knowledge that shines on me, and I expected because I follow them and am sure I will get help because I practice it (Al-Muhasibi, 1989: 63).

Indeed, al-Muhasibi is a critical person. He experienced intellectual as well as spiritual anxiety. Even though he is a wara' and zahid, he does not take the Sufism path at first. The conversion he made to the world of sufism he did after studying various existing schools of thought. Like, true seekers of truth, it seems he was flooded by skepticism about what he already possessed and mastered. It is because what he has mastered and understood does not bring peace; instead brings him even more upset. His anxiety increased when he saw the phenomenon that occurred at that time. He sees that the halaqah's of knowledge, both hadith, and fiqh, have been polluted by arrogance and personal or group popularity. While other groups of scholars prefer 'uzlah without thinking about the dilapidated condition of society, or some impress the government to gain material. Their attitudes are very far from even the Islamic teachings of the Prophet SAW, his good companions, and successors. He explained everything in full as follows:

It has been explained that this Ummah will be divided into over seventy groups. Among the many groups, only one survived, while the rest, only Allah, knew their fate. I have always witnessed strife among people for the rest of my life. That is why I prefer a clear, passable path, based on the ulama guidance, that leads to the hereafter. The dispute was that many people were swept away, and very few people survived.

I also noticed that each firqah claims its group is praised. They also think that the others are destroyed. I see humans being divided into several groups. Among them are

those who are pious about matters of the afterlife, but this group is very few, and their existence is minimal. Among those ignorant, staying away from this group is a fortune. Among them, some look like scholars. They are those who are blind to wealth. Among them are those who know a lot about religion, but with that knowledge, they seek fame and rank and exchange religion for worldly goods. Among them are those who know knowledge but do not understand the nature of the knowledge it carries. Among them are those who resemble religious experts and prioritize virtue, but people like this cannot be taken advantage of, and their opinion cannot be used as a guide. Among them, some are very rational and look smart. However, it does not have the nature of wara' and piety. Among them are those who indulge in the lust for wealth and conqueror. Among them, there are also devils in human bodies. They are reluctant to follow the afterlife affairs and lusty pursuing worldly affairs. They are drunk to collect world treasures as much as possible. In the world, they are alive, but in essence, they are people who have died.

It turns out that I found that the only way of salvation is holding fast to piety to Allah, carrying out all his obligations, being wara' towards things that are lawful and unlawful, as well as Allah's limitations (hudûd). Also, be sincere in carrying out obedience to him and in imitating the behavior of Rasulullah SAW.

To find out about fardhu and sunnah, I look for them through the history (atsar) of the scholars. From there, I know which things are agreed upon and disputed. I found that all 'ulama agree on fardhu and sunnah, just as the 'âlim (people who understand) agree about Allah, who is always pleased with Him. They wara' from all He has forbidden, who follow Rasulullah SAW's footsteps and prioritize the hereafter rather than the world. In the end, I chose a group that had been agreed upon by the righteous servants. I gain knowledge from those whose numbers are already very rare. Their existence is following the words of Rasulullah SAW, "Islam first came in a strange state, and at some point, it will return to being strange as it first appeared, So lucky are the stranger." It is because they are among those who rarely defend their religion.

Such a great calamity befell me because I have lost many pious people. I'm also worried that death will suddenly come to pick me up while I'm still confused because of the people's strife. Finally, I decided to look for a pious person I had never met before. I am very careful in choosing. In the end, the Most Forbearing Essence guided me to a group of people who adhered to piety and wara' values and prioritized the hereafter. I feel all their

instructions and will follow the behavior of the community leaders who received instructions. They gather to advise the people, not for disobedience. They never give up on God's Grace, are patient and willing to face all trials and God's destiny, and are grateful for all pleasures. They encourage others to return to God. All that they do with confidence and awareness that He is the Supreme Being (Al-Muhasibi, 1989: 59-63).

