

al-Rahmān was not an aberration, but an archetype to be emulated after eighteenth-century India. Following in their father's footsteps in making the Qur'an accessible to the lay Muslim, Walī Allāh's sons Shāh 'Abd al-Qādir (d. 1230/1815) and Shāh Rafī al-Dīn (d. 1233/1818) translated the Qur'an into Urdu. For this reason, the Indian historian and scholar Nūr al-Ḥasan Rāshid Kandhlavī notes that though the Faṭḥ al-Rahmān was not the only Persian translation available in Mughal India, it was one of the last before Urdu's advent as India's new lingua franca.⁴²

With the establishment of the British Raj in 1857 and the spread of English in government and educational institutions, Muslims in South Asia produced more English translations of the Qur'an than the previous three centuries in Europe, within less than forty years. In Punjab between 1909-1917, Muḥammad Alī (d. 1951) of the Aḥmadiyya community wrote the first complete English Qur'an translation in India to use for proselytization efforts in the West.⁴³ In 1930, the British-Muslim journalist Marmaduke William Pickthall (d. 1936) moved to Hyderabad to write his own translation for the sake of teaching the Qur'an in more refined English vernacular, and eventually went to Egypt to seek a secondary endorsement for it. Between 1934-1937, Abdullah Yusuf Ali (d. 1953) began translating the Qur'an in London, and completed it in what seems to be Lahore.⁴⁴ Muḥammad Asad (d. 1992) was an Austrian-Polish writer who translated Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī into English and was active in establishing a Muslim state in India. After being imprisoned at the start of World War II between 1939-1945, he moved between Switzerland and Morocco upon his release, where he worked on his translation between 1960-1970.⁴⁵ Echoing the objectives of Yusuf Ali, Bruce Lawrence contends that these Qur'an translations acted as a "zeitgeist" to make English into an "Islamic language." The logical progression that Qur'an translations followed from Persian to Urdu to English in South Asia, indicates that the Faṭḥ al-Rahmān of Shāh Walī Allāh and its layered authority served as an exemplar for a variety of languages, which would be introduced into India over several centuries.

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Conflict of Interest

None.

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⁴² B. Lawrence, *The Koran in English: A Biography*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017), 54

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 79.

Ghafla in Ghazālī's *Scale of Action* Meaningful Word or Device of Argument?

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Ghafla is remarkably absent from research on Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111).¹ Ghazālī, however, uses the word widely. To start lighting up this use, we will conduct a search on *ghafla* in Ghazālī's *Scale of Action* (*Mizān al-'amal*). The *Scale* was written before the much larger *Revival of the Sciences of Religion* (*Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*),² while the relationship between the two works remains unclear.³ The *Scale*, on the other hand, is described by contemporary researchers as dealing with a specific discipline, itself connected with philosophy.⁴ Our search will enable us to check this description.

For the linguistic meaning of *ghafla*, we may be content with translation. The word is commonly translated as "heedlessness". "Heedlessness" rules out ignorance, and presupposes knowledge. One knows the thing one does not heed. The verb *ghafala*, on the other

¹ In addition to the lack of books and articles on the topic, *ghafla* has no entry in F. Jabre's *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī* (Beirut, Publications de l'Université libanaise, 1970) and Rafīq al-'Ajam's *Mawṣū'at muṣṭalaḥāt al-inām al-Ghazālī* (Beirut, Maktabat Lubnān, 2000).

² As already established by M. Bouyges, *Essai de chronologie des œuvres de al-Ghazālī* (Algazel); édité et mis à jour par Michel Allard; Beirut, Imprimerie catholique, 1959; pp. 28-29.

³ K. Garden's description of the *Scale* as a "first draft" or "preliminary sketch" of the *Revival* (*The First Islamic Reviver: Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī and His Revival of the Religious Sciences*; Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014; p. 30) needs to be qualified. One reason for this need lies in Ghazālī's initial argument (parts of which are considered below, pp. 7-12). This argument has a parallel in the *Revival*, but the *Revival*'s version is much shorter than the *Scale*'s. The parallel passage appears in the Book of Repentance (*Kitāb al-tawba*), 4 (*Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*; Jeddah, Dār al-minhāj, 2011; vol. 9, pp. 198-199).

⁴ "Ethics" is most commonly used. An article by J. Janssens bears the title "Al-Ghazālī's *Mizān al-'amal*: an Ethical Summa Based on Ibn Sīnā and al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī" (in A. Akasoy and W. Raven [eds], *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages: Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation, in Honour of Hans Daiber*; Leiden, Brill, 2008; pp. 123-137). Garden describes the *Scale* as a "work of ethics" (*First Islamic Reviver*, p. 30). In accordance with the description of the *Scale* as draft or sketch, the *Revival* is likewise described as a "work of ethics". According to T. Kukkonen, the *Scale* deals with "moral psychology" ("Al-Ghazālī on the Emotions"; in G. Tamer [ed.], *Islam and Rationality: The Impact of al-Ghazālī: Papers Collected on His 900th Anniversary*. Volume 1, Leiden, Brill, 2015; p. 138). The "centrality of moral psychology to al-Ghazālī's overall project" is illustrated both with the "lengthy account of the virtues and their acquisition" appearing in the *Scale* and with the "need for spiritual purification and self-mortification" informing the *Revival*.

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