

**DIRECTIONS FOR  
TRAVELLERS ON THE MYSTIC PATH**

*The publication of this book was subsidized  
with a generous grant from  
the Stichting Oosters Instituut in Leiden.*

VERHANDELINGEN  
VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT  
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE

81

G. W. J. DREWES

DIRECTIONS FOR  
TRAVELLERS ON THE MYSTIC PATH

*Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's Kitāb Faḥ al-Raḥmān*  
and its Indonesian Adaptations

with an Appendix on Palembang manuscripts and authors



THE HAGUE - MARTINUS NIJHOFF 1977

**I.S.B.N. 90.247.2031.1**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
Preface . . . . .	VII
Introduction . . . . .	1
Chapter I    The author of the <i>Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd</i> , Shaikh Walī Raslān of Damascus . . . . .	6
Chapter II    The commentator, Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, a "Pillar of Fiqh and Taṣawwuf" . . . . .	26
Chapter III <i>Kitāb Faḥ al-Raḥmān</i> , Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary on Raslān's <i>Risāla</i> . . . . .	39
Chapter IV <i>Kitāb Patahulrahman</i> , text and translation . . . . .	52
Chapter V    A <i>Risalah</i> by Shihabuddin of Palembang, text and English summary . . . . .	88
Chapter VI    The so-called <i>Kitāb Mukhtasar</i> by Kemas Fakhruddin of Palembang, text and translation . . . . .	106
Notes and variae lectiones of cod.or. Leiden 7329 . . . . .	176
List of Arabic words and expressions . . . . .	191
Appendix    Palembang manuscripts and authors	
Introduction . . . . .	198
I.    Manuscripts originating from Palembang . . . . .	199
II.    Other manuscripts . . . . .	214
III.    Observations . . . . .	217
IV.    Palembang authors . . . . .	219
V.    Some observations on three works by unknown authors . . . . .	229
VI.    Hikayat Palembang . . . . .	234
Notes to Appendix . . . . .	238
List of manuscripts mentioned in the Appendix . . . . .	242
Bibliography . . . . .	245
Index . . . . .	252



## PREFACE

Many years ago in the Journal of the Batavia Society (*T.B.G.*), Vol. 41 (1899), pp. 498-528 Van Ronkel published an article entitled "Over invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische" ('On the influence of Arabic syntax on Malay syntax'). In this well-documented paper the author gave the first and hitherto the only extant description of the Malay idiom used in rendering Arabic texts, the so-called Kitab-Malay.

Van Ronkel also cites a few instances of the influence of this particular idiom outside the religious sphere, that is to say, of its effect on literary Malay in general. A thorough investigation into this, however, was beyond the scope of his article. At the end of the paper the author, in fact, expressed the wish that a more comprehensive statement of examples be produced and that at the same time full attention be paid to phraseological questions in a wider sense.

However, there will be no solid base for an investigation of this kind until representative texts in Kitab-Malay are more easily available. Van Ronkel does not mention the texts from which his materials were taken. Most probably he collected his data from MSS. and from current Egyptian, Indian and local editions of Arabic texts with Malay translations. The two texts edited here are specimens of Kitab-Malay written in Palembang and dating back to the latter part of the 18th century.

Apart from their idiom they are worth publishing on the basis of their contents. They were composed to counterbalance the influence of the doctrine of 'the seven grades of being', by which name the Indonesian variety of the Wujūdiyya is known. Introduced by Muḥammad b. Faḍlillāh al-Burhānpūrī's *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-nabī* ('The Gift addressed to the spirit of the Prophet'), this doctrine found much favour in Indonesia. The *Tuḥfa* dates from 1590, and the doctrine must have been known in Sumatra in the first decades of the 17th century, as is apparent from the writings of Shamsuddin al-Samatra'i (died 1630). Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's violent denouncement of its 17th century Achehnese exponents had an only ephemeral effect; it could

not stop this speculative doctrine from spreading far and wide among Indonesian Muslims and influencing their religious life.

Neither of the writers of the Malay texts edited here was a rigid dogmatist or jurispudent averse to all mysticism. Both are representative of another, older current of mysticism associated with the name of al-Junaid (died 910). They owe their acquaintance with this chiefly to Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's *Kitāb Faḥ al-Raḥmān*, a commentary on the *Riṣāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* by Walī Raslān al-Dimashqī (died A.H. 541/A.D. 1145-'46), as does the Javanese poet who composed the poem *Kitab Patahulrahman*. Therefore, these texts are not only illustrative specimens of Kitab-Malay; they are also of interest with respect to the history of Muslim mysticism in Sumatra and Java.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Russell Jones (London) for his willingness to correct and improve the English manuscript of this book, to the Oosters Instituut (Leiden) for its contribution towards publication costs and to the Executive Board of the Koninklijk Instituut for including this book in its publications.

## INTRODUCTION

It is common knowledge that among non-Arab Muslims Arabic proper names are as much in use as are biblical names and names from sacred history among Christians of all races. The Indonesian Muslims are no exception to this practice; a large number of the most popular proper names are of Arabic origin, although owing to abbreviation and corruption they are not always directly recognizable as such.

A considerable number of these are composed of the numerous Arabic theophorous names, that is to say, names beginning with <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdu 'l- (servant of the —), followed by one of the many honorific epithets of Allah. In common parlance several of these names have lost the initial <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdu 'l- or have been otherwise corrupted, which results in names such as Aziz, Gani, Hamid, Kahar, Karim, Latip, Majit, Malik, Nasir, Patah, Wahab, Wahit, and even Dul (= <sup>ʿ</sup>Abdu 'l-). Another category consists of names of important figures in Muslim history and names of prominent scholars, theologians and mystics. Many years ago Snouck Hurgronje, referring to the adoption of a new name by Indonesian pilgrims in the holy city, observed that among these there was a marked preference for the most illustrious names in the field of religious sciences<sup>1</sup>; hence everywhere one meets with names once borne by famous jurists as well as with the names of writers on theological subjects and mysticism, and founders of fraternities.

One of the names of Arabic origin belonging to this category is Rislan or Ruslan. This name has nothing to do with Dutch 'Rusland' (Russia), in Indonesian pronunciation 'Ruslan', but derives from Raslān, the arabicized form of Arslān (lion), a Turkish proper name borne, among others, by many ancient Turkish princes and at the present time the name of a prominent Syrian family, to which belonged the well-known scholar and diplomatist Emīr Shakīb Arslān, some time President of the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Naturally, the question that arises is this: Which man with the name of Raslān was so highly regarded by Indonesian Muslims that people chose to adopt his name? The obvious answer is that he could have

been none other than Shaikh Raslān al-Dimashqī, the patron-saint of Damascus, whose *Risāla fī l'-tawhīd* was held in high repute in former times, as is testified by ms. copies of this Epistle originating from various regions of Indonesia.

This *Risāla* is neither a "theosophic treatise"<sup>2</sup> nor a "dogmatical poem",<sup>3</sup> nor a "concise work on the Essence of Allah"<sup>4</sup> but a mystical tract denouncing the hidden polytheism lying at the base of self-assertion and reliance on fellow-creatures and things created. Not only because self, other persons and things (*al-aghyār*), and secondary causes (*al-asbāb*) constituted so many screens between man and the Supreme Reality, but any trust in these was essentially a denial of God being the Only Agent in the universe, a profession considered consequent on the declaration of God's unity and uniqueness (*tawhīd*) as laid down in the first clause of the creed. It is easy to understand that, given the leaning to mysticism characteristic of Indonesian Islam, this tract appealed strongly to pious people who took this profession seriously and tried to live up to their conviction.

The popularity of the *Risāla* in Indonesia is borne out by the number of ms. copies preserved in the Jakarta and Leiden libraries. One should, however, look for them in the catalogues of Arabic MSS.; in the indexes of the catalogues of Indonesian MSS. one would look in vain for the name of the author and the title of the work, and to the best of my knowledge Indonesian translations of the *Risāla* do not exist as separate works. In some of the Arabic MSS. part of the text of the *Risāla* is found accompanied by an interlinear translation<sup>5</sup>; in others the complete text is embodied in a commentary<sup>6</sup> often furnished with an interlinear translation.<sup>7</sup> These MSS. are evidence of the dissemination of this text through the Archipelago, for the interlinear translations are in Malay, Javanese and Bugi.

The commentary furnished with an interlinear translation is always Zakariyyā' al-Aṅṣārī's *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*,<sup>8</sup> the wide circulation of which in Indonesia was noted by Snouck Hurgronje many years ago (*Ad-viezen*, Vol. II, p. 1219). Another commentary that was known in Indonesia is the one written by ʿAlī b. ʿAtiyya ʿAlawān al-Ḥamawī (d. A.H. 936/A.D. 1530)<sup>9</sup> and represented by cod. or. Leiden 7031(2). Finally, a third commentary is mentioned in Kemas Fakhrudin's *Kitab Mukhtasar* (to be discussed presently), namely, *Khamrat al-khān* ('Wine from the inn') by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. A.H. 1143/A.D. 1731).<sup>10</sup> Neither the Leiden nor the Jakarta library has a copy of it.

The popularity of the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* in Java can be inferred from

the fact that, at the latest in the early part of the 18th century, it was put in verse in Cerbon; or rather, that a Javanese composed a poem claiming to be a poetical version of this commentary (*němbangakěn kitab arabi, kitab Patahulrahman*). The first Canto of this poem, comprising 23 stanzas, is contained in cod. or. Leiden 7563,<sup>11</sup> while the only complete text extant, numbering three Cantos,<sup>12</sup> is found in MS. India Office no. 3102, now in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London<sup>13</sup>; a copy of this is preserved in the Leiden library (cod. or. 8448). This MS. ends with the statement that the copying was finished (*mantuning sěrat tiněḍak*) on Jumadilakir 2nd A.J. 1663 (A.D. 1738).

This poem can hardly be called a regular poetic version, nor even an adaptation of the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*. The author has borrowed a number of passages from the text of the *Risāla* as found in this commentary and in places has made use of al-Anṣārī's comments, but neither the name of the Damascus mystic nor that of his commentator is mentioned in the poem. The greater part of it is made up of other materials which apparently were more to the poet's liking.<sup>14</sup> It is, in fact, a didactic poem composed by an adept in the doctrine of the seven grades of being. Failing to understand the fundamental difference between Walī Raslān's message and the doctrine of the seven grades, or, perhaps, endeavouring to harmonize them, he uses the quotations as a starting-point for an exposition of the ever returning, crucial subject of the relationship between the intelligibles (*a<sup>c</sup>yān thābita*) and their exteriorization in the phenomenal world (*a<sup>c</sup>yān khārija*).

Subsequently, in about the 1750's the Palembang theologian Shihabuddin, who had already prepared a Malay version of an Arabic commentary on al-Laḡānī's well-known dogmatical poem *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, composed a Malay Epistle (*risalah*), starting from the interpretation of manifest and hidden polytheism as given by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī in his *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*. This Epistle, in which both Walī Raslān and al-Anṣārī are quoted as authoritative, expresses an admonitory spirit. Its purpose is to check the spread of the doctrine of the seven grades among the masses and to warn against the rampant neglect of religious observances apparently ensuing from it.

In Shihabuddin's Epistle there is no mention of a royal principal. Even so, it may be assumed that the Court of Palembang was not wholly unconcerned about this issue. For we see that later on Kemas Fakhruddin, who enjoyed the favour of the Sultan and the crown-prince, translated Raslān's *Risāla* in full and provided it with a com-

mentary, no doubt with the approval, or possibly even at the instigation, of his royal patron.

Though recorded in the catalogues under the title *Kitab Mukhtasar* ('Compendium'), Kemas Fakhrudin's book actually has no title. It owes its name to a misunderstanding of the words: *Inilah kitab yang mukhtasar bagi ta'lif Shaikh al-Walī Raslān* ('This a concise work composed by Shaikh al-Wali Raslan'). Then the translator goes on to say, *Maka adalah aku menterjemahkan kitab ini* ('I have translated this book'), while the last phrase of the translation is: *Telah selesailah risalah yang mukhtasar dengan bahasa Jawi* ('Here the Malay translation of the short Epistle ends'), etc. From all this it is perfectly clear that the work meant by *kitab* or *risalah yang mukhtasar* is the Arabic *Risāla*.<sup>15</sup> Each single phrase of the original is followed by a Malay translation, to each one of which the translator has added his comments. For these comments he has consulted the *Fath al-Rahmān* and the *Khamrat al-khān*.

The library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta has three copies of Kemas Fakhrudin's work: MS. BG. Mal. 120; V.d.W. 7 and 8.<sup>16</sup> The first of these belonged to the consignment of kraton MSS. shipped from Palembang to Batavia in 1822 (see the Appendix, sub I, 5); the V.d.W. MSS. were probably copied from this. The Leiden library has two copies: cod. or. 1712 and cod. or. 7329, formerly listed as S.H. 102.<sup>17</sup> The former was copied from MS. BG. Mal. 120 at the Scriptorium of the General Secretariat in Batavia in 1822; the latter, dated Batavia 1870, is a copy written by a certain Muhammad Kelana b. Fakir 'Abd al-Mujib Muhammad Zabidi of Kampung Laksa.

The present work is arranged as follows. CHAPTER I deals with Shaikh Walī Raslān of Damascus, his life and personality, his writings, the miracles attributed to him and the veneration in which the population of Damascus still holds him today. CHAPTER II is dedicated to Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, the famous 15/16th century Egyptian theologian and writer, whose *Kitāb Fath al-Rahmān*, a running commentary on Walī Raslān's *Risāla fī 'l-tawhīd*, constitutes CHAPTER III.<sup>18</sup> As is usual in works of this kind, the commentator sticks closely to the original text and embodies it in his comments, so that there was no need to print the *Risāla* separately. CHAPTER IV contains the Javanese poem *Patahulrahman*, accompanied by a translation. CHAPTER V contains the Malay tract written by Shihabuddin of Palembang about the middle of the 18th century and a summary of its contents. Finally, in CHAPTER VI, there

follows Kemas Fakhruddin's Malay adaptation of the Arabic commentary, with a complete translation.

In order to avoid repetition no particulars about these two Palembang writers are given in chapters V and VI. The scanty information available concerning their activities is brought together in the Appendix sub IV, Pts. I and II, to which the reader is referred.

An inquiry into the Palembang background of these writers and, in particular, into other Palembang activities in the domains of literature and learning, both religious and profane, in the period under discussion, proved most fruitful. Scanning the catalogues of the principal collections of Malay manuscripts, I found that a good deal of works written in Palembang or originating from there are preserved in these collections. This induced me to review all the materials available and draw up an inventory of the MSS. in question and a list of Palembang writers. The results of this investigation are laid down in an Appendix to the book proper.

## CHAPTER I

# THE AUTHOR OF THE *RISĀLA FĪ 'L-TAWHĪD*, Shaikh Walī Raslān of Damascus

### 1. *The period of his life and his origin*

The data concerning Raslān's full name found in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* are mutually inconsistent and those concerning the year of his death contradictory.

In Vol. I: 452 of the aforesaid work Raslān's full name is given as Raslān b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qūb b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ja<sup>c</sup>barī al-Dimashqī, and ± 695/1296 as the year of his death. Furthermore, Brockelmann mentions seven commentaries on his *Risāla*, among which the three commentaries mentioned above (nos. 1, 2, 4). However, in *G.A.L.*, Suppl. Vol. III: 1257 one finds: Raslān b. Sībawaih b. <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh al-Dimashqī, died 711/1369; with the additional information that he was a contemporary of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī and author of the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd*, which was the subject of a commentary by Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Bānī al-Kurdī (d. 1148/1735).

Now in Suppl. Vol. I: 811 this Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Bānī al-Kurdī is recorded among the commentators of the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* written by the Raslān who died in 695/1296. It does not seem very likely that we have here two authors with almost the same name, two different *Risāla* and two different commentaries. And finally still another date: in a note on p. 811 of Suppl. Vol. I we read the statement that in a copy of Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's *Fath al-Raḥmān* preserved in the Zaitūna library in Tunisia the name of the author of the original work is given as Raslān b. Sībawaih <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī, and the year of his death as 'after 540' (= 1145).