3. M Al-Ghazali and *Kitab al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal*

Hujjatul Islam, Imam al-Ghazali, whose full name is Abu Hamid Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad al-Thusy al-Ghazali was born in 450 H/1058 AD in a village called Ghazal in the Thus area, Khurasan region. This region had previously given birth to many figures, including Nizam al-Muluk, who greatly influenced al-Ghazali's future journey (MR Hassan, 1995: 747). His father was a spun yarn in his village. Due to his meager income, he could not provide for his family. Even so, al-Ghazali's father was a man who loved knowledge and scholars. So he has a high will and always prays that one day his children will become people with a lot of expertise and broad knowledge. However, Al-Ghazali's father never saw his children become scholars in Islam because he died when Al-Ghazali and his brother were still young (Barmawi, 1987: 140).

Before he died, his father entrusted al-Ghazali and his younger brother, Ahmad, to his father's friend, a Sufi who lived a very simple life named Ahmad al-Razkani. He said, "I regret not studying before. I hope that this wish will come true for my two children, so educate them. Then, use this the rest of my wealth to take care of their needs" (Badawi Thabanah, t, tp: 8). The Sufi held firmly to the will that was mandated to him by educating the two children well until when the provisions that were given ran out. The sufi was no longer able to support them. He said: "I have the funding you according to your property entrusted to me. You know that I am a poor person who lives in seclusion, so I have no wealth that I can use to support you. That's why I suggest you go to a madrasa that has scholarships. You are people who study knowledge. I hope you will succeed according to your knowledge (Ahmadi Thaha, 1994: 18-19). The atmosphere of this Sufi life becomes a new environment that will later shape his personality. At least al-Ghazali lived with al-Razkani until he was 15 years old (Al-Taftazani, 1997: 148).

It was from the age of 15 that al-Ghazali began to wander. Then, he went to Jurjan to study with Abu Nasr al-Isma'ili. Then, at 19 or 20, he went to Nisabur and studied under the famous theologian Imam al-Juwayni until he was 28. During Nisabur, he studied theology, law, and philosophy. Here al-Ghazali's intelligence begins to appear when he can understand issues of Islamic studies in various schools of thought, differences of opinion, theological debates, and ushul fiqh. He can produce good work in a short time. Also, at this age, he started to come into contact with the science of sufism under Shaykh al-Farmazi (Sibawaihi, 2004: 36).

After al-Juwayni died, al-Ghazali went to the city of Mu'askar, which then became a center for intellectuals. It was here that he met Nizam al-Muluk. This minister welcomed the arrival of al-Ghazali, and because scholars recognized his knowledge, al-Ghazali became a leading scientist in the Khurasan area at that time. In Mu'askar, he lived until he was 34 years old. Seeing al-Ghazali's expertise in jurisprudence, theology, and philosophy, the minister Nizam al-Muluk appointed him a professor of theology and rector of the Nizhamiyah University in Baghdad, which had been founded in 1065 AD. The appointment of a professor took place in 1091 when al-Ghazali was still 34 years old (Sulaiman Dunya, t.th: 34).

At the age of 38, he experienced a spiritual crisis. He doubted and questioned the function of mind or ratio, as he had so far found its use among theologians and philosophers in reaching the truth about God. For six months, he fell ill, so he stopped teaching and lecturing and culminating in 1095 AD. He left Baghdad to perform the pilgrimage, which began a spiritual journey forging himself from Damascus to Jerusalem, continuing to Egypt and Alexandria, and behaving as a Sufi. (Shaleba, 1967: 10). From this, it can be said that al-Ghazali's style of thought is mystical or tasawuf as he stated that tasawuf is the way to get the true truth (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 102).

Therefore, there are at least two colors of al-Ghazali's thoughts. The first is philosophical, and the second is mystical. If you look at al-Ghazali through his work *Maqashid al-Falasifah*, *Mi'yar al-'Ilmi* or *Tahafut al-Falasifah*, which was translated into Latin by Dominicus Gundisalvus at the end of the twelfth century (Himawijaya, 2004: 11). The people will argue that al-Ghazali was a true philosopher if you look at his work *Ihya Ulum al-Din*, *al-Arbain* or *al-Munqidz min al-Zhalal*. Then, there is no doubt that he is a true mystic. If you study *Al-Musthashfa min 'Ilmi al-Usul*, you can see how faqih al-Ghazali is. Meanwhile, if you read his work *al-Bidayah*, you will also have a different view of him, who is keen to combine fiqh and sufism as a unit of worship and service to Allah.