So the Arab writers consulted by Brockelmann are far from unanimous about these issues. The dates 1296 and 1369, however, are obviously wrong, since in the *Bahjat al-asrār*, Shaṭṭanawfī's legendary biography of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī composed about 1275-1280, Raslān figures as a contemporary of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Qādir (d. 561/1166).<sup>1</sup> Shaṭṭanawfī

has put it on record that in 670/1271 he was told by an informant in Cairo — who himself had acquired his information in 621/1224 — that at the moment of ʿAbd al-Qādir’s famous exclamation: “My foot is on the neck of all saints”, Walī Raslān of Damascus too had submissively bowed his head. The aim of this statement is of course the proclaiming of ʿAbd al-Qādir’s superiority over the saint of Damascus; it fits in with the superhuman image of ʿAbd al-Qādir as depicted by Shattānawfī.<sup>2</sup> His biography of ʿAbd al-Qādir makes interesting reading for anyone bent on knowing all the miraculous stories about him. Nevertheless, however unhistorical and miraculous these stories may be, when he records a legendary story about Raslān transmitted to an informant as early as 621/1224, and also the miracles that occurred at Raslān’s burial, the latter cannot have died in 1296, let alone in 1369. So the statement found in the Zaitūna MS. seems to be the only reliable one of the three.

Apparently it escaped Brockelmann that already in Sauvaire’s rendering of the contents of al-ʿAlmawī’s extract from al-Nuʿaimī’s (d. 927/1521) book on Damascus<sup>3</sup> in *Journal Asiatique* (9e Série, t. III-V) A.H. 540 is given as the date of Raslān’s death (t. V (1895), p. 404, nt. 9). Sauvaire’s reference to the Paris MS. of the *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aʿyān* must be amended to fol. 35. As indicated by the title, this book is a sequel to the well-known biographical work *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), composed about A.H. 715. Its author is Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, a Christian who served the Mamluk ruler of Damascus in various functions and died in 726/1326. It contains biographical notes on persons who died between 658/1259 and 725/1325. The Paris MS., the only copy known, comes from the private library of the historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), who added a marginal note to the paragraph on Raslān to the effect that the mention of Raslān was out of place in this book (*laisa min sharḥ al-kitāb*), on account of the date of his death.<sup>4</sup> Raslān’s name is given as Raslān b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdallāh al-Nashshār, and the year of his death as “somewhat later than (A.H.) 540” (*sana nīf wa-arbaʿīn wa-khams miʿa*). The data concerning his origin and life are given on the authority of Najm al-dīn b. Isrāʾīl al-Jazarī, who got his information from a number of Raslān’s companions.

That Raslān died in A.H. 540 or shortly after is also assumed by N. Elisséeff, who in 1967 published a three volume monograph on Nūr al-Dīn b. al-Zangī, the unifier of Syria and successful opponent of the Crusaders.<sup>5</sup> In the historical topography of Syria in the 12th century,

to be found in the first volume, Elisséeff records (p. 260), that in the suburb al-Şafwāniyya, to the east of the Thomas Gate (Bāb Tūmā), the mausoleum of Raslān was built in 541/1146-'47, that is eight years before Nūr al-Dīn conquered Damascus and established the seat of his government in this town.<sup>6</sup>

A definite answer to the question of the date of Raslān's death might be found in the biography of the saint taken from Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) *Ta'riḫ al-Islām*,<sup>7</sup> a copy of which is preserved in the Zāhiriyya library in Damascus.<sup>8</sup> I have had no opportunity to consult this MS.; in an extract from it to be found in a book on Raslān published in Damascus in 1965<sup>9</sup> no such date is mentioned but the author of this book too takes the view that 541 was the year of Raslān's death. The factual data given in this extract are almost identical with those recorded in the *Bahja*, so that it may be assumed that in the opinion of Dhahabī, a critical observer, they did not deviate unduly from historical authenticity, or at least offered a fair representation of what at the time was considered the authentic story of his life.

In ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya's compilation mentioned above A.H. 461 as the year of Raslān's birth is given without mention of the source of this information. On account of the addition 'al-Ja<sup>c</sup>barī' to his name there can be little doubt that though living in Damascus he hailed from Qal<sup>c</sup>at Ja<sup>c</sup>bar, situated on the left bank of the Euphrates. He is said to have belonged to the *awlād al-ajnād*, that is to say that he was born in a family liable to military service. These data are not immaterial.

*Ajnād* is a term indicating a group of the military. In 12th century Syria the *ajnād* were the second line of troops, a kind of militia that could be called up for active service beside the regular army (*ʿaskar*) to serve as reserve troops. The rulers of the numerous petty principalities into which Syria was divided at the time all had their regular armies made up of slaves and mercenaries, among whom were many foreigners. These regular soldiers were employed in the continuous warfare between the princes themselves as well as against the Crusaders or, occasionally, in alliance with the latter against some Muslim adversary. Only on more important occasions were the regular armies reinforced with *ajnād*; these were mounted troops who had to provide their own horses and other equipment, their arms as a rule consisting of a sword and a spear.<sup>10</sup>

One of these Syrian emirates was the territory of the Shi<sup>c</sup>ite ʿUqailī emirs round the citadel Qal<sup>c</sup>at Ja<sup>c</sup>bar, Raslān's birthplace. In 479/1086 the Seljuk sultan Malik Shāh (1072-1092), who had acquired it shortly

before, granted it to the °Uqailī chief Salīm b. Malik.<sup>11</sup> The citadel was considered impregnable. Nūr al-Dīn's father was murdered when laying siege to it in 541/1146, and it did not pass into Nūr al-Dīn's hands until 558/1163, in exchange for another region of Syria.

The fortification of Qal°at Ja°bar owed its importance to its geographical position. Situated on a rock on the left bank of the Euphrates, at a distance of about twelve miles from Bālis, it commanded the road from Bālis to downstream Raqqa and also the upstream shipping on the river to Bālis, where transit-goods from Iraq to Syria were handled. Consequently, the citadel held a key position on the important trade route from Mosul in Iraq to Aleppo and other places in Syria. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Qal°at Ja°bar in the 1160's, makes mention of a populous Jewish colony here,<sup>12</sup> the existence of which is indicative of a flourishing trade.

The importance of the place did not escape the Crusaders. Starting from Edessa (al-Ruhā'), in 497/1103 they made an incursion in a southerly direction, penetrating as far as Raqqa and harassing Qal°at Ja°bar.<sup>13</sup> Shortly afterwards they organized an expedition to Ḥarrān, for the same purpose, namely that of blocking the trade route from Iraq to Syria. This operation, however, failed: they were routed and severely beaten by the Muslims at Ra's al-°Ain (1104), in which battle king Baldwin of Edessa was made prisoner.<sup>14</sup>

These events may possibly be connected with Raslān's migration from Qal°at Ja°bar to Damascus. It is not too bold a supposition that part of the population of Qal°at Ja°bar was seized with panic at the impending assault of the Franks and sought safety in flight to a less unhealthy place.<sup>15</sup> The town of Damascus, a Muslim stronghold more than once in danger of attack but never captured, was an obvious choice. Moreover, the Atabeg in power stood in good repute on account of his benevolent policy and liberality. This Atabeg was Tughtagīn (Zāhir al-dīn), at first a vassal of the Seljuk prince Tutush (d. 1095) and his son Duqāq (d. 1104), but subsequently autonomous ruler of Damascus until his death in 1128. The historian Ibn al-Qalānīsī (d. 1160), author of the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, is loud in his praise of this Turkish potentate.<sup>16</sup>

Tughtagīn is reputed to have been one of the most redoubtable enemies of the Christians.<sup>17</sup> Even so, he was not continuously waging war against them; there were also periods of truce, when hostilities were suspended by tacit agreement or by formal treaty.<sup>18</sup> After Tughtagīn's death there were other causes for anxiety: the acute troubles caused

by the intrigues of the Ismailis and the repeated endeavours of Nūr al-dīn's father, °Imād al-dīn Zangī, to take the town. In 1140 the imminent danger of its being captured by Zangī could be countered only by entering into an alliance with the Franks in Jerusalem, who were alive to the danger of Zangī's expansionism. This 'informal alliance'<sup>19</sup> came to an end in 1148, when the Christians themselves marched against Damascus in the course of the second crusade.<sup>20</sup> The attempt to seize this prosperous city miscarried, and for some years Damascus continued to maintain a precarious equilibrium between the opposing forces of Jerusalem and Aleppo, but step by step Zangī's son Nūr al-Dīn paved the way for his take-over, which eventually took place in 549/1154.

## 2. *Raslān's life in Damascus*

Should our supposition concerning the date of Raslān's arrival at Damascus be valid, then he must have lived here for more than forty years. Tradition has it that he earned his livelihood as a sawyer or a carpenter (*nashshār*) and had been engaged in this trade for twenty years when he was summoned to the spiritual life.

It is a common feature of many lives of saints that, singled out for future greatness, they are called to their extraordinary spiritual career through signs as miraculous as they are unmistakable. Ibrāhīm b. Adham was accosted three times in an admonitory way while he was hunting; the last time the voice was coming from the pommel of his saddle-bow. At an early age °Abd al-Qādir, walking with his playmates behind a cow drawing a plough, was warned by the animal that he was not created solely for play and sleep. And likewise twice Raslān's saw remonstrated with him that he was not created just for sawing wood. Then it remonstrated with him a third time and promptly broke into three pieces.<sup>21</sup> Responding to this call Raslān went to study with Abū °Āmir al-Mu'addib, a mystic who traced his spiritual pedigree back to Sarī al-Saqāṭī (d. 253/867 or 257/870), the uncle and teacher of al-Junaid (d. 297/910). One cannot wonder, then, that the influence of al-Junaid's doctrine is clearly discernible in Raslān's Epistle.

To this master he made over his earnings, in exchange for which Abū °Āmir supplied his meals, not however without his going hungry from time to time. Others say that he divided his earnings into three parts: one for his daily livelihood; one for his clothes and further needs, and one for alms.<sup>22</sup> His habitation was of the simplest: nothing but a lean-to beside the workshop he shared with a weaver. Abū °Āmir's tuition took place in a small mosque in the neighbourhood, within the

Thomas Gate in the north-eastern quarter of the town, a district inhabited from of old by many Christians. This mosque, to this very day known by the name of Maqām Shaikh Arslān, is said to have been enlarged by Nūr al-Dīn and embellished with a minaret. This prince also established a *waqf* in order to meet the upkeep expenses. There is a story that Raslān dug a well in the court of this mosque with his own hands. The water of this well was considered to have curative properties; it was in demand as a remedy against belly-ache.

Legend will have it that Nūr al-Dīn felt a great veneration for the Shaikh; according to the legend he even possessed a fragment of the broken saw and ordained that be buried with him. But one cannot help feeling that legend, as usual, pays little heed to chronology. It creates the impression that Raslān lived to see Nūr al-Dīn installed as ruler of Damascus, as seems to be implied by the following story.

To do honour to the saint, Nūr al-Dīn once wanted to present him with a quantity of gold. But on account of his exemplary *wara<sup>c</sup>* (scrupulousness)<sup>23</sup> Raslān at first refused to accept the gift, saying, "He ought to be ashamed of himself for sending it, since among the servants of God there are people who could transform anything about them into gold or silver, should they choose to do so". For all that, he accepted the money and divided it at once among the orphaned and the poor, after the slave who had brought him the money had told him that his liberation depended on Raslān's acceptance of the gift.<sup>24</sup>

From the small mosque mentioned above Raslān moved to a mosque in the Darb al-ḥajar.<sup>25</sup> This mosque is supposed to have been situated in the vicinity of the public baths still named Ḥammām Shaikh Raslān. The eastern gate of this mosque was henceforth the regular resort of Raslān and his followers. Thereupon he moved to a mosque outside the Thomas Gate. This mosque was built on the spot where Khālīd b. al-Walīd, one of the five great generals of the period of the first Muslim expansion outside Arabia, pitched his tent when laying siege to Damascus in 14/635.<sup>26</sup> According to others it was the place where the Muslims performed their first ritual prayer after the conquest of the town.<sup>27</sup> In the course of time this place of worship has been repeatedly renovated and rebuilt. What is left of it has been integrated with the chapels in the cemetery of Shaikh Raslān outside the Thomas Gate.<sup>28</sup>

Some say that Raslān lived in this mosque till the end of his days, but according to others he continued to live in the lean-to of his workshop and to perform his devotions in the mosque known as Maqām Shaikh Arslān.

After the death of his teacher, Raslān took his place, since Abū ʿĀmir had preferred him to his own son as successor.<sup>29</sup> His life was one of exemplary austerity. No one ever saw him eating in the daytime, and when he broke his fast he never partook of anything but dry bread. All his life his only clothes were a vest and a *jubbah*. He never married and died without progeny. His mausoleum, flanked by the tombs of his master and his servant, is to be found in the cemetery named after him outside the Thomas Gate.

### 3. *His miracles*

A pious and uneventful life, or so it looks, judging from the scanty biographical data available. But popular tradition has seen to it that these were supplemented by a host of striking particulars. For in popular opinion a saint's life is unconceivable without the manifest marks of favour the Lord bestows on His friends and which people call miracles because by these a saint is enabled to break through the usual course of nature (*kharq al-ʿāda*). As Shaṭṭanawfī says, "He was one of those unto whom Allah has revealed the secrets of being and who were given a free hand with all that is; by whose hands He performs miracles and for whose convenience He breaks through the usual course of things created".

Tradition abounds in stories about these marks of divine favour. So, for instance, the following miraculous occurrence, related in Shaṭṭanawfī's *Bahja* and Tādhibī's (d. 963/1556) *Qalā'id al-jawāhir*.<sup>30</sup>

One day, in spring, Shaikh Raslān was entertaining a couple of friends in a garden. One of them asked, "Master! What is the distinctive mark of a saint who is vested with universal power?" The Shaikh answered, "God has put the reins of dispensation into his hands". The friend rejoined, "But how does one know?" Then the Shaikh took four twigs, chose one of them and said, "This one stands for spring". He chose another, which he specified as standing for summer. Thereupon he moved his hand to and fro, and all of a sudden the weather became very hot. He threw the twig away, chose another and specified it as standing for autumn. He moved it to and fro, and suddenly autumn set in. He threw the twig away, chose still another and specified it as standing for winter. He moved it to and fro, and all of a sudden it was bitterly cold and blowing hard, so that the trees withered. Thereupon the branches started budding again and there was a gentle breeze. Then he bent his eyes upon the birds perching amid the foliage, went to a

tree and shook it, so as to motion to the birds to glorify their Creator. Immediately the birds began to sing their sweetest songs, stirring the hearts of all those present. Going about in the garden the saint came to another tree, shook it, and so on, every tree in its turn. One bird only was keeping silent. The Shaikh said, "If you are silent, you shall not live", and at once the bird dropped dead to the ground.<sup>31</sup>

Another story is concerned with the miraculous provision of food. Fifteen men on their way to Baghdād came to see the saint. He wanted to provide them with a meal, but the only food he could provide was five flat loaves of bread. These he crumbled and invoked Allah's blessing upon them. And behold! Not only was there enough for all of them but there was still some left over. The remainder was divided among them; it lasted them all the way to Baghdād.<sup>32</sup>

Quite a number of saints are reputed to have moved through the air and walked on water. So little wonder that Shaikh Raslān too is credited with this miraculous power. According to the accounts he was seen passing through the air cross-legged and moving with the velocity of an arrow. Owing to this superhuman faculty he was able to attend the ceremonies in the plain of 'Arafa during the pilgrimage and to be back in Damascus on the same day after only a few hours' absence.

Even nature was not indifferent to the power emanating from his personality. Once, on his return from a journey through the air he sat down with his back against a fig tree that had not borne fruit for years. At once the tree started budding again and once again produced fruit.<sup>33</sup>

Once a lion was seen rolling at his feet when he was lost in meditation. But the saint did not pay any heed to the ferocious animal, for the true believer fears God alone.<sup>34</sup>

In an amazing way he took part in the fight against the Franks. One day people saw him flinging pebbles into the air. They asked him what was his object in doing this; he answered, "These pebbles are arrows which I loose off against the Franks". Afterwards it came to light that in a battle between Franks advancing from the coastal area and Muslims the latter had got the upper hand owing to their having been rescued in an unaccountable way by stones dropping from the skies that had crushed their adversaries.<sup>35</sup>

Another story of a miraculous escape, told by a certain Shaikh Muḥammad b. Abī Faḍl al-As'ad as reflecting a personal experience, is as follows. "Three shaikhs (mentioned by name) wished to pay a visit to Shaikh Raslān. I went and reported this to my father, who ran a wine-house in the neighbourhood of the Mosque of the Lance-makers.<sup>36</sup>

He permitted me to accompany them, handed me the key of the cash-box and allowed me to take all the money I wanted. I took 500 dirham and spent these on candles and some boxes of sweetmeats. After we had sojourned with the saint for a period of four days the men were of a mind to go to the Lebanon mountains. They consulted with the Shaikh about it but he advised against it, as they might run across 'these wretched Franks' (*ḥarāmīyyat al-Ifranj*). Even so, they persisted in going, nor did I myself pay heed to the advice of the Shaikh. Arriving at the pond of Laimuna we encountered five armed men. One of them loosed off a couple of arrows against us" — he showed the place of his right leg where he had been hit — "and the foot of one of us was hit by an arrow. Seeing this I cried out, "Oh lord Raslān! If you really are accepted by the Lord, then come to our aid!" No sooner had I shouted these words than he arrived, armed with a bow, and ordered the assailants to leave us alone. At the sight of the Shaikh they threw away their weapons, kissed his feet and were converted to Islam."<sup>37</sup>

To saints of the eminence of Raslān men are 'like bottles' (*ka 'l-qawārīr*), to quote <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Qādir.<sup>38</sup> They know men inside and out and read their hearts as an open book. The following story, allegedly also reflecting a personal experience of the narrator, is eloquent of this faculty. "My wife wanted a new veil and requested me to buy her one, but I said that I could not afford this as I was short of cash and moreover I owed 10 dirhams. That night I dreamt that some one said to me, "Should you wish to see Abraham the Friend of God,<sup>39</sup> then go to Shaikh Raslān." The next morning I went and visited Shaikh Raslān. I found him at the foot of mount Qāsiyūn<sup>40</sup> and kissed his hand. He said, "Sit down", and after having withdrawn for a few moments he returned carrying a veil, in a corner of which ten dirhams were tied. He handed the veil to me, whereupon I returned home."<sup>41</sup>

The purport of this story is clear: Of Raslān one may hope for intercession as successful as that of Abraham, and one need not even express one's wishes, since the saint already knows beforehand what made one come to him. Popular opinion still has it that a prayer said at Raslān's tomb will be heard and that a pilgrimage to his grave grants remission of sins. To him is ascribed the utterance, "The fire of hell will not take hold of any flesh that has entered my chapel". And so as to preclude any doubt about this is related the silly story that a man having with him a piece of meat once came and performed his ritual prayer in Raslān's chapel. When subsequently he proceeded to cook the meat, it defied all attempts to get it cooked.<sup>42</sup>

To conclude the account of legendary stories about Raslān: At his funeral it became abundantly clear that the remains about to be committed to the earth were not those of an ordinary person. When the bier was raised up, a flock of green birds came flying along and kept hovering around it,<sup>43</sup> and a throng of horsemen riding white horses surrounded the bier, a spectacle never observed before or since. And the power emanating from the saint in his grave is such that no Jewish or Christian funeral procession can pass the tomb without the coffin being knocked to the ground.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. *A modern view of the saint*

Besides the images of the historical person broadly outlined above from the scanty biographical data, and of the legendary miracle-worker created by popular imagination, there is still a third, which could be described as that of the militant paladin standing up for Islam and the Muslims when and wherever they found themselves hard pressed. In support of this image one can adduce a statement appended to the story of the miraculous deliverance quoted above, to the effect that Shaikh Raslān was an intrepid man, who was not overawed by any number of enemies. His bow weighed no less than 80 *ratl*; he was not one to miss a raid into enemy territory, and as he was animated by a desire to die a martyr he always plunged into the thick of the battle.<sup>45</sup> However, the author of the modern Arabic book referred to several times above takes a different line, basing his case on one of Raslān's sobriquets.

Now the saint is referred to by several sobriquets, the most widely used being *imām al-sālikīn*, 'the cynosure of those who walk in the mystic path'. Furthermore, *al-bāz al-ashhab*, 'the white hunting-falcon', a sobriquet borne by other mystics too. The hunting-falcon that at the sound of the falcon-drum returns to its place on the wrist of the hunter is the symbol of the human soul returning to God when it correctly understands the meaning of Qor'ān 89: 27, 28: "Oh thou trustful soul! Return to thy Lord, approving and approved".<sup>46</sup> The popular interpretation of this sobriquet demonstrates that the symbolic meaning of the term was no longer understood; according to this a pious man had reserved the fruits produced by one of the date palms in his garden for the saint and, as the fruits ripened, he would gather them in the shape of a white falcon!<sup>47</sup>

Neither of these sobriquets offers much support for the vision of the

saint as a champion of Islam. In this respect a third sobriquet, viz., *al-wārith al-Muḥammadī fī ʿaṣrihi*, would seem to be more to the purpose. This honorific, meaning ‘Muḥammad’s heir of his century’, has been claimed by, and sometimes conferred upon, others, for by common consent no century would be left without such an eminent figure. This belief has found its expression in a tradition allegedly going back to the caliph ʿUmar, saying, “In my community there will always be a number of people who know the Truth and will come to no harm at the hands of their adversaries till the affair of Allah has come” (*Lā tazālu ṭāʾifa min ummatī zāhirīna ʿalā ʾl-Ḥaqq, lā yaḍurruhum man khālafahum ḥattā yaʿtī amr Allāh*).<sup>48</sup> Here at least the aspect of unassailability, and therefore the protective function of this ‘heir of the Prophet’, is brought out.

This function can be clearly identified in the fourth sobriquet given to Raslān, namely, *Ḥāmī al-barr wa ʾl-Shaʾm*, ‘Guardian of the area and city of Damascus’, a name which of course is most apposite to the patron-saint of this town. But curiously enough the author of *al-Shaikh Arslān al-Dimashqī* offers a historical explanation for this title, attributing it to Raslān’s exploits in the defence of Damascus against the Crusaders. He begins this with an extensive survey of the incursions of the Crusaders into Syria up to the time of Nūr al-Dīn,<sup>49</sup> and of the twofold function of the *ribāṭ*, i.e., the Muslim convents, which originally were military posts garrisoned by a floating number of ‘fighters in the way of God’ who had set themselves the task of safeguarding the frontiers of the *dār al-Islām* against enemy attacks.<sup>50</sup> Raslān’s abode outside the Thomas Gate would have been such a *ribāṭ*, the occupants of which had the task of guarding Damascus, in particular at night after the gate had been closed.

As we have said, tradition has it that Raslān, after having been called to the spiritual life, eventually took up his abode outside the Thomas Gate; not, however, in a *ribāṭ* but in a mosque built in commemoration of Khālīd b. al-Walīd and the Muslim conquest of the town. There is no mention of a *ribāṭ* in any of the stories about him, nor is there in Elisséeff’s enumeration of the *ribāṭ* found in Damascus before and during the time of Nūr al-Dīn.<sup>51</sup> But the reasons for representing Raslān as living in a *ribāṭ* seem obvious. Transformed into a gallant champion of Islam in the turbulent times of the crusades, the godly sawyer could be included in the galaxy of militant Damascus celebrities; a galaxy ending, according to the author, with Shaikh Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasanī, the prominent traditionist who in 1915 concluded

a pact with Faīṣal the future king of Iraq in connection with the organizing of the revolt against the Turks.<sup>52</sup> This permits a present-day resident of Damascus, even if sceptical of miracle-working saints of the remote past, to venerate the patron-saint of his native town. Only I cannot help feeling that this notion of Raslān's personality falls short of the original; I can hardly believe that the humble and to my mind rather quietistic author of the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* would have recognized himself in it. But it is a consequence of the widespread romantic vision of the past, which more often than not is a concomitant of the inadequacy of the present. Rather than attempt to analyse and understand past achievements one tends to aggrandize and glorify them, as a counter to the decline of later periods. To quote W. Cantwell Smith: "The more acutely is felt the inadequacy of one's present, the more one insists on the splendour of one's past. In the Muslim case, the crucially important religious factor is added. For those dubious of Islam as a sufficient or effective ideal today of the good life in community, the endeavour is pushed hard to show that in the past it was spectacularly so. The more insecure one's faith, the more imperious the drive to argue for this. It becomes seemingly indispensable to one's relation both to the modern world and to eternal destiny that this conclusion be maintained . . ." <sup>53a</sup>

With regard to this our author's concluding remarks (pp. 105-106) offer illuminating reading:

"Looking cursorily at the warlike events in Syria during the fifth and sixth century we catch a glimpse of the actions Shaikh Raslān has been engaged in: at an early age at Qal<sup>c</sup>at Ja<sup>c</sup>bar; in later life while a student with Abū <sup>c</sup>Āmir al-Mu'addib, and finally as head of the shaikhs of Damascus. From this particular aspect, namely his warlike activities... we can understand the reason why the Syrians in general and the people of Damascus in particular, when the occasion arises, run into the streets shouting at the top of their voices "Shaikh Raslān! Oh Shaikh Raslān! Guardian of the area and the city of Damascus!", in order to demonstrate against colonialism and imperialist oppressors. There was hardly a person who did not hear his name shouted at demonstrations, though he may not have been acquainted with it from history; there can hardly be anyone who did not fall under the spell of the words "guardian of the area and city of Damascus", so that the feeling of solidarity was strengthened, that is, solidarity in the struggle against the usurpers. And indeed! Learning from history about the achievements of this great man, we find that the events in Syria made

him into a man carrying the Qor'ān and the Sunna in one hand and a sword in the other. This sword he handled with consummate mastery, for defence and protection, in both military and spiritual warfare, until the achievement of the purge he was hoping for; this was the purge of the region hallowed by God most high, a region which was referred to in several traditions of the Prophet attesting to its holiness in a way unparalleled by any other town or region of border-land . . . <sup>53b</sup>

And which of us is not imbued with the feeling that the exalted Qor'ān filled Shaikh Raslān's heart with so strong a faith that his relationship with his Lord was superior to any other attachment and his love of Him was unrivalled by any other. It was to be expected of a valiant hero such as Shaikh Raslān that he would combat God's enemies for the sake of God, not from interested motives; for the sake of the hereafter; not for the sake of this world, to pillage the land and enslave the inhabitants . . .

So let those who barter this present life for the hereafter, fight in the way of God; upon whomsoever fights in the way of God and is killed or overcomes, We shall in the end bestow a mighty hire" (Qor'ān 4: 74; Bell's translation).

##### 5. *His personality after his teachings*

So much for this modern view of Shaikh Raslān. But, finally, what impression of his personality do we gain from the teachings and admonitions laid down in his *Risāla*, for when all is said and done, this small tract constitutes almost the only authoritative source of information. He is said to have written poetry too, and indeed Ahlwardt mentions a *takhmīs* <sup>54</sup> on a *qaṣīda* of his by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, or, according to others, by Abū Madyan, the renowned *ṣūfī* of Tlemcen. <sup>55</sup> But the modern author quoted above has confined himself to printing the following eight lines of poetry:

*Yā man 'alā fa-ra'ā mā fī 'l-ghuyūbi wa-mā  
taḥta 'l-tharā wa-ḡalāmi 'l-laili munsadila  
anta 'l-ghiyāthu li-man ḡāqat madhāhibuhu  
anta 'l-dalīlu li-man ḡārat bi-hi 'l-ḡiyālu  
innā qaṣadnāka wa 'l-āmālu wāthiqatu  
wa 'l-kullu yad'ūka malhūfun wa-mubtahilu  
fa-in 'aḡawta fa-dhū ḡāḡlin wa-dhū karami  
wa-in saḡawta fa-anta 'l-ḡākimu 'l-'adlu. <sup>56</sup>*

‘Thou, oh Exalted One, Who seest what is hidden and what is submerged below the earth and the darkness of the night.  
 Thou art the Help of all those in straitened circumstances and the Guide of those bewildered by tricks.  
 We strive after Thee with firm hope.  
 All those in distress call upon Thee in humble prayer.  
 When Thou forgivest, it is because Thou art merciful and generous, and when Thou stretchest forth Thine hand (to seize), it is because Thou art a righteous judge.’

Furthermore, Raslān has a number of *shadharāt*, ‘stray utterances’, to his name, some of them of a mystical, others of an ethical character. To quote a few by way of illustration <sup>57</sup>:

*Law ihtaḡaba ʿannī ṭarfata ʿain, la-taqatṭa ʿtu min alam al-bain.*  
 ‘Should He conceal Himself from me for a single moment, my heart would be rent by the anguish of separation.’

*Idhā qadirta ʿalā ʿaduwwika fa-ʿal al-ʿafw shukran li-qudratika ʿalaihi.*

‘When you have got the upper hand of your enemy, forgive him in gratitude for your having triumphed over him.’

*Al-karīm man ihtaḡama al-adhā fa-lam yashku ʿinda al-balwā.*

‘Patience in distress and refraining from complaints in misfortune characterize the honourable man.’

*Sabab al-ghaḡab hujūm mā takrahuhu al-naḡs mimmā huwa dūnahā, wa-sabab al-ḡuzn hujūm mā takrahuhu al-naḡs mimmā huwa faḡqahā. Fa ʿl-ghaḡab yataḡarraku min bāḡin al-insān ilā ḡāhirihi, wa ʿl-ḡuzn yataḡarraku min ḡāhir al-insān ilā bāḡinihi. Fa ʿl-ḡādith ʿani ʿl-ghaḡab al-saḡwa wa ʿl-intiqām, wa ʿl-ḡādith ʿani ʿl-ḡuzn al-maraḡ wa ʿl-asqām.*

‘Anger is caused by a fit of displeasure at something beneath oneself; grief is caused by a fit of displeasure at something above oneself. Anger proceeds from the inner self to the outward; grief proceeds from the outward self to the inward. From anger spring aggression and lust of revenge; from grief spring malady and ill-health.’

*Al-ḡidda miḡṭāḡ kull sharr wa ʿl-ghaḡab yuḡīmuka fī maḡām dhull al-iʿtidhār.*

‘Vehemence opens the door to all evil and anger lands one in the humiliating position of having to apologize.’

*Makārim al-akhlāq al-afw ʿinda ʾl-qudra wa ʾl-tawāḍuʿ fī ʾl-dhillā wa ʾl-ʿaṭāʾ bi-ghair minna.*

‘To forgive when one is in a dominant position, to be humble when in a low station, and to grant without obligation are commendable qualities.’

The above quotations suffice to show that the contents of both the poem and the ‘stray utterances’ are of little consequence in ascertaining the distinctive traits of Raslān’s ideas and personality. For information on these one has to resort to his *Risāla*, a pamphlet which despite its small size leaves the reader in no doubt about the guiding principle of his religious life and moral action. To put it briefly: Far from being primarily concerned with the holy war against the infidels — which, after all, is only the ‘little *jihād*’ — he impresses one as being concerned first and foremost with the ‘big *jihād*’ (*al-jihād al-akbar*), i.e., the fight against self, in the fullest sense of the word. The opening line of the *Risāla* is, so to speak, the text of a sermon on the subject: *Kulluka shirk, wa-mā yabīnu la-ka tawḥīduka illā idhā kharajta ʿan-ka*, ‘You are entirely polytheism, and your *tawḥīd* will not be manifest unless you have renounced self.’