Al-Ghazali was a very productive person in producing written works in various fields. Abd ar-Rahman Badawi noted that the works (books) composed by al-Ghazali reach at least 457 pieces and contain studies with various approaches, both light and sharp, in-depth on various important themes (topics). Al-Ghazali mastered the best in intellectual history, surpassed all others, and attained the highest achievement in Islamic intellectual history. Al-Ghazali's final texts were produced after a solitary journey to perfect self-awareness, including *al-Munqidz min ad-Dzalal*, *Ihya 'Ulumuddin*, or *Kimiya as-Sa'adah*. (Kamran, 2003: xiii).

The Book of Al-Munqidz

The full title of this book is al-Munqidz min al-Dhalal wa al-Mushil ila dzi al-Izzati wa al-Jalal or abbreviated as Kitab al-Munqidz. This book is al-Ghazali's autobiography which contains his intellectual track record. Here, al-Ghazali's anxiety is revealed during his intellectual wanderings. He tells the truth that the process of finding "truth" is not as easy as people imagine. It takes sacrifice, courage, honesty and sincerity.

The book was written after he matured and followed the path of sufism. It also describes human life regarding morality and religion at that time. It was divided into several groups: the inner group, mutakallimun, philosophy, ta'limy, and tasawuf schools. It was categorized as a relatively small book that detail explains each of these groups, especially in epistemology. Indeed, since childhood, al-Ghazali was always restless and often questioned everything. He had to ruin all the shackles of taqlid and destroy the stronghold of belief (aqidah) that he had received since childhood (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 29).

Al-Ghazali writes an autobiography or background setting for writing this book that there were many groups of human beings with different bases and sources of knowledge in his time. It made him confused or somewhat skeptical. If you are not careful, it is feared that the person will go astray. The sectarian disputes over each firqah or group have reached a "dangerous" level. It is like an ocean that drowns many people, and only a few can survive it. As stated below:

بِحَرِّ الطَّرِيقِ وَتَبَايُنِ الْفِرَقِ كَثْرَةُ عِلْمِي الْمَذَاهِبِ فِي الْإِمَّةِ اخْتِلافٌ ثُمَّ
 أَنَّهُ يَزْعَمُ فَرِيقٌ وَكُلُّ الْأَقْلَامِ إِلَّا مِنْهُ زَجَا وَمَا الْأَكْثَرُونَ فِيهِ غَرِقَ عَمِيقًا
 لِنَاجِي

Then, the differences among people in various sects are like a deep ocean that drowns many people, very few can survive it (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 30).

As someone who understands the hadiths of the Prophet SAW. Al-Ghazali also quoted the hadith of the Prophet SAW, which contains the division of Muslims into several schools or groups, and only one will survive. "Sataftariqu ummaty tsalatsan wa sab'in firqah, al-najiyatu minha wahidah". This hadith motivated al-Ghazali to research and observe which schools or groups survived and whose truths could be accounted for.

After making in-depth observations, there are at least four groups of people classified by al-Ghazali in al-Munqidz, namely the theologians, mutakallimun, Batiniyah, philosophers (al-Falasifah), and the Sufis (al-Shufiyah) (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 28). The significant schools of thought in philosophy, according to him, are (1) al-dahriyyun (atheism), (2) thabiyyun (naturalism, and (3) ilahiyyun (metaphysics) (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 37).

All of the knowledge methodologically and epistemologically has been studied very well by al-Ghazali. However, all of that does not lead to satisfaction and ultimate truth. So then he turned to sufism (mysticism) which, according to him, could satisfy his intellectual

and spiritual thirst. To know the true essence of sufism, besides through recitation, direct experience, and practice, al-Ghazali also studied and read books written by leading Sufism scholars at that time. He read Abi Talib al-Makki's "Qut al-Qulub," al-Junaidi's "Mutafarrikat al-Ma'tsurah," and books by al-Syibli, Abu Yazid al-Bustami, Harits al-Muhasibi and many more (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 68).