The purpose of the *Risāla*, then, is to show the way to this *tawḥīd*, to be understood here not in its usual dogmatic meaning but in its mystical connotation indicative of the experience of union with God through absolute trust in Him and surrender to His will. Later on in the *Risāla* the word occurs only a few times; even so, the title of the tract, *Risāla fī ʾl-tawḥīd*, is fully justified, as *tawḥīd*, in the last named sense, is the end in view and the ideal that underlies the penetrating exposition of the various forms in which subtle polytheism tends to crop up over and over again. What matters is not in fact primarily the right conception of the doctrine of God’s unity and uniqueness, which would be diminished by hidden polytheism. The point is that it is only by getting rid of the latter that the way is cleared to achieving absolute trust in God and, consequently, the real experience of God’s uniqueness.

So there is a close relationship between *tawḥīd* and *tawakkul*, ‘absolute trust in God’. The latter is, in the words of Reinert, “a sort of active monotheism, monotheism ranking as the chief commandment of practical *tawakkul* and actually involving all of its characteristic features”.<sup>58</sup>

It may be mentioned that al-Ghazālī deals with both concepts in one Book of the *Iḥyā'*, entitled *Kitāb al-tawḥīd wa 'l-tawakkul* (Book 35).

After *taṣawwuf* had been recognized as being an integral part of the religious sciences (<sup>c</sup>*Ulūm al-dīn*), the various connotations of the term *tawḥīd* were put into a systematic order. Al-Ghazālī, enumerating these in the beginning of his Book 35, compares *tawḥīd* with a nut having a husk, a shell and a kernel containing oil. This same comparison is found in Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary on the *Risāla* and in Kemas Fakhruddin's adaptation of it. Elaborating this metaphor, al-Ghazālī distinguishes four shades of meaning:

1. The words 'There is no God but God' can be pronounced without having anything to do with the speaker's heart or intellect, and may even be uttered hypocritically.

2. One puts the same faith in these words whether, as an ordinary believer, one merely accepts their purport and holds oneself committed to it, or whether one is able to substantiate them through reasoning, as people well-grounded in dogmatics can do.

4. By the light of truth cast into the heart one understands these words in such a way that at any moment one sees God as the fountainhead of all things created. This vision is peculiar to the *muqarrabūn*, 'those brought near (to God)'.

4. One beholds the unity of all being (*lā yarā fī 'l-wujūd illā wāḥid*). In this sense *tawḥīd* is understood by the *ṣiddīqūn*, 'the upright', who in Qor'ān 4: 69 are ranged between the Prophets and the martyrs. In this case, al-Ghazālī goes on to say, the mystics speak of *al-fanā' fī 'l-tawḥīd*, that is to say, the passing away of the individual self into the Universal Being through complete abnegation of self, since 'uniqueness' and 'self-assertation' are mutually exclusive.

The opposite of *tawḥīd* is *shirk*, 'the attributing of co-partners to God', polytheism. In the Qor'ān this word occurs repeatedly to denote belief in a plurality of gods, time and again denounced by the Prophet with unflagging zeal. It is the only unforgivable sin, entailing eternal punishment; therefore, to stand accused of it is a very serious matter. This notwithstanding, in the conflicts of opinion within the Muslim community certain groups did not refrain from imputing *shirk* and *kufṛ* to others. Views on the relationship between God's Essence and His attributes not fitting in with their own views were declared by the Mu<sup>c</sup>tazilites to be *shirk*. Those committing grave sins, and certainly indeed those making a practice of doing so were considered *mushrikūn* by the extreme Kharijites. A more recent example are the Wahhabites;

in their judgment all sorts of practices and beliefs that have crept into Islam and adulterated its pristine purity such as the worship of saints, pilgrimages to their graves and trust in their intercession with God, have to be regarded as *shirk*. As Bernard Lewis (*Islam in History*, p. 232) remarks, "In theological circles . . . charges of unbelief were readily bandied about, and the word *kāfir* was part of the small change of religious polemic". As recently as the early thirties of this century the accusation of being *kāfir* was still launched in the controversies between traditionalists and reformists in Indonesia (Deliar Noer, *The Modernist Movement in Indonesia 1900-1942*, O.U.P., 1973, p. 234).

The profession of God's unity and uniqueness has its consequences with regard to man's behaviour. Not only should he always acquiesce in and be satisfied with God's will, he should also be clear of believing in any beside God in all his works.<sup>59</sup> But owing to man's being entangled in his worldly interests and ensnared by his desires, hardly any of his actions and devotions is free from considerations of direct interest, so that they do not come within the definition of *ikhhlās* (Qor'ān ch. 112) anymore; he has lapsed into *shirk*.<sup>60</sup> And that because he belongs to the category of people who "have taken as their god their own desire" (*ittakhadha ilāhahu hawāhu*, Qor'ān 25: 43; 45: 23). Tradition will have it that the Prophet, when asked about the possibility of a relapse of his community into polytheism after his death, had answered that people would not venerate the sun, the moon or idols anymore but would do good out of *riyā'*; that was the kind of polytheism he foresaw. This kind of polytheism is called *al-shirk al-aṣghar*, 'slighter (petty) polytheism'. By extension a number of moral defects such as pride, conceit and hypocrisy, were also subsumed under this head.<sup>61</sup>

However, the subject of Raslān's Epistle is a far more subtle kind of *shirk*, denoted accordingly by the name *shirk laṭīf*, 'subtle polytheism', or *shirk khafī*, 'hidden polytheism'.

Reinert (*op. cit.*, p. 55) assumes that the term *shirk laṭīf* was coined by al-Junaid of Baghdād (d. 297 or 298/910 or 911). Be this as it may, it is a fact that several mystics of the 4th/10th century are familiar with the notion, such as al-Niffarī (d. 354/965),<sup>62</sup> al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988),<sup>63</sup> and Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996),<sup>64</sup> whereas earlier al-Tirmidhī (d. 285/898 ?), a contemporary of al-Junaid, discussing this imperfection had said that it resembles polytheism without actually being polytheism.<sup>65</sup> Apparently al-Junaid's definition of it was not yet common knowledge at the time. Tradition will have it that the Prophet himself had pronounced upon hidden polytheism by saying, "The polytheism

of my community is more obscure than the scabble of an ant on a black rock in a pitch-dark night”,<sup>66</sup> but this is clearly an attempt at divesting the idea of its novelty.

From Hamzah al-Fansuri’s *Asrār al-ʿarīfīn* it is apparent that this Sumatran mystic was cognizant of the term *shirk khafī* and its connotation, so that these were already known in Indonesia at least two centuries before our Palembang writers elaborated on it. Commenting on al-Junaid’s words, “*Wujūduka dhanb lā yuqāsu bi-hi dhanb*”, ‘Your being is a sin beyond compare’, Hamzah observes, “*Adamu nin dosa tiada dosa sebagainya, karena kepada ahl al-suluk wujud wahminya itu shirk khafī*”, ‘This being of yours is a sin beyond compare, as to fancy oneself being is hidden polytheism in the opinion of the mystics’.<sup>67</sup>

By this terse definition Hamzah means that by putting one’s trust in self or in other persons without being mindful of their nullity before God, one gives evidence of faltering trust in God and, therefore, detracts from His uniqueness and supremacy, which is tantamount to the deadly and unforgivable sin of *shirk*.

Al-Junaid is more explicit. Says al-Junaid, “When *tawhīd* becomes perfect, love of God and trust in Him (*tawakkul*) also become perfect, and this *tawhīd* is the speech of the heart. When the heart has accepted *tawhīd* and behaves accordingly, the *tawhīd* is perfect... (On the other hand), when, acknowledging that God is the only Agent, one stands in fear of or in hope for anyone (or anything) save God, one’s behaviour is not as it should be. When one acts according to one’s confession, one does not hope for anyone save God, acknowledging that He is the only Agent. But sometimes the heart is troubled by temptations which impair the *tawhīd*; temptations consisting of the illusion that there are agents besides God.”<sup>68</sup>

To give an idea of the way in which Raslān handles the notions of *tawhīd* and hidden polytheism I will translate here the first part of the *Risāla*, not including any of the extensive comments by others.

“You are entirely polytheism and your *tawhīd* will not be manifest unless you have renounced self. Whenever you worship sincerely, it will be disclosed to you that He is and you are not; therefore, take refuge from your self. Whenever you desecrate a trace of self, you are guilty of *shirk* and should renew your profession of His uniqueness and your faith at every moment and time; whenever you get rid of things created, your faith will increase, and whenever you get rid of self, your conviction will be confirmed.

Oh captive of passions and of worship! Oh captive of stations and of visions! You are deluded! You are occupied with self, not with Him. In what respect are you occupied with Him, not with self, while He, the mighty and great, is omnipresent and all-seeing, and is with you wherever you are in this world and the next? If you are with Him, He screens you from self, and if you are with self, He brings you under bondage.

Faith is your turning away from things created and certainty is your turning away from self. When your faith increases you will move from state to state, and when your conviction becomes strong you will move from station to station (on the mystic path).

When you come under the head '*sharīʿa*' (Law) you strive after Him for your own sake, but '*ḥaqīqa*' (reality) with regard to Him is that you strive after Him through Him for His sake, irrespective of time and place. The Law knows of provisions and aspects, whereas '*ḥaqīqa*' does not. He blesses those who are at the stage of nothing-but-*sharīʿa* with exertion, and those at the stage of '*ḥaqīqa*' with favour. And what a difference between exertion and favour! Anyone at the station of exertion (still) has being (of his own); anyone at the station of grace has got rid of it.

Works depend on the Law; trust in God depends on faith, and *tawḥīd* depends on disclosure.

Man is confused in mind with regard to God most high owing to reasoning, and with regard to the world to come on account of his passions. When you strive after God with the aid of reason you are on the wrong track, and when you aspire to the other world although yielding to your passions you have gone astray.

The right believer sees by the light of God and the mystic sees Him through Him.

(God says,) "So long as you hold to self and are not immersed in Us, We command you; when you have passed away from self, We rule you". But He does not rule them until they have passed away from self. So long as your self remains, you are a seeker, but when He has made you pass away from self, you are sought after. Permanent certainty means freedom from self and existence through Him. What a difference there is between that which is done by His order and that which is done through Him! If you are put to His service, all means (of livelihood) are at your disposal, and when you are with Him, all that exists will be subservient to you. The first station is patient accept-

ance of God's will; the middlemost is satisfaction with it; the last is the identification of oneself with it."

So much for the *Risāla*. I think it gives a picture of Raslān quite different from that given by his legendary biographies as well as by the modern author mentioned before. In much the same way by reading the sermons of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jilānī one gets a notion of this saint that is considerably different from the traditional one.<sup>69</sup> As it appears to me, the notion of Raslān's personality afforded by the *Risāla* is in harmony with the simple and retiring way of life unanimously referred to by the sources.

There would seem to be no reason for precluding the possibility that at some time or other Raslān joined in the fight against the Crusaders. Warrior-saints are no unknown quantities in the history of Islam. But whatever his military exploits may have been, a wider range of effect has been achieved and a more potent influence has been exercised by the *Risāla* within the Muslim community itself. Evidence of this wide range and this influence is found in the commentaries on it by various scholars down the centuries; and in its spread through Indonesia, where until the end of the last century it was assiduously studied, and where it has not sunk into oblivion even nowadays.

## CHAPTER II

### THE COMMENTATOR, ZAKARIYYĀ' AL-ANSĀRĪ, a "Pillar of Fiqh and Tasawwuf"

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī is a name one often comes across in Indonesian religious literature. To anyone conversant with the development of Shāfi'ī jurisprudence this name has a familiar ring. The scholar known by it died a centenarian in Cairo in 1520. He is held in high esteem among religious scholars of the Shāfi'ī school of law and is, in fact, referred to by the honorary title of *Shaikh al-Islām*.

The principal ground for this high esteem is his authorship of the *Manhaj al-tullāb* ('The Way of the Students') and his commentary on this book, the *Faḥ al-Wahhāb* ('The help of the Bountiful'). These books have spread far and wide, reaching the peripheral areas of Islam, as has, indeed, the work on which they are based, Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *Minhāj al-ṭālibin* ('The way of the students'). To ascertain their popularity in Indonesia, for instance, one has only to skim through Van Ronkel's Supplementary Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Jakarta library, where numerous copies, originating from various regions of Indonesia and with or without commentaries and glosses are registered.

This popularity is easily understandable, for what is offered in this concise adaptation of the *Minhāj* is the same subject-matter as that dealt with by al-Rāfi'ī (d. 623/1226) in his *Muḥarrar*, which book goes back, via al-Ghazālī's triad of *fiqh*-books, to the *Imām al-Ḥaramain* al-Juwainī (d. 478/1085). Al-Juwainī, the famous professor of Shāfi'ī Law at the *madrasa Niẓāmiyya* in Nisābūr, was al-Ghazālī's teacher.

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's fame as an outstanding Shāfi'ī jurist is buttressed by a further book on *fiqh*, the revised text (*taḥrīr*) of Abū Zur'ā al-'Irāqī's (d. 826/1423) abridgement (*tanqīd*) of the *Lubāb fī 'l-fiqh* ('The Quintessence of Jurisprudence') by al-Maḥāmīlī (d. 415/1024), one of the less prominent jurists of Baghdād.<sup>1</sup> This adaptation, called *Taḥrīr al-tanqīd* ('Revised abridgement'), was the

subject of a commentary by him, the *Tuḥfat al-ṭullāb* ('The Gift offered to the Students'), a book that was widely used in Indonesia,<sup>2</sup> both in its original form and in commentaries by others.

An additional third work on *fiqh* from his pen worthy of mention is his *Lubb al-uṣūl* ('The Kernel of the science of the roots'),<sup>3</sup> which, as indicated by the title, deals with the 'roots' or theoretical bases of Islamic Law. This work is an epitome of al-Subkī's *Jam' al-jawāmi'* ('Summary of summaries'), the well-known text that still ranks among the standard works on Islamic Law and as such has been printed in the *Majmū' muhimāt al-mutūn* ('Collection of important texts'),<sup>4</sup> which has been republished several times in Cairo. A versified version of the *Lubb* by Aḥmad al-Maghribī is preserved in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta.

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's fame in Indonesia and Malaya is also apparent from the fact that he is frequently mentioned by Malay writers as one of their sources. He is quoted, for instance, by Nūr al-dīn al-Rānīrī (first half of the seventeenth century); the Achehnese 'Abd al-Ra'uf (latter part of the seventeenth century); the Palembang writers Shihabuddin and Kemas Fakhruddin (mid-18th century); Muhammad Irshad b. 'Abdallah al-Bukhari from Banjar (latter part of the eighteenth century), and Da'ud b. 'Abdallah from Patani (first half of the nineteenth century).<sup>5</sup> His activities were not, however, confined to the domain of jurisprudence. On the contrary; an examination of the titles of the 52 writings listed under his name in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Vol. II: 99-100, S. II: 117-18) discloses that he concerned himself with many subjects in the field of divinity and its ancillary sciences. Here one finds mentioned about thirty epitomes, commentaries and glossed texts dealing with widely divergent subjects, such as logic, grammar, philology, scientific terminology, rhetoric, prosody, Qor'ān exegesis, Holy Tradition, the life of the Prophet, jurisprudence (including separate works on the 'roots' of the Law and the law of succession), dogma and mysticism. These subjects are treated also in a great many of his original writings, as far as can be gathered from their titles — which are not always clear —; but he has also dealt with the *qāḍī*-ship and the Friday sermon.

There would be little sense in enumerating the titles of all these writings, so I shall confine myself to mentioning a few of them as representative samples of the scholarly works in question. Naturally the books commented upon are first of all the classical standard works such as Baiḍāwī's Commentary on the Qor'ān, the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Būkhārī,

Nawawī's *Minhāj al-ṭālibīn*, and al-Qushairī's *Risāla fī 'l-taṣawwuf*. But besides these, no less than eight of his writings are concerned with works which have held their position through the ages as indispensable textbooks and on account of their pre-eminence have been included in the above-mentioned *Majmū' muhimmāt al-mutūn*, namely:

1. the *Burda* of al-Būṣīrī, the famous poem in praise of the Prophet;
2. al-Subkī's *Jam' al-jawāmi'*, which deals with the 'roots' of the Law;
3. the *Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya*, a didactic poem on succession;
4. Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, the well-known Arabic grammar;
5. al-Abhari's adaptation of Porphyry's *Isagoge*;
6. al-Qazwīnī's *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ*, a treatise on rhetoric;
7. *al-Qaṣīda al-Khazrajiyya*, a didactic poem on prosody;
8. al-Jazarī's didactic poem on *tajwīd*, the correct modulation (in particular when reciting the Qor'ān).

Apart from his adaptations of the *Minhāj* and the *Lubāb*, both of them books that were much used by Indonesian students in Arabia, a number of other works have become known in Indonesia as well. Among the MSS. from Indonesia we find copies of his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī; on Abhari's adaptation of the *Isagoge*; on al-Jazarī's poem on *tajwīd*; on the *Qaṣīda al-munfarija*, the well-known poem with apotropaic effect, the authorship of which is sometimes attributed to al-Ghazālī; and on Shaikh Raslān al-Dimashqī's *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd*. Furthermore, his *Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya*, a short exposition of mysticism, was held in high repute.

So what with his renown as an expert at Islamic Law and his fame as a writer on *taṣawwuf* his name was widely known in the Archipelago. Little wonder then that *ad maiorem gloriam* of Sunan Gunung Jati, the great saint of W. Java, the author of the *Sajarah Banten Ranté-ranté* made him a fellow-student (*récang sapaguron*) of the famous Zakariyyā' (J. Edel, *Hik. Hasanoeddin*, thesis Utrecht 1938, p. 137, where mistakenly 'al-Antari' instead of 'al-Ansari').

Who, now, is this Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, the author of all these textbooks? I shall give an outline of his personality as recorded in the tradition; we are fortunate in having at our disposal a number of biographical and historical works by contemporaries of his in which he occupies a place in the ranks of the most prominent persons of the ninth century of the Muslim era, which ended in A.D. 1494.

He outlived two of these contemporaries, *viz.* the pretentious and prolific writer al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) <sup>6</sup> and his rival al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497),<sup>7</sup> who accused each other of plagiarism.<sup>8</sup> Their reports on Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's life and activities are rather short, possibly because he was still alive at the time they were written. A third writer, the historian Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524),<sup>9</sup> furnishes more particulars, but the most detailed account is given by his pupil and confidant al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī (d. 973/1565).<sup>10</sup>

A translation of al-Suyūṭī's book was edited in 1927 by Ph. K. Hitti under the modern title of *Who's who in the fifteenth century*. Here (p. 113) one reads that Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī was born about 824/1420, in Sunaika, in the Egyptian province of Sharqiyya, as we are informed elsewhere — hence his surname al-Sunaikī. His teachers included al-Qāyātī, Ibn Ḥajar al-<sup>c</sup>Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Munāwī (d. 871/1466). It furthermore gives the information that he was an adept of mysticism and makes some mention of his salient qualities, his functions as a *qāḍī* and professor, and, in conclusion, of some of his writings, such as his commentaries on the *Rawḍ al-tālib fī 'l-fiqh* of al-Muqri' (d. 837/1433) <sup>11</sup> and the *Bahja al-wardiyya* of Zain al-Dīn b. al-Wardī (d. 749/1349),<sup>12</sup> both of them works on *fiqh*, and on the *Tabṣira* — also called *Alfiyya* — of al-<sup>c</sup>Irāqī (d. 806/1403),<sup>13</sup> a poetry version of al-Shahrazūri's widely used introduction to the study of *ḥadīth*.<sup>14</sup>

Al-Sakhāwī gives more particulars on his youth and student years, including comprehensive information on his teachers and the books he studied with them. He further mentions his pilgrimage to Mecca, his qualities which helped him to obtain the qualification to teach (*ijāza*) from many of his teachers, and a number of his writings. The latter include a commentary on the poems of the mystical poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1234-'35). He also informs us that Zakariyyā' spoke appreciatively of Ibn <sup>c</sup>Arabī, though not without criticizing him in certain respects.

Ibn Iyās tells us that Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī held the office of Shāfi<sup>c</sup>ī *qāḍī* for a period of twenty years during the rule of Qā'it Bey (1468-1495), and that all in all he was active as a teacher and a *muftī* for eighty years. After the death of Qā'it Bey he lived to see the ephemeral reigns of the five Mamlūk Sultans in the turbulent period from 1495-1517, when Egypt was eventually conquered by the Turkish Sultan Selim I. Of the several professorships successively held by him only those at the *madrasa* of the mausoleum of al-Shāfi<sup>c</sup>ī and, at the end

of his life, at the *madrasa Jamāliyya* are mentioned. No titles of books are given.

The article on Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī in al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī's *Lawāqih*, a book on prominent mystics from the very beginning of Islam up till the writer's own age, was apparently written by a man who had an intimate knowledge of the person in question. He starts by declaring that he served this "pillar of the *fiqh* and the *taṣawwuf*" for a period of twenty years and never saw him inattentive or occupied with anything nugatory. In spite of his advanced age he used to perform even the supererogatory *rak<sup>c</sup>as* of the obligatory ritual prayers in an upright posture (*qiyām*),<sup>15</sup> for, said he, "I do not want to accustom myself to laziness". When a person was long in speaking, he said, "You are wasting our time". Whenever I corrected a word I had read amiss while reading a text-book under his guidance, I heard him muttering under his breath, "Allāh! Allāh!", and his attention did not flag until I had ended my reading.

He goes on to say:

"I always took my meals together with him; he never ate bread other than that provided by the convent *Dār sa<sup>c</sup>īd al-su<sup>c</sup>adā'*, for he said, "The founder of this *waqf* was a pious ruler,<sup>16</sup> who gave effect to an admonition of the Prophet".<sup>17</sup>

He wrote excellent books which have spread throughout the world. After I had read his commentary on al-Qushairī's *Risāla* he told me to memorize the *Rawḍ*<sup>18</sup>; the *Minhāj* I had already memorized before. I showed him the book, saying, "It is quite a volume", but his answer was, "Make a start and trust in God. Anyone who exerts himself will reap the benefit of his effort". So I memorized the book till the chapter on the office of the *qāḍī*; then I fell ill with dysentery owing to my excessive concentration on memorizing. Thereupon he told me to stop it.

Furthermore, I studied his commentary on the *Rawḍ* till the chapter on Holy War, and Baiḍāwī's commentary on the Qor'<sup>ān</sup> together with his glosses and those of al-Ṭībī (d. 743/1342), al-Taftazānī (d. 792/1389), and al-Sayyid (probably Yaḥyā b. Qāsim al-<sup>c</sup>Alawī; d. 750/1349); the glosses of al-Suyūṭī on the *Kashshāf*<sup>19</sup> of Zamakhsharī (d. 533/1144); his own commentary on his *Ādāb al-baḥth*, and his glosses on al-Subkī's *Jam<sup>c</sup> al-jawāmi<sup>c</sup>*. When he was engaged in writing his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, I had to consult various commentaries on this work, *e.g.*, those of Ibn Ḥajar, al-Kirmānī and al-<sup>c</sup>Ainī".

After this display of his own learning, reverting to his master he says: "When I sat down with him it was as if I had intercourse with the

spiritual upper ten of the world. The most famous *muftī* of Egypt was as a child before him, and likewise the highest emir. His quick-sightedness was amazing; scarcely had a thought entered my mind when he said, "Tell me! What is the matter?" interrupting his writing till I had spoken. Whenever I was troubled with a headache owing to my intense study he used to say, "Declare your intention of being cured by learning". I did, and my headache passed off straight away".

In connection with this al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī relates some further particulars about his master's life as communicated to him by Zakariyyā' himself; it is Zakariyyā' who is speaking in this passage.

"Already at an early age I was attracted by mysticism. At that time books on this subject were my favourite reading and I was greatly preoccupied with studying the experiences of the mystics, so that people used to say, "With respect to the study of law nothing is to be expected of him". When, however, I had completed my commentary on the *Bahja*,<sup>20</sup> some of my contemporaries were surprised, and they wrote on a copy of it: "A book by a blind man and a sighted one", a witticism referring to the fact that my collaborator was blind. I wrote this book on the roof of al-Azhar, busying myself with it on Mondays and Thursdays until it was finished.

My prayers have always been heard; I have never prayed for anybody without good results. Some of the brethren advised me to use the *fiqh* for a cloak, saying, "Dissemble your mystical life; this is not the time for mysticism". Therefore, up to the present I have seldom given hint of my mystical experiences".

One day, al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī goes on to say, he told me the story of his life from his coming to Cairo onwards, saying, "I am going to tell you my life-story from the beginning up till now, so that you know it as if you had witnessed it from my youth up.

I hail from the country and came to town a youth. I did not join anybody in particular nor did I attach myself to anybody. Many a time I went hungry in the mosque — the lodging-place of the homeless; then, at night, I went in search of rinds of the watermelon and suchlike leavings that are to be found near a wash-place. I washed these and ate them. Then the Lord sent me somebody who was employed in the mills. This man came to me and bought me everything I needed in the way of clothes and books. He said to me, "Never ask anyone; I shall bring you everything you need". This went on for years. One night he came to me and told me to rise. He made me climb to the top of a ladder and said, "You will outlive all your contemporaries and rise

higher than any scholar in Egypt; people bearing the title of *shaikh al-Islām* will come to see you in your blindness". I said, "Is there no escape from blindness?", but the answer was, "No, there is not". Thereupon he left me, and from that moment on I was blind.

My situation improved continuously and eventually the Sultan wanted to entrust me with the function of *qāḍī*. I declined this office, but the Sultan said, "If you so prefer, I shall go before you on foot and lead your mule right up to your house". Then I assumed the function and God helped me to discharge it. I myself, however, had a feeling that spiritually I was on the down-grade. I complained of this to one of the brethren but he said, "This is merely gain, for when one fancies one makes progress, one is on the decline, but when the opposite is the case one makes progress". Then I felt at ease again.

He went on to say: No one has borne the brunt of my censure more than Sultan Qā'it Bey. I used to reprehend him in the sermon to such an extent that I thought he would never speak to me again. But hardly had I brought my ritual prayer to a conclusion when he came to me, kissed my hand and said, "May God reward you for it". Those envious of me, however, did not leave off until I had fallen out of favour with him. Even so he always remained correct and never said anything against me.

One day I went to see him and spoke to him severely. He turned pale, but I said, "My lord, I am doing this out of solicitude for you. By God! I would not like your body to become fuel for hell". Then he started trembling like a bird. I used to say to him, "Pray awake to knowledge of yourself! From nothing you were called into being; from a slave you became a free man; from a subordinate a lord; from a lord a prince, and having become a prince you have indulged in pride and forgotten your beginning and your ultimate destiny", and more words of the same tenor.

Shaikh ʿAlī Nabatī, <sup>21</sup> one of the brethren, used to meet al-Khiḍr. One day when they were carrying on a confidential conversation, he asked al-Khiḍr, "What do you think of Shaikh Yaḥyā al-Munāwī?" Al-Khiḍr answered, "I find no fault with him". Shaikh ʿAlī went on to ask, "And Mr So and So, and Mr So and So, and Shaikh Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī?" The answer was, "Neither with him, only that he has one peculiarity". When my brother ʿAlī told me this, I was rather upset, as I did not know what al-Khiḍr had meant. So I requested Shaikh ʿAlī to ask al-Khiḍr for an explanation at their next meeting.

They did not meet again until nine months later; then al-Khiḍr

explained, "Whenever Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī sends a pupil or a messenger to one of the emirs, he bids him to say, "Shaikh Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī says this and that", using the word 'shaikh'". When Shaikh ʿAlī reported this to me, it was as if a heavy burden was removed from my shoulders. Henceforth I said to the messengers I sent to an emir or a vizir, "Tell the emir or the vizir: Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, the servant of the poor, says this and that".

Once he told me the following story. In the last decade of Ramaḍān I was performing *iʿtikāf* (the religious observance of seclusion) on the roof of al-Azhar when a Syrian merchant came to me and said, "I am smitten with blindness, and now people have referred me to you that you may pray to God asking for the restoration of my eyesight". Now I had a hunch that my prayer would be heard; so I prayed to God that He would restore his eyesight. My prayer was heard, but the recovery would not set in until ten days later. Hence I said to the merchant, "Your wish has been granted, but leave the country". He answered, "What is wrong with staying on a couple of days?" I replied, "If you wish God to restore your eyesight, then leave now"; lest his sight be restored in Cairo and he make my name known. He left town with a caravan and God restored his sight in Ghazza. From there he wrote me a letter in his own hand, to which I answered saying, "If you return to Cairo, you will go blind again". — In full possession of his eyesight he lived in Jerusalem till the end of his days. —

Al-Shaʿrānī goes on to relate that he was initiated into mysticism, invested with the *khirqā* (the garb of the Ṣūfī) and taught the *dhikr* of Muḥammad al-Ghamrī<sup>22</sup> of Maḥallat al-kubrā by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī. Muḥammad al-Ghamrī (d. 849/1445) was the *ṣūfī* by whom Zakariyyā' himself had been initiated. For this purpose he had travelled to Maḥallat al-kubrā and studied al-Ghamrī's *al-Qawā'id al-ṣūfiyya* under his guidance. The pupils of the shaikh were very pleased at his coming, as he did not refrain from asking questions on theological themes, whereas they themselves were awed into silence out of respect for the shaikh.

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī was lavish with alms. In the whole town of Cairo no one was more charitable than he, even though no one in his entourage knew the amount of his possessions. But he never gave indiscriminately. Once a man came to see him with the complaint that he had been robbed of his turban. Zakariyyā' gave him a copper, whereupon the man became so infuriated that he flung the coin in Zakariyyā's face.

The author winds up his narrative by telling that one day when he was studying his master's commentary on Būkhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, he was told to stop and describe the contents of his previous night's dream. He had dreamt that his master, the Imām al-Shāfi'ī and he himself were on board a ship that was fitted out most luxuriously. The ship cast anchor somewhere in the middle of the sea, near an island where beautiful women were culling flowers of the saffron plant. Zakariyyā' said, "If there is truth in your dream, I shall be buried near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī".

When he died a grave was prepared for him in the cemetery near the Bāb al-Naṣr in the north of the town. Hence some shaikhs observed that al-Sha'ṣṣānī's dream had not come true. However, suddenly the deputy-governor Khair Bek sent word that owing to an infirmity the governor was unable to attend the funeral rites in person, and had ordered them to carry the bier to his palace so that he could perform the *ṣalāt* on behalf of the deceased according to the usage of the true believers. This was done; then the governor gave orders to bury him in Qarāfa, at a short distance outside the Bāb al-Qarāfa, where the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī stands. Here they buried him, near the tomb of Shaikh Najm al-dīn al-Kuyushātī, and opposite the mausoleum of the Imām. This took place in the year 926/1520.

These, then, were al-Sha'ṣṣānī's reminiscences of his master.

Schacht's article on this author in the *E.I.* describes him as a serious, honest and well-grounded scholar, albeit with the addition that he was uncritical and very superstitious (but, one may ask, on which of his contemporaries this judgment would not be passed if we apply 20th century standards?). So we may assume that al-Sha'ṣṣānī has given a picture of his master that is by and large true. He has drawn a veil over his shortcomings, however. For Brockelmann (*G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 99) informs us that Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī was appointed Shāfi'ī chief-justice in 1481 but was dismissed a few years later because he had wrongly certified someone as insane. The man was admitted into a lunatic asylum and died there. If this lapse marked the end of his juridical career, then one may assume that in the last decades of his life he was engaged exclusively in tutorial duties. Probably a good deal of his numerous commentaries and glosses owe their origin to this teaching. The interpretation of a given text studied under his guidance time and again resulted in a new book.