4. The Concept of Sufism in the Books of *Al-Washaya* and *Al-Munqidz*

As mentioned, there is no single concept of sufism that experts agree on. It is because sufism is based on subjective religious experience. Even Imam Suhrawardi states that there are more than a thousand meanings of sufism. (Zahir, 1986: 36). One thing is agreed upon, through this knowledge, someone aims to get a direct and conscious relationship with God so that one is truly aware that one is in the presence of God. Meanwhile, the essence is the awareness of the existing relationship and dialogue between the human spirit or soul and God through self-isolation ('uzlah) and remembrance or contemplation (Nasution, 1990: 56).

For al-Muhasibi, sufism is an integration of several aspects of Islamic teachings, such as teachings related to faith, Islam, and Ihsan. Faith is related to theological sciences, aqidah. Islam is related to external sciences such as hadith, jurisprudence, and other interpretations. Then, ihsan is related to ethics or morals. For example, al-Muhasibi sees how halaqah and scientific studies are no longer reflected as a goal to get closer to Allah but are filled with self-effacing desires and other arrogance. While others even avoid humans on the pretext of tasawuf and uzlah. (Al-Muhasibi, 1989: 59).

Each group claims to be the most correct with what they hold and do. In the end, al-Muhasibi followed the people, later referred to as the Sufism group. Sufism for al-Muhasibi does not ignore external or rational sciences but combines various aspects of existing knowledge. Everything is adjusted for the science and its designation. For example, to find out about the law of fardhu or sunnah, al-Muhasibi searches through history or atsar, either hadith or opinion from the scholars. More than that, al-Muhasibi applies wara' (be careful of those whose halal status is not clear and muhasabah as the basis of his tasawuf. (Al-Muhasibi, 1989: 61). Therefore, a Sufi must understand the religious laws or 'alim' but also have to carry out what he knows and have a war' spirit or be careful of prohibitions and even things whose status is not clear (Al-Muhasibi, 1989: 62).

In line with al-Muhasibi, sufism for al-Ghazali is also a form of integration of the application of Shari'a, laws that are born sufism and have inner characteristics. Sufism cannot stand alone because it is a spirit in a deed. According to Al-Ghazali, the journey of sufism is essentially self-cleaning and purification of the heart continuously until it reaches

musyahadah. Therefore, he emphasized how important to train the soul and have good morals that are commendable both from the human side and from God's side. According to Al-Ghazali, the heart (qalbu) is like a mirror that can capture divine meanings. The ability of the heart depends on its cleanliness and transparency of the heart. If the heart is dirty or full of sins, so it cannot receive ma'rifat from Allah (Arifin, tt:184)

For al-Ghazali, sufism not only discusses the relationship with Allah but also deals with other things. Therefore according to him, sufism contains two important parts. First, it includes the language of matters relating to mu'amalah knowledge, and the second part contains the language of the issues relating to mukasyafah science. For example, in the book *Ihya'*, Al-Ghazali arranges into four main chapters, each further divided into ten chapters. The four main chapters are the first about worship, the second chapter about customs, the third is about things that harm, and the fourth deals with maqamat and ahwal (Arifin, tt, 183). In other words, sufism is a science that discusses ethical relations with Allah SWT and with others than Him.

In line with al-Muhasibi, for al-Ghazali sufism is a way out, a way out for scientific methodological deadlocks as well as spiritual satisfaction. The various schools of thought that existed at his time and each insisted on its truth had made al-Ghazali feel skeptical and doubtful and even made him feel depressed. The sciences, which he mastered very well, could not help him escape this dilemma. Because everything gives "pseudo" hope, the truth's validity is questionable. Sufism can answer everything, as he said:

What I would like to emphasize is that it is useful that I believe the Sufis are the ones who follow the path to Allah SWT and that their behavior is the best. Their methods are the most correct and their purest morals. If rationalists, philosophers, and jurists (intellectuals) join forces to change their way of life and morality or want to replace it with something else, surely they will not find a better way. It is none other than the whole life of the Sufis. Regardless of their circumstances, both movement and silence, externally and spiritually, all originate from the prophetic light, which other than this light cannot be used as a guide on earth (Al-Ghazali, 1967: 75).

The explanation above explains that both al-Muhasibi and al-Ghazali are Sufis. They combine the application of external sciences, usually called Shari'a and Sufism, which become the spirit of a deed. It means that both of them agree that ritual deeds or worship are still important, as is the importance of filling these acts of worship with the science of sufism which becomes the spirit.

5. Intertextual Relations *Al-Washaya* and *Al-Munqidz*

A work that appears reflects the social and intellectual condition of the society surrounding it. Al-Muhasibi, a person who mastered Islamic scholarship well, was originally a rationalist. He mastered different disciplines in Islam, such as fiqh, hadith, kalam, tafsir, and tashawuf. From an epistemological point of view, Al-Muhasibi is a person who masters the disciplines based on Bayani and Irfani epistemology. Like al-Muhasibi is al-Ghazali, he can combine physical and mental knowledge, even known as hujjatul Islam. He is an expert in fiqh, ushul fiqh, hadith, interpretation, Islamic philosophy, and sufism. Interestingly, almost all of the knowledge is mastered very well, evidenced by the works representing each of these sciences.

The social-intellectual condition during al-Muhasibi's time was the beginning of the glory of Islam (the Golden Age). Islam developed in various scientific disciplines then, especially in big cities such as Baghdad, Basrah, Naisabur, Damascus, and others. It greatly influenced al-Muhasibi in relation to the search for truth because, at that time, many schools of thought emerged in various scientific disciplines. So, he began to make observations and test the validity of the truth of every science he studied, and in the end, he was captivated and entered the Sufi class.

While al-Ghazali lived in a more complex period, both in terms of culture, society, and intellect, the rise of progress in various life fields made people increasingly forget the values of truth. As experienced by al-Ghazali that at first, he mastered fiqh until no one matched him at that time. At least this bored him, so he turned to theology. It continued when he turned to philosophy and finally to sufism.

It happened because, according to him, the knowledge he studied had shifted its orientation, no longer being a medium for seeking the truth but a tool for seeking worldly things such as wealth, popularity, and position. Al-Ghazali experienced it until he experienced mental and spiritual turbulence, so he let go of all things related to the world - according to him- such as the position he held fame and rank. Everything he left to wander, he found the truth, which he thought was valid in the Sufis.

Both al-Muhasibi and al-Ghazali made observations of their society to see typology or human classification. Al-Muhasibi for example, divides humans into 9 (nine) groups. At the same time, al-Ghazali divided humans into four groups. It's just that al-Muhasibi's division is more technical in nature, people's daily life, while al-Ghazali looks more at humans from an epistemological perspective or the sources of knowledge he follows. From the perspective of the location, al-Muhasibi has the background of Basrah and Baghdad, which were cosmopolitan cities, the center of the Islamic realm at that time. Meanwhile, al-Ghazali is in Naisabur, Damascus, which is also a famous city in Islamic history

5.1. Work Structure

5.1.1. Theme

The theme is considered the general basis of work. The author developed this general basis when he wrote a work. This idea must be followed when developing a story to understand events and conflicts well. In other words, the theme is the main idea of the work (Waluyo, 2011: 7).

Based on the analysis of the two autobiographical works of sufism. According to the two authors, the emerging theme is the search for the truth that led to the Sufis or the Sufism science conclusion. Both of them studied one by one knowledge, from textual, rational to intuitive based. Both agree that sufism is more valid and can be accounted for in its truth compared to the others. In addition, the two works of sufism seem to teach that to achieve knowledge. It must be done in stages. Starting from the *zahir*, textualist, then rationalist, then spiritualist.