One of these commentaries is the *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, a work that in addition to his manuals of *fiqh*, has made his name known in Indonesia.

It was not only known in Sumatra but also in Java and Sulawesi. Six copies of it are preserved in the Jakarta as well as in the Leiden library. As already mentioned above it is a commentary on the *Risāla fi 'l-tawḥīd* by Walī Raslān, the patron-saint of Damascus. This *Risāla* was also fairly well known in Indonesia in its own right. The Leiden University library has three MSS. which contain parts of it with an interlinear Javanese translation. In the *Handlist* these MSS. are listed as anonymous under the title *Bayān al-sirr*. Raslān lays stress on the point that true *tawḥīd*, *i.e.*, the confession of God's unity and uniqueness, is not attained until one has thoroughly overcome polytheism, whether manifest or subtle and hidden. By the latter is meant the idea of trust in anything other than God as an active factor in any event, be it one's own self (*nafs*) or other persons and things (*al-aghyār*), or secondary causes (*al-asbāb*).

What is the importance of the spread of these works in Indonesia? It shows that besides the schools of mysticism represented by al-Ghazālī (d. 1112), Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240) and his follower ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 1402), al-Shādhilī's pupil Ibn ʿAtā'allāh (d. 1309), and Muḥammad b. Faḍlillāh al-Burhānpūrī (d. 1620), an older current of mysticism, of which al-Junaid is the exponent, also has found its way to the Archipelago.

For the theme of the *Risāla fi 'l-tawḥīd*, *viz.* the subtle or hidden polytheism, is an idea that originated with al-Junaid (died 910), the 'greatest orthodox exponent of the "sober" type of Ṣūfism' (Arberry, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II: 600) and the teacher of al-Hallāj who was executed at Baghdād in 922. Save God nothing can be made the object of hope, fear, desire or trust, as taught in the Qor'ān (Ch. 10: 18), where it says the unbelievers serve apart from Allah what neither injures them nor profits them. This mental attitude is also required by true *tawakkul*, *i.e.*, complete trust in God. Anyone falling short of this stands guilty of hidden polytheism, as his deficiency is a scandalous underestimation of God's *rubūbiyya*, *i.e.*, His supreme authority, and a repudiation of the primordial covenant (*mīthāq*) entered into by mankind with respect to this, according to Qor'ān 7: 172. Any temptation to put one's trust in oneself, other people or secondary causes, should be recognized as founded on a fallacy and be withstood as something involving subtle polytheism. Once man has broken away from self and everything created, then God takes the place of self. The heart becomes His abode and man's will and God's will coincide.

Says al-Junaid, "Man must return to the state of non-being, *i.e.*, the

pre-existent state of the soul at the moment of the covenant, when he confessed that God was his Lord". In short, according to the formula coined by al-Junaid, man's aim must be *ifrād al-qadīm*, that is to say, the isolation or separation of the Absolute from the accidental, or as formulated by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, the separation of the Supreme Reality and the turning away from anything other than He (*ifrād al-Ḥaqq wa 'l-i<sup>c</sup>rād<sup>c</sup> an kull mā siwāhu*). For the vindication of self is an incomparably large sin (*wujūduka dhanb lā yuqāsu bi-hi dhanb*), no less than the first among the mortal sins, namely polytheism.

Al-Junaid's name and some of his famous pronouncements were already known in Indonesia at a much earlier date. He is mentioned by Hamza Fansuri, who was also conversant with the idea of 'subtle polytheism'. In Java too his name as a Ṣūfī master was not unknown, and his famous pronouncements are quoted in Javanese writings as well.

The question that arises is: What circumstances occasioned the rather unexpected interest in this kind of mysticism, so different in character from the doctrine of the seven grades of being which took a good deal of Indonesian Muslims by storm? There is every reason to assume that just as court-sponsored Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī started a campaign against what he considered a heretical conception of the Wujūdiyya doctrine and its pernicious influence on the religious life in 17th century Aceh, so a good century later the Palembang court saw fit to make a stand against the same conceptions and their influence on the religious life of the Palembang Islamic community. This was carried out, however, without the vehemence that marked al-Rānīrī's action, and apparently by making use of spiritual weapons only. A few remarks on the religious situation in Palembang in the latter part of the 18th century would be appropriate here.

In the second half of the 18th century there lived and worked in Arabia a man from Palembang whose works have exercised considerable influence in his native town and elsewhere in Sumatra. While staying in Medina this man, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ṣamad by name, came under the influence of the Ṣūfī teacher Muḥammad b. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Karīm al-Sammān (1132/1719 - 1189/1775), and was received in the *ṭarīqa* founded by him. In his turn he was instrumental in introducing numerous Sumatran pilgrims into the *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya*, so that before long this new fraternity spread all over Sumatra, in particular in Palembang and Aceh. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ṣamad himself composed a *ratib Samman*, a liturgical text for use in *dhikr*-gatherings, and in imitation of Arabic originals two Malay authors in Palembang wrote (legendary) biographies of Muḥammad

Sammān, the founder of the *ṭarīqa*. One of these biographies, composed by Muhammad the son of Shihabuddin, was completed in 1196/1781. From the interest in the life of its founder one may conclude that at that time the new *ṭarīqa* had already spread widely in Palembang.

Now Shihabuddin, the father of this author, also left a number of writings, among them a Malay *Risalah* inspired by the *Risāla* of Shaikh Raslān. This Malay tract (see Ch. V) was composed at a later date than another work of his — a commentary on a dogmatical work — which was completed in 1750. Therefore, the approximate date of the completion of this *Risalah* is not earlier than the 1750's. Shihabuddin's aim was to criticize current excesses in the practice of mysticism. He does not devote a single word to the Sammāniyya and its conspicuous *dhikr*-gatherings; apparently this *ṭarīqa* was still unknown at the time. Just as Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in Aceh more than a century earlier, Shihabuddin stigmatizes the vulgarization and abuse of the doctrines of the Unity of Being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*) and 'the seven grades of being'. The ordinary believer should not be allowed to read books on these difficult subjects, one reason being the lack of competent teachers. Should a sufficient number of good teachers be available, then the ordinary man could be prevented from living in disregard of the religious law and from speaking in a way that is only proper for those advanced on the mystic path. People who are guilty of this are *dajjāls* (anti-Christ) in human shape. They are not conscious of their sin against God, nor are they aware of the fact that it is the devil who induces them to reject the sacred law of the Prophet. Over against these self-styled mystics who do not feel amenable to the religious law, Shihabuddin stresses the unabated validity of the Law, admitting no exceptions, just as it was binding upon the Prophet and the Companions, higher than whom no mystic can ever rise. Quoting the opening words of Raslān's *Risāla*: You are entirely polytheism, Shihabuddin then proceeds to explain what is to be understood by true *tawḥīd*.

It can hardly be doubted that the Palembang court was favourably disposed towards this attempt at curbing the (growing?) disregard of the religious law ensuing from the spread of 'ill-digested' mystical doctrines among the masses. At all events, a renewed attack was launched against this development, which cannot but have been a thorn in the side of the official clergy. A number of years later another Palembang writer, Kemas Fakhruddin, was commissioned to prepare an elaborate adaptation of Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān*. From other

works composed by this Kemas Fakhruddin we know that he was a court-official in the service of the crown-prince, by order of whom he wrote his books and prepared translations from the Arabic.

So it would seem that both Raslān's *Risāla* and Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary on it were used as weapons against the doctrine of the seven grades in a period immediately preceding the introduction of the *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* in Palembang.

CHAPTER III

**KITĀB FATH AL-RAHMĀN \***

**Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary on Raslān's Risāla**

Bismi-'llāh al raḥmān al-raḥīm wa-bi-hi thiqatī, wa-ṣallā Allāh ḥalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ḥalā ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-sallama.

Qāla sayyidunā wa-mawlānā shaikh mashā'ikh al-Islām wa-'l-muslimīn zain al-milla wa-'l-dīn Abū Yaḥya Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī raḥimahu Allāh wa-ḥalā alainā min madadihi fī 'l-dunyā wa-'l-ākhirā bi-Muḥammad wa-ālihi, innahu ḥalā mā yashā'u qadīr wa-bi-'l-ijāba jadīr:

*Bismi-'llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm.* Al-ḥamdu li-man tafarrada bi-'l-waḥdāniyya wa-taḥazzaza bi-'l-nuḥūt al-rabbāniyya, wa-'l-ṣalāt wa-'l-salām ḥalā al-nabī wa-ṣaḥbihi wa-ḥalā ālihi wa-ḥizbihi.

*Wa-baḥdu.* Fa-inna ḥilm al-tawḥīd min ashraf al-ḥulūm bal ashrafuhā, wa-mimmā ullifa fīhi al-Risāla al-Raslāniyya lil-imām al-ḥarif bi-'llāh taḥalā Raslān al-Dimashqī, ṭayyaba Allāh tharāhu wa-jahala al-janna ma'wāhu. Wa-lammā kānat min abdaḥ kitāb fī ḥilm al-tawḥīd ṣunnifa wa-ajmaḥ mawḍūḥ ḥalā miqdār ṣughr ḥajmihā ullifa, istakhartu Allāh taḥalā (an u'allifa) sharḥan yaḥullu alfāḥahā wa-yubayyinu murādahā, wa-sammaituhu bi-Fath al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ Risālat al-Walī Raslān.

*Wa-lam anna ḥilm al-tawḥīd maṭlūb.* Qāla Allāh taḥalā: Fa-lam annahu lā ilāha illā 'llāh,<sup>1</sup> wa-huwa mustalzim li-intifā' al-shirk. Wa-'l-shirk nawḥān: ḥāhir jalī, wa-qad dhakarahu maḥa aqsāmihi al-Ghazālī wa-ghairuhu, wa-bāṭin khafī, wa-huwa mā istawlat ḥalāhi al-nufūs min al-akwān, fa-ḥujibat bi-hā ḥan talaqqī al-madad min ḥalam al-ghaib; fa-ṣāra dhālika shirk khafī li-buḥdī ḥan ḥaḍrat al-quḍs bi-shawāhid al-ḥiss. Wa-qad dhakarahu al-mu'allif bi-qawlihi: *kullaka*, ayyuhā al-ḥabd, dhātan wa-ṣifātan wa-fiḥlan, *shirk [khafī]*, mansha' al-wahm wa-'l-khayāl, fa-inna-humā yuthbitāni al-ghair ka-'l-marātib wa-'l-maqāmat al-zā'ila. Fa-idhā afnaita ḥan-ka al-ghair, bāna bi-'l-ḥilm al-ilāhī tawḥī-

\* The text commented upon is printed in italics.

duka al-nāfi lil-shirk bi-naw<sup>c</sup>aihi, al-mustalzim li-nafy al-wahm wa-'l-khayāl. *Wa-mā yabīnu la-ka*, ay yaẓharu la-ka, *tawhīduka illā idhā kharajta*, ay fanaita anta, <sup>c</sup>*an-ka*, wa-<sup>c</sup>an sā'ir al-aghyār bi-an tarāhā kullahā min Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā — wa-'llāhu khalaqakum wa-mā ta<sup>c</sup>malūna<sup>2</sup> —, wa-nisbat a<sup>c</sup>mālīka ilaika nisba kasbiyya, wa-ilā Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā khalqiyya, fa-'llāhu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā khāliq wa-anta kāsib li-tuthāba aw tu<sup>c</sup>āqaba.

*Fa-kulla-mā akhlaṣta*, bi-'l-khurūj <sup>c</sup>an dhālika, *yukshafu la-ka anna-hu* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā *Huwa*, al-fā<sup>c</sup>il al-mawjūd, *lā anta*. Fa-idhā lam tashhad ghairahu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, kunta muwaḥḥidan la-hu ḥaqīqatan. Wa-hādhā al-shuhūd qad yadūmu, wa-huwa nādir, wa-qad yakūnu ka-'l-barq al-khāṭif. Wa-idhā inkashafa la-ka dhālika, *fa-tastaghfir min-ka*, ay min shuhūdika, fa-bi-khulūṣika min dhālika yankashifu la-ka <sup>c</sup>ilm al-tawhīd dhātī wa-ṣifātī wa-fi<sup>c</sup>lī; *wa-kulla-mā wajadta naw<sup>c</sup>an min-hu*, *bāna la-ka al-shirk*, fī ḍiddihi mimmā tansubuhu ilā al-khalq, *fa-tujaddid fī kull sā<sup>c</sup>a wa-waqt*, bal fī kull nafas, *tawhīdan* bi-anna-hu al-fā<sup>c</sup>il al-mawjūd, *wa-īmānan*, ay taṣḍīqan bi-dhālika, ilā an yakmala yaqīnuka. Fa-kulla-mā irtaqaita min maqām farq ilā maqām jam<sup>c</sup>, zāda tawhīduka wa-īmānuka, kamā qāla: *wa-kulla-mā kharajta* anta *min-hu*, ay min naẓarika, ilā tawhīdika, wa-fī nuskha: min-hum, ay min al-khalq, *zāda imānuka*, ay taṣḍīquka, ay fī maqām al-kashf wa-'l-mu<sup>c</sup>āyana, idh al-khurūj min aḥad al-ḍiddain dukhūl fī 'l-ākhar.

*Wa-kulla-mā kharajta*, anta min-ka, *zāda yaqīnuka*, wa-fī nuskha: qawīya, bi-'l-waḥḍāniyya, idh al-amr fi-ka atamm min-hu fī ghairika. Wa-hādhīhi martabat al-ṣiddīqīn, wa-'l-ūlā martabat khawāṣṣ al-mu'mīnīn. Wa-'l-yaqīn <sup>c</sup>ilm ba<sup>c</sup>da shakk, wa-li-hādhā lā yūṣafu bi-hi al-<sup>c</sup>ilm al-qadīm wa-lā al-<sup>c</sup>ulūm al-ḍarūriyya, lākinna al-murād bi-hi hāhunā mā dhakarahu ba<sup>c</sup>du, wa-qad yurādu bi-hi al-<sup>c</sup>ilm muṭlaqan, wa-huwa lā yaḥtamilu muta<sup>c</sup>allīqahu al-naqīḍ. Wa-<sup>c</sup>lam anna khurūjaka min-ka jam<sup>c</sup>, wa-ziyādat yaqīnika ghāyat al-jam<sup>c</sup> bi-hā yastawli al-Ḥaqq <sup>c</sup>alai-ka, wa-huwa al-murād bi-khabar: “Kuntu sam<sup>c</sup>ahu alladhī yasma<sup>c</sup>u bi-hi”,<sup>3</sup> wa-man lam yanalhā lam yakmal yaqīnuhu wa-kāna maghrūran, wāqifan ma<sup>c</sup>a <sup>c</sup>ibādātihi wa-naẓarihi ilā al-maqāmāt wa-'l-mukāshafāt, asīr la-hā li-ḥubbihi la-hā, kamā ashāra ilā dhālika bi-qawlihi:

*Yā asīr al-shahawāt wa-'l-<sup>c</sup>ibādāt*, *yā asīr al-maqāmāt wa-'l-mukāshafāt!* anta maghrūr, bi-mā awqa<sup>c</sup>aka fī-hi al-wahm wa-'l-khayāl; anta *mushtaghīl*, wa-fī nuskha: wa-anta, *bi-ka*, <sup>c</sup>an-hu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā. *Aina al-ishtighāl bi-hi* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā <sup>c</sup>*an-ka*, ma<sup>c</sup>a kawnika asīran li-ghairihi? Wa-kull man aḥabba shai'an fa-huwa asīr la-hu; fa-rubba wāqifin ma<sup>c</sup>a al-shahwa, wa-hādhā ḥāl ahl al-ghafalāt; wa-rubba wāqifin ma<sup>c</sup>a al-<sup>c</sup>ibāda, wa-hādhā ḥāl ba<sup>c</sup>ḍ ahl al-mu<sup>c</sup>āmalāt; wa-rubba wāqifin ma<sup>c</sup>a al-

maqām, wa-hādhā ḥāl ba<sup>ḍ</sup> ahl al-irādāt; wa-rubba wāqifin ma<sup>ḥ</sup> al-kashf, wa-hādhā ḥāl ba<sup>ḍ</sup> ahl al-taraqqiyyāt; wa-rubba wāqifin ma<sup>ḥ</sup> Allāh mustaghriq bi-hi <sup>ḥ</sup>an ghairihi, wa-hādhā ḥāl ahl al-<sup>ḥ</sup>ināyāt, *wa-Huwa*, <sup>ḥ</sup>azza wa-jalla, *ḥāḍir* ma<sup>ḥ</sup> a-nā bi-<sup>ḥ</sup>ilmihī, *nāzir* ilai-nā bi-ḥukmihi, *wa-Huwa ma<sup>ḥ</sup> akum*,<sup>4</sup> bi-<sup>ḥ</sup>ilmihī wa-qudratihī wa-<sup>ḥ</sup>ināyatihī, *aina-mā kuntum fī 'l-dunyā wa-'l-ākhhira*. Idhā <sup>ḥ</sup>alimta dhālīka, <sup>ḥ</sup>alimta anna-hu ma<sup>ḥ</sup> a-ka fī sirrika wa-<sup>ḥ</sup>alāniyatika, fa-kun anta ma<sup>ḥ</sup> ahu bi-istighrāqika fī 'l-tawḥīd, li-anna-ka *idhā kunta ma<sup>ḥ</sup> a-hu*, ka-dhālīka, *ḥajabaka* <sup>ḥ</sup>an-ka, ay ab<sup>ḥ</sup> adaka <sup>ḥ</sup>an ru'yat nafsika, fa-taslamu min al-shirk al-khafī; wa-hādhīhi ḥāla tusammā bi-'l-fanā' fī 'l-tawḥīd wa-bi-ḥālat al-jam<sup>ḥ</sup>. *Wa-idhā kunta ma<sup>ḥ</sup> a-ka*, li-<sup>ḥ</sup>adam istighrāqika, *ista<sup>ḥ</sup> badaka la-hu*, ay ja<sup>ḥ</sup> alaka muta<sup>ḥ</sup> abbidan la-hu, fa-yaṭlubu min-ka <sup>ḥ</sup>ibādatahu; wa-hādhīhi ḥālat al-farq, kamā marra, wa-fī-hā yarji<sup>ḥ</sup> u al-mar' ilā <sup>ḥ</sup>ibādatihī, wa-hādhīhi zāhiruhā.

*Al-īmān al-kāmil khurūjuka* <sup>ḥ</sup>an-hu ta<sup>ḥ</sup>ālā bi-an lā tushārikahu fī shai' min šifātika al-mukhtaṣṣa; *wa-'l-yaqīn khurūjuka* <sup>ḥ</sup>an-ka, ay <sup>ḥ</sup>an ḥawlika wa-quwwatika wa-wujūdika li-tashhada kamāl ḥawlihi wa-quwwatihī wa-wujūdihi fī maḥall <sup>ḥ</sup>ajzika wa-ḍa<sup>ḥ</sup> fika. *Idhā zāda imānuka* bi-'l-khurūj <sup>ḥ</sup>an il-aghyār, *nuqilta min ḥāl ilā ḥāl*, ay min ḍa<sup>ḥ</sup> f ilā quwwa, ilā an yakmala imānuka, wa-huwa al-yaqīn; wa-idhā kamila yaqīnuka, šārat al-ghuyūb la-ka <sup>ḥ</sup>ainan fa-yahşulu al-īmān al-kāmil.

*Wa-idhā zāda*, wa-fī nuska: qawiya, *yaqīnuka* bi-khurūjika <sup>ḥ</sup>an-ka wa<sup>ḥ</sup> an sā'ir al-aghyār, *nuqilta min maqām ilā maqām*, ay min ma<sup>ḥ</sup> rifa ilā kashf, wa-min kashf ilā mushāhada, wa-min mushāhada ilā mu-<sup>ḥ</sup>āyana, wa-min mu<sup>ḥ</sup>āyana ilā ittişāl, wa-min ittişāl ilā fanā', wa-min fanā' ilā baqā', ilā ghair dhālīka min al-maqāmāt al-ma<sup>ḥ</sup> rūfa li-ahlihā. Wa-<sup>ḥ</sup>lam anna la-hum shari<sup>ḥ</sup> a, wa-hiya an ta<sup>ḥ</sup> budahu ta<sup>ḥ</sup>ālā; wa-ṭarīqa, wa-hiya an taqşidahu bi-'l-<sup>ḥ</sup>ilm wa-'l-<sup>ḥ</sup>amal; wa-ḥaqīqa, wa-hiya an tashhadahu bi-nūr istawda<sup>ḥ</sup> ahu fī suwaidā' al-qalb; wa-anna kull bāṭin la-hu zāhir wa-<sup>ḥ</sup>aksuhu. Wa-'l-shari<sup>ḥ</sup> a zāhir al-ḥaqīqa, wa-'l-ḥaqīqa bāṭinuhā, wa-humā mutalāzimān ma<sup>ḥ</sup> nan. Fa-shari<sup>ḥ</sup> a bi-lā ḥaqīqa <sup>ḥ</sup>āṭila, wa-ḥaqīqa bi-lā shari<sup>ḥ</sup> a bāṭila. Wa-maththalū al-thalāth bi-'l-jawza; fa-'l-shari<sup>ḥ</sup> a ka-'l-qishra al-zāhira, wa-'l-ṭarīqa ka-'l-lubb al-khafī, wa-'l-ḥaqīqa ka-'l-duhn bi-bāṭin al-lubb. Wa-lā yutawassalu ilā al-lubb illā bi-kharq al-qishr, wa-lā ilā al-duhn illā bi-daqq al-lubb.

Wa-'l-khalq aqşām: ḍu<sup>ḥ</sup> afā', wa-hum al-<sup>ḥ</sup>awāmm; wa-khawāşş, wa-hum al-awliyā'; wa-khawāşş al-khawāşş, wa-hum al-anbiyā'; wa-yata-rattabu <sup>ḥ</sup>alā dhālīka qawluhu:

*Al-shari<sup>ḥ</sup> a la-ka*, ayyuhā al-ḍa<sup>ḥ</sup> if, *ḥattā taṭlubahu* ta<sup>ḥ</sup>ālā min-hu *la-ka*, bi-an taṭlubahu bi-ikhlāş wa-şidq, wa-illā fa-hiya <sup>ḥ</sup>alaika, lā la-ka.

*Wa-'l-ḥaqīqa la-hu ta'ālā ḥattā taṭlubahu ta'ālā bi-hi la-hu 'azza wa-jalla, lā bi-ka la-hu wa-lā bi-hi la-ka, ḥaiṭhu lā ḥīn, wa-fī nuskha: lā ḥadd, wa-lā ain, bi-khilāf al-sharī'a, fa-'l-sharī'a, li-kawnihā amran bi-a'māl shar'iyya, la-hā ḥudūd, ka-kawn al-ṣalāt rak'atain aw thalāthan, wa-jihāt, li-kawnihā farḍan aw nafalan, muwaqqatan aw ghair muwaqqat, wa-'l-ḥaqīqa lā ḥadd wa-lā jiha la-hā, li-anna-hā sirr ma'nawī wa-li-anna al-qā'im bi-hā 'arīf bi-'llāh ta'ālā qad a'raḍa 'an ḥuzūz al-bashariyya, li-anna-hu fī maqām al-jam'; fa-huwa abadan yaṭlubu Allāh bi-'llāh lillāh, fa-maṭlūbuhu ghair maḥdūd, li-anna-hu al-Ḥaq al-ma'būd, wa-maṭlūb al-qā'im bi-'l-sharī'a maḥdūd.*

*Al-qā'im bi-'l-sharī'a, wa-fī nuskha: ma'a al-sharī'a, fa-qat, ay dūna al-ḥaqīqa, tafaḍḍala 'alaihi bi-'l-mujāhada, wa-hiya al-qiyām bi-'l-'ibāda al-zāhira wa-bi-'l-'ubūdiyya al-bāṭina; wa-'l-'ibāda lil-nafs li-kawnihā zāhira, wa-'l-'ubūdiyya lil-qalb li-kawnihā bāṭina.*

*Wa-'l-qā'im bi-'l-ḥaqīqa, wa-fī nuskha: ma'a al-ḥaqīqa, tafaḍḍala 'alaihi bi-'l-minna, ay al-ni'ma, wa-qīla al-thaqīla; wa-'l-murād al-'ilm al-ladunnī al-nūrānī alladhī 'allamahu Allāh lil-arwāḥ ḥīna khātabahum bi-qawlihi: "A-lastu bi-rabbikum?"<sup>5</sup> wa-'l-mushār bi-qawlihi: "Wa-'allama Ādama al-asmā' kullahā"<sup>6</sup> illā anna-hu maghmūr fī 'l-arwāḥ, mastūr bi-zalām al-wujūd wa-shawāghil al-ṭabī'a; fa-idhā zālā bi-tawfiq Allāh zāhara, wa-huwa al-murād bi-khabar: "Man 'amala bi-mā 'alima, awrathahu Allāh 'ilm mā lam ya'lam". Fa-kushifa 'an qalbihi ghitā' dhālika fa-a'raḍa 'an kull makhluq ḥattā 'an il-janna; fa-hādhā qā'im bi-ḥuqūq al-rubūbiyya wa-dhālika bi-ḥuqūq al-'ibāda wa-'l-'ubūdiyya. *Wa-shattāna, ay ba'uda, mā, zā'ida, wa-hiya sāqīta min nuskha, baina al-mujāhada wa-'l-minna, fa-shattāna baina man uqīma lil-mujāhada bighair kashf wa-shuhūd fī maḥall al-farq wa-man kushifa la-hu 'an sirr al-ilāhiyya fa-shahida ma'nā al-jam' bi-'l-jam'. Fa-kull min maqāmai al-farq wa-'l-jam' maṭlūb, lākinna fī 'l-iqtisār 'alā al-awwal ta'ṭil, wa-'alā al-thānī ghurūr wa-ibṭāl, ka-mā marrat al-ishāra ilaihimā. Wa-idkhāl shattāna 'alā mā baina shā'i' 'arabī, fa-fī 'l-qāmūs jā'a shattāna baina-humā, wa-mā humā, wa-mā baina-humā, wa-mā Amr wa-akhūhu, ay ba'uda mā baina-humā; wa-inna qawl al-shā'ir<sup>7</sup>:**

La-shattāna mā baina 'l-Yazīdāini fī 'l-nadā  
Yazīdi Sulaimin wa-'l-Agharri 'bni Ḥātīmi

muwallad, laisa bi-ḥujja; wa-'l-ḥujja qawl al-A'shā:

Shattāna mā yawmī 'alā kūrihā  
wa-yawmu Ḥayyāna akhī Jābiri.

*Al-qā'im ma<sup>c</sup>a al-mujāhada*, li-kawnihi nāziran bi-'l-sharī<sup>c</sup>a ilā a<sup>c</sup>mālihi, *mawjūd* bi-'llāh, *wa-'l-qā'im ma<sup>c</sup>a al-minna*, li-kawnihi qā-'iman bi-ḥuqūq al-rubūbiyya, ghair nāzir ilā a<sup>c</sup>mālihi, *mafqūd* <sup>c</sup>ammā siwāhu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, li-fanā'ihī bi-istighrāqihī bi-hi ta<sup>c</sup>ālā.

*Al-a<sup>c</sup>māl* al-muta<sup>c</sup>alliqa bi-kamāl dhāt al-<sup>c</sup>abd al-zāhira ka-'l-shahādatain wa-iqāmat al-ṣalāt wa-itā' al-zakāt wa-'l-ṣawm wa-'l-ḥajj wa-'l-jihād, *muta<sup>c</sup>alliqa bi-'l-shar<sup>c</sup> al-sharīf*, li-anna-hu jā'a bi-'l-taklīf bi-hā; *wa-'l-tawakkul* wa-naḥwuhu mimmā yata<sup>c</sup>allaqu bi-kamāl dhāt al-bāṭina ka-'l-zuhd wa-'l-wara<sup>c</sup> wa-'l-ṣabr wa-'l-khawf wa-'l-rajā', *muta<sup>c</sup>alliq bi-'l-īmān* bi-anna Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā fa<sup>c</sup>al li-mā yurīdu.<sup>8</sup> Wa-'l-tawakkul huwa al-i<sup>c</sup>timād <sup>c</sup>alā Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā wa-qaṭ<sup>c</sup> al-naẓar <sup>c</sup>an il-asbāb ma<sup>c</sup>a tahyī'atihā; wa-yuqālu huwa tark al-sa<sup>c</sup>y fī-mā lā tasa<sup>c</sup>uhu qudrat al-bashar, wa-yuqālu ghair dhālika, kā-mā bayyantuhu ma<sup>c</sup>a fawā'id fī sharḥ Risālat al-Qushairī. *Wa-'l-tawḥīd*, wa-huwa ḥukmuka wa-<sup>c</sup>ilmuka bi-waḥdāniyyat Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, *muta<sup>c</sup>alliq bi-kashf*, ay bi-kashf Allāh <sup>c</sup>an baṣīrat al-<sup>c</sup>abd, *al-ghīṭā*, a<sup>c</sup>nī ḥujub al-kā'ināt bi-an yafnā <sup>c</sup>an-hā wa-yarāhā mundarija fī anwār al-<sup>c</sup>aẓama al-rabbāniyya. Wa-'l-kashf thalātha: kashf nafs, wa-kashf qalb, wa-kashf sirr, wa-huwa al-murād hunā. Wa-yu<sup>c</sup>abbaru <sup>c</sup>an il-awwal bi-<sup>c</sup>ilm al-yaqīn, wa-<sup>c</sup>an il-thānī bi-<sup>c</sup>ain al-yaqīn, wa-<sup>c</sup>an il-thālīth bi-ḥaqq al-yaqīn. Wa-'l-thalātha <sup>c</sup>ulūm, li-anna-hā aqsām al-<sup>c</sup>ilm, li-anna al-<sup>c</sup>ilm bi-i<sup>c</sup>tibār ma<sup>c</sup>lūmihi: in ta<sup>c</sup>allaqa bi-'l-dhāt al-zāhira, fa-<sup>c</sup>ilm al-yaqīn; aw bi-'l-dhāt al-bāṭina, fa-<sup>c</sup>ain al-yaqīn; aw bi-'l-Ḥaqq ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, fa-ḥaqq al-yaqīn. Wa-<sup>c</sup>lam anna la-hum ma<sup>c</sup>a al-kashf muḥāḍara wa-mukāshafa wa-mu<sup>c</sup>āyana wa-mushāhada, wa-kulluhā tata<sup>c</sup>allaqu bi-'l-tawḥīd, wa-qad bayyantuhā fī 'l-sharḥ al-madhkūr.

*Wa-'l-nās tā'ihūn*, ḥā'idūn, <sup>c</sup>an il-Ḥaqq ta<sup>c</sup>ālā bi-ṭalabihim la-hu bi-'l-<sup>c</sup>aql al-ṭabī<sup>c</sup>i al-juthmānī, li-anna-hu bi-infirādihi maḥjūb <sup>c</sup>an il-tajalliyāt al-ilāhiyya wa-'l-ma<sup>c</sup>ārif al-rabbāniyya li-quṣūrihi <sup>c</sup>alā mā fī 'l-ṣuwar al-zāhira min ḥusn wa-qubḥ wa-khaṭa' wa-ṣawāb; bi-khilāf al-<sup>c</sup>aql al-rūḥānī al-nūrānī, fa-inna-hu malakī, lā tih ma<sup>c</sup>a-hu, *wa-tā'ihūn* <sup>c</sup>an il-ākḥira, al-marḍiyya bi-ṭalabihim la-hā, *bi-'l-hawā*, ay hawā al-nafs wa-ḥazzihā, li-anna-hā inna-mā tunālu bi-'l-mujāhada al-shar<sup>c</sup>iyya. *Fa-matā ṭalabta al-Ḥaqq bi-'l-<sup>c</sup>aql* al-madhkūr, *ḍalalta* <sup>c</sup>an il-wuṣūl ilai-hi, (*wa-matā ṭalabta al-ākḥira bi-'l-hawā*, fa-qad *zalalta*).