5.1.2. Plot

The plot is the sequence of events in the work. Burhan Nurgiyantoro stated that a plot is a story that contains a sequence of events, but each event is interconnected causally, from one event to another (Nurgiyantoro, 2006: 113).

Chronologically, the time sequence in al-Muhasibi's autobiography in the book *al-Washaya* uses a plot forward which tells how al-Muhasibi faced and responded to the emergence of various kinds of religious and cultural currents at that time. Even he was opposed by people who did not understand his idea, including being opposed by Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal even though, in the end, Ahmad bin Hanbal acknowledged that idea. In the end, al-Muhasibi found a path full of peace and tranquillity in sufism and used his heart to follow God's guidance.

Meanwhile, the plot in *al-Munqidz* by al-Ghazali, though using an advanced plot, is more complex. It is because, from a material standpoint, al-Ghazali is indeed denser than his hypogram, namely *al-Washaya*. It started when al-Ghazali experienced doubts or skepticism about every science he studied. He studies from one teacher to another teacher. However, he still does not feel satisfied, even if satisfaction is only temporary and that for al-Ghazali is still lacking because he is looking for the satisfaction that can reassure the soul.

In addition, the emergence of various sects that claim truth to each other –as happened during al-Muhasibi's time- made al-Ghazali increasingly confused and indecisive, even to the point of affecting his physique and ill. However, after going through a long process, exerting all his mental and physical strength, he made a spiritual pilgrimage to

Haramain and other historical cities and uzlah. Finally, he found his identity and appeared with a new face, under the auspices of the Sufis who lived until the end. So, these two works, *al-Washaya* as a hipogram and *al-Munqidz* have the same plot forward. It's just that in *al-Munqidz* the story that appears is more complex and dramatic.

5.1.3. Characters, Characterizations, and Disposition

The Sufism work studied is in the form of an autobiography. It means that the writer tells about himself. So the figures, in this case, are *al-Muhasibi* and *al-Ghazali*. Both figures have almost the same character. Both are thirsty for knowledge. They pursue the essential truth. Both of them also experienced academic doubts regarding the truth and claims of each sect.

These two figures also carried out conversions or displacements related to the epistemology they follow. Interestingly, each pursued an epistemology that relied on ratios before finally choosing *tasawuf* -as the last quest. Then it was supported by an *irfani* epistemology that prioritized purifying the soul (*tazkiyah al-nafs*).

In other words, both promote the science of sufism as a method of obtaining valid, reliable, and not doubtful truth. However, it does not mean that the sciences other than sufism are useless and must be abandoned because each has its epistemological backing.

On the other hand, although they do not refer to persona. Other characterizations exist in these two autobiographies. The nine types of humans revealed by *al-Muhasibi* are 1. People who are pious about the afterlife, 2. Stupid people, 3. People who look like scholars, 4. People who sell religion to get wealth 5. People who are knowledgeable but don't practice it, 6. People who look like experts in worship, 7. People who hold on to reason or rationalists, 8. People who follow their passions and the world becomes a goal, 9. People who look like satan (*syayathinul ins*).

In *al-Ghazali's* work, characterizations are associated with epistemologically human types: *mutakallimun*, *batiniyah*, philosophers, and Sufis. The characters that appear are generally adjusted to the groups follower. For example, theologians use reason to rationalize holy verses when talking about God and things related to Him. *Batiniyyah* is the *Ismailiyyah* Shia sect that believes in the infallibility of their leader (*imam*). These *imam* have the authority to interpret the holy verses. Philosophers believe in the power of reason, and even reason is the only ultimate source of knowledge. These philosophers are also divided into 3 groups philosophers, namely materialism (*dahriyyun*), naturalism (*thabi'iyun*), and belief in God (*ilahiyyun*). Finally, the Sufis with character believe that intuition, *dzauq* is the most valid medium for receiving truth directly from God. Surely, it is through the stages of purification and galvanizing of the soul (*tazkiyah* and *mujahadah*).

5.1.4. Point of view

The point of view used in these two works is that of the first person, "I." It is reasonable because this work is an autobiography that focuses on "I." My character is directly involved in the dynamics that occurred in society at that time, depicting the struggles to get to the essential truth.

It's just that the point of view in al-washaya seems purer than my first persona. Al-Muhasibi repeatedly stated the sentence "I see" to start his conversation, for example:

أصنافاً إلى الناس رأيت ثم..... ي زعم منهم صنف كل رأيت

It is slightly different from al-Ghazali, who not only uses the first persona, "I" but also the second persona, "you." This can be seen from the expression given by al-Ghazali, "you ask me, O brothers in religion" or "you have to know. "

5.1.5. Language style

The figurative language of these two works of sufism uses many metaphors, majaz, kinayah, and other elements of balaghah. There is a difference between the two, al-Muhasibi uses flat and narrative language, while al-Ghazali is more passionate and has many philosophical terms that did not exist in the al-Muhasibi era. It can be seen in the example from the point of view above. Both use iqtibas or quoting holy texts, both the Quran and al-Hadith, during their talks.

Interestingly, both of them quoted the hadith of the Prophet PBUH about the ummah division into 73 groups in their autobiography. It's just that al-Muhasibi uses indirect sentence editorial, taking the meaning of the hadith only. While al-Ghazali fully quoted the hadith of the prophet SAW. Al-Muhasibi stated:

وسبعة بين بضع على تفترق الأمة هذه أن إلى البيان انتهى وقد عمري، من برهة أزل ولم؛ بسائر رها أعلم والله ناجية، فرقة منها فرقة، الأمة اختلاف أنظر

While Al-Ghazali stated:

الذي وهو، « فرخون لديهم بما حزب كل» وال ناجي، أنه يزعم فريق وكل حيث الصدوق الصادق وهو علمه الله صلوات المرسلين، سيد به وعد، واحدة منها ال ناجية فرقة، وسبعة بين ثلاث أم تي ستفترق: قال ي. يكون أن وعد ما كان وقد

The correlation between the two works above in various aspects confirms that the patterns in the two figures will always be repeated in history. The correlation between one text and another has always existed until now. If Imam al-Ghazali is an "incarnation" of al-

Muhasibi, many scholars later became "incarnations" of al-Ghazali. In the Indonesian context, for example, there is the figure KH. Sholeh Darat from Semarang is known as the person who popularized al-Ghazali sufism through his works, so he was given the nickname little al-Ghazali (al-Ghazali ash-Shaghir). The next generation who followed in the footsteps of Kyai Shaleh Darat was Sheikh Ihsan Jampes with his great work entitled *Sijuang Thalibin* as a commentary on al-Ghazali's book entitled *Minhajul Abidin* (Karim, 2016: xv).

Sufism developed by al-Muhasibi became the basis for the development of sufism which was Sunni style and became the majority in sufism. It means that when studying al-Ghazali's tasawuf thoughts, it is as if he is also studying al-Muhasibi's tasawuf thoughts. The works of these two figures in the sufism became a standard reference for the works that followed, especially on the main message of their teachings, namely the integration between external knowledge and inner knowledge, syariat and hakikat, between reason and revelation, and between Sufism and Fiqh.

CONCLUSIONS

First, the Sufism science for al-Muhasibi and al-Ghazali cannot be separated from Islamic law. It is even a must to attach sufism to other sciences. It is because these two figures are Sufis who are known as people who invite people to integrate Shari'a with Sufism. The two agree that sufism is a science whose validity is convincing and functions as a solution to the aridity of intellect and spirituality, which is the soul or spirit for every deed.

Second, the intertextual relationship between the two works of sufism can be seen in the background of the two authors, al-Muhasibi and al-Ghazali. There are similarities in the cultural, intellectual, and psychological backgrounds experienced by the two figures before they finally convert to sufism. In addition, the work structure depicts an intertextual relationship that can be seen in the theme or main idea. Those are the search for truth, the plot or flow of the work in the form of an advanced plot, characters, and characterizations; each point of view uses the first persona (I). Although *al-Munqidz* also uses the second persona, singular and plural (you), and the style of language in the two works of sufism.

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