*Al-mu'min* al-kāmil, wa-huwa man taṭahhara min al-shirkain al-zāhir wa-'l-khafī, *yanẓuru bi-nūr Allāh*, ay mā munna bi-hi <sup>c</sup>alai-hi min al-jūd, idh bi-hi yankashifu al-ashyā' la-hu wilāya; "awa man kāna mayyitan fa-aḥyaināhu"<sup>9</sup>; "ittaqu firāsāt al-mu'min, fa-inna-hu yanẓuru

bi-nūr Allāh".<sup>10</sup> *Wa-l-<sup>c</sup>ārif*, (wa-)huwa al-mustaghriq bi-llāh <sup>c</sup>ammā siwāhu, *yanguru bi-hi*, ay bi-nūr Allāh, *ilai-hi*, li-inkishāf hijāb al-ghafila <sup>c</sup>an qalbihi. *Mā dumta anta ma<sup>c</sup>a-ka*, ay ma<sup>c</sup>a nafsika, ghair mustaghriq bi-nā, *amarnāka*, ay kallafnāka bi-'l-mujāhada, li-anna-ka fī maḥall al-farq; *fa-idhā fanaita*, anta bi-istighrāqika bi-nā, <sup>c</sup>an-ka, ay <sup>c</sup>an nafsika, *tawallaināka* bi-'l-ri<sup>c</sup>āya wa-'l-<sup>c</sup>ināya wa-'l-faḍl wa-ghairihā mim mā lam taṣil ilai-hi bi-kasb, li-anna-ka fī 'l-jam<sup>c</sup>; *fa-mā tawallāhum*, ay al-sālikin, *illā ba<sup>c</sup>da fanā'ihim fī-hi*.

*Mā dumta anta*, ay tarā la-ka wujūdan wa-<sup>c</sup>amalan wa-irādatan, *fa-anta murīd*; *fa-idhā afnāka* <sup>c</sup>an-ka mawlāka, *fa-anta murād*, fa-'l-irāda hiya ifrād al-Ḥaqq bi-'l-ṭalab wa-'l-i<sup>c</sup>rād <sup>c</sup>an kull mā siwāhu. Wa-'l-murīd huwa al-sālik al-mubtadī alladhī yarā la-hu wujūdan wa-<sup>c</sup>amalan, wa-'l-murād huwa al-malḥūz bi-<sup>c</sup>ain al-<sup>c</sup>ināya al-rabbāniyya al-mustaghriq bi-'llāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā. Fa-'l-murīd ḥāmil li-'l-kadd, wa-'l-murād maḥmūl <sup>c</sup>an-hu al-kadd; wa-shattāna baina al-ḥāmil al-makdūd wa-'l-maḥmūl al-mu<sup>c</sup>ān.

*Al-yaqīn al-adwam*, wa-fī nuskhā: al-lāzim, wa-huwa <sup>c</sup>alai-hā ṣifa kāshifa, *ghaibatuka* <sup>c</sup>an-ka (wa-)wujūduka bi-hi ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, wa-fī nuskhā: ghaiba <sup>c</sup>an-ka wujūd bi-hi, wa-dhālika bi-an taghība <sup>c</sup>ammā siwāhu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā. Wa-lil-yaqīn thalāth ḥālāt: bidāya wa-tawassuṭ wa-nihāya, <sup>c</sup>alā minwāl <sup>c</sup>ilm al-yaqīn wa-<sup>c</sup>ainihi wa-ḥaqqihi. Wa-awwaluhā qad lā yadūmu li-baqā' al-rusūm, wa-'l-akhīrān dā'imān, lākinna al-akhīr adwam, fa-inna-hu mushāhada bi-kashf al-sirr, wa-hiya a<sup>c</sup>lā marātib al-yaqīn; fa-kun bi-yaqīnika ma<sup>c</sup>a Allāh fa-qaṭ, wa-ta'ammal.

*Kam baina mā yakūnu bi-amrihi* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, min anwā<sup>c</sup> al-<sup>c</sup>ibādāt wa-'l-mujāhadāt al-taklīfiyya *wa-baina mā yakūnu bi-hi* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā min anwā<sup>c</sup> al-minan wa-'l-nafaḥāt al-rabbāniyya; *in kunta bi-amrihi* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, bi-'l-<sup>c</sup>ibāda, qā'iman bi-hā, *khaḍa<sup>c</sup>at la-ka al-asbāb*, ay yassarahā Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā la-ka. Qāla Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā: "Wa-man yattaqi 'llāha yaj<sup>c</sup>al la-hu makhrajan wa-yarzuqhu min ḥaithu lā yaḥtasibu".<sup>11</sup> Wa-qāla ta<sup>c</sup>ālā: "Wa-man yattaqi 'llāha yaj<sup>c</sup>al la-hu min amrihi yusran".<sup>12</sup> *Wa-in kunta bi-hi* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā bi-an lam tashhad ghairahu, *taḍa<sup>c</sup>ḍa<sup>c</sup>at*, ay khaḍa<sup>c</sup>at wa-dhallat, *la-ka al-akwān*, fa-lā yaḥjubuka shai' min-hā <sup>c</sup>an mushāhadat mukawwinihā.

Fa-ahl al-ṭarīq immā <sup>c</sup>ālim bi-'llāh, fa-yashhadu al-ashyā' bi-'llāh, wa-immā <sup>c</sup>ālim bi-'l-aḥkām, wa-huwa al-sālik bi-'l-naẓar wa-'l-istidlāl, fa-yashhadu Allāh bi-'l-ashyā'. Wa-'l-awwal min al-ṣiddiqīn wa-'l-shuḥadā' wa-lisānuhu al-jam<sup>c</sup>, wa-'l-thānī min al-ṣāliḥīn, wa-lisānuhu al-farq.

Wa-lammā kānat maqāmāt al-sālik ba<sup>c</sup>da al-tawba mutafāwita, bayyanahā fa-qāla: *Awwal al-maqāmāt al-ṣabr*, wa-huwa ḥabs al-nafs,

‘*alā murādihi* ta‘ālā, wa-yuqālu: ḥaml al-nafs ‘alā mashāqq al-taklīf li-ṭalab al-jazā’ ‘alaihi; *wa-awsaṭuhā al-riḍā*, wa-huwa al-ṭuma’nīna *bi-murādihi* ta‘ālā, ay min ḥaiṭhu irādatuhu aw an ṭuliba al-riḍā bi-hi; fa-lā yunāfihi ḥurmat al-riḍā bi-’l-kufr wa-naḥwihi; *wa-ākhiruhā an takūna* anta *bi-murādihi* ta‘ālā, fa-takūna ‘ārifan. Fa-’l-‘abd idhā ṣabara raḍiya, wa-idhā raḍiya kāna bi-murād Allāh ta‘ālā, fa-yafnā ‘an fi‘lihi wa-qawlihi wa-quwwatihi bi-mushāhada min al-ḥaḍra al-rabbāniyya, li-anna man faniya ‘an dhālika baqiya bi-’llāh, fa-kāna sam‘uhu wa-baṣaruhu wa-ghairuhā mimmā fī khabar: “Kuntu sam‘ahu alladhī yasma‘u bi-hi”. Wa-maqām al-fanā’ maqām al-khawāṣṣ, wa-huwa maqām al-‘ubūdiyya; fa-’l-ṣābir fī maqām al-‘ibāda wa-’l-rāḍī fī maqām al-‘ubūdiyya, wa-kull min-humā yarā la-hu wujūdan wa-‘amalan. Fa-’l-‘ārif fī maqām al-‘ubūdiyya, wa-lā yarā la-hu dhālika, li-anna-hu qā’im bi-’llāh lillāh, lā bi-nafsihi li-nafsihi, wa-lā bi-nafsihi lillāh.

*Al-‘ilm al-‘amalī ṭarīq al-‘amal*, idh lā yaṣiḥḥu ‘amal illā bi-’l-‘ilm bi-kaifiyyatihi, *wa-’l-‘amal ṭarīq al-‘ilm* al-ladunnī; qāla Allāh ta‘ālā: “Wa-’ttaqū ’llāha wa-yu‘allimukum Allāhu”.<sup>13</sup> Wa-qāla ṣallā Allāhu ‘alai-hi wa-sallama: “Man ‘amala bi-mā ‘alima, awrathahu Allāh ‘ilm mā lam ya‘lam”. *Wa-’l-‘ilm* al-ladunnī *ṭarīq al-ma‘rifa* bi-’llāh, li-anna-hā inna-mā taḥṣulu bi-mā amaddaka Allāh bi-hi min al-ta‘arruf, wa-huwa ta‘ālā yata‘arrafu ilā ‘ibādihi bi-qadr mā wahabahum min al-‘ilm al-ladunnī. Wa-man ta‘arrafa ilai-hi ‘arafa nafsahu wa-‘arafa rabbahu; man ‘arafa rabbahu jahila nafsahu. Fa-’l-ta‘arruf yata‘allaqu bi-ma‘rifat al-nafs, wa-ma‘rifat al-nafs tata‘allaqu bi-ma‘rifat al-rabb, wa-ma‘rifat al-rabb tata‘allaqu bi-jahl al-nafs, fa-fī ’l-khabar: “A‘rafukum bi-nafsihi a‘rafukum bi-rabbihī”. *Wa-’l-ma‘rifa bi-’llāh ṭarīq al-kashf* ‘an ḥaqā’iq al-ashyā’, *wa-’l-kashf ṭarīq al-fanā’* ‘an mā siwā Allāh ta‘ālā bi-an lā tarā ghairahu, li-anna al-‘abd idhā ‘alima anna-hu makhlūq wa-an kāna kull makhlūq fāniyan, shahida bi-baṣiratihi anna-hu fānin. Wa-fanā’ al-fanā’ an lā tarā fanā’aka, wa-hādhā yusammā bi-’l-baqā’ al-mufassar bi-ru’yatika anna Allāh muḥiṭ bi-kull shai’.<sup>14</sup> *Wa-’l-fanā’ yakūnu ‘amalan, thumma ‘ainan, thumma ḥaqqan*, li-anna al-fanā’ thalātha aqsām: fanā’ fī ’l-af‘āl, li-qawlihim: “Lā fā‘il illā Allāh”, . . . . (lacuna). Wa-’l-thalātha murāda bi-qawl ba‘ḍ al-‘ārifin: “Man shahida al-khalq lā fi‘l la-hum, fa-qad fāza; wa-man shahidahum lā ḥayāt la-hum, fa-qad ḥāza; wa-man shahidahum ‘ain al-‘adam, fa-qad waṣala”.

*Mā ṣalaḥta*, bi-faṭḥ al-lām ashhar min ḍammihā, ay lā taṣluḥu, *la-nā mā dāmat fī-ka baqiyya li-siwā-nā*, dunyawīyya aw ukhrawīyya, li-anna-

ka ḥīna'idhin lā taşluḥu li-maqām al-<sup>°</sup>ubūdiyya alladhī huwa al-maqām bi-'llāh li-'llāh, li-anna-ka adhnabta dhanban <sup>°</sup>azīman, idh min al-dhunūb al-<sup>°</sup>azīma <sup>°</sup>inda-hum an tarā la-ka wujūdan ma<sup>°</sup>a Allāh ta<sup>°</sup>ālā; wa-ilaihi ashāra al-Junaid bi-qawlihi: “Wujūduka dhanb lā yuqāsu bi-hi dhanb”. *Fa-idhā*, wa-fī nuskha: idhā, *ḥawwalta al-siwā* <sup>°</sup>an-ka bi-an kharajta <sup>°</sup>an-hu, ḥattā <sup>°</sup>an il-fanā', wa-fī nuskha: ḥuwwilta <sup>°</sup>an il-siwā, *afnaināka* bi-<sup>°</sup>ilminā wa-nūrinā <sup>°</sup>an-ka, ḥattā şirta lā tarā la-ka wujūdan, bal tarā bi-'llāh al-wujūd wa-huwa lillāh, fa-şāra qalbuka maḥallan li-sirrinā al-rabbānī, wa-huwa ma<sup>°</sup>nā ya<sup>°</sup>jizu al-fikr <sup>°</sup>an taşawwurihi wa-'l-lisān <sup>°</sup>an il-ta<sup>°</sup>bīr <sup>°</sup>an-hu; *fa-şalaḥta la-nā fa-awda<sup>°</sup>nāka sirranā*, fa-mā şalaḥa al-sirr illā ba<sup>°</sup>da an afnāhu <sup>°</sup>an-hu mawlāhu wa-abqāhu la-hu, fa-şāra ḥurran <sup>°</sup>an riqq al-ghair wa-maḥallan lil-asrār, fa-'l-maṭlūb al-tajarrud <sup>°</sup>ammā siwāhu ta<sup>°</sup>ālā. *Wa-idhā lam yabqa* (*°*alaika ḥaraka li-nafsika, kamila yaqīnuka; *wa-idhā lam yabqa*) *la-ka wujūd* <sup>°</sup>inda-ka, bi-an fanaita <sup>°</sup>ammā siwāhu ta<sup>°</sup>ālā, *kamila tawḥīduka*, bi-<sup>°</sup>ajzika <sup>°</sup>an idrāk mā ḥaşala la-ka min al-ma<sup>°</sup>rifa; fa-hiya al-ghāya allatī lā tudraku, wa-ilaihi al-ishāra bi-khabar: “Subḥānaka! Mā <sup>°</sup>arafnāka ḥaqq ma<sup>°</sup>rifatika”, wa-khabar: “Man <sup>°</sup>arafa Allāh kalla lisānuhu”.

*Ahl al-bāṭin*, ay al-ḥaqīqa, ma<sup>°</sup>a al-yaqīn, li-khulūşihim min wahm al-rusūm wa-inkishāf al-<sup>°</sup>ilm al-ladunnī la-hum; fa-<sup>°</sup>āyanūhu wa-shāhadūhu, fa-şārū <sup>°</sup>alā yaqīn thābit jāzim. Wa-ibtidā' al-yaqīn al-mukāshafa, thumma al-mu<sup>°</sup>āyana, thumma al-mushāhada; wa-li-dhālika qāla <sup>°</sup>Amir b. <sup>°</sup>Abd Qais: “Law kushifa al-ghīṭā', mā izdadtu yaqīnan”. *Wa-ahl al-zāhir*, ay al-sharī<sup>°</sup>a, ma<sup>°</sup>a al-īmān bi-'l-ghaib, bi-'l-mushāhada, li-baqā' al-rusūm bi-wuqūfihim ma<sup>°</sup>a zāhir muta<sup>°</sup>alliqāt al-īmān. *Fa-matā taḥarraka qalb şāḥib al-yaqīn li-ghair Allāh* bi-an iltafata laḥzatan min ḥāl aw maqām (aw) ghairihi, *naqaşa yaqīnuhu* <sup>°</sup>inda ahl al-bāṭin; *wa-matā lam yakḥīr la-hu khāṭir* li-ghair Allāh, *kamila yaqīnuhu*, fa-<sup>°</sup>alā şāḥib al-yaqīn al-murāqaba <sup>°</sup>alā al-dawām, wa-hiya murā<sup>°</sup>āt al-sirr bi-mulāḥazāt al-Ḥaqq ma<sup>°</sup>a kull khatra. Wa-shubbiha ḥālulu bi-ḥāl al-hirra fī ḥāl murāqabatihā lil-şaid; fa-matā ikhtallat al-murāqaba, ikhtalla al-gharaḍ. *Wa-matā taḥarraka qalb şāḥib al-īmān* bi-'l-ghaib *bi-ghair*, wa-fī nuskha: li-ghair, *al-amr al-ilāhī*, *naqaşa imānuhu*, li-anna al-īmān yanquşu bi-'l-ma<sup>°</sup>şiya, ka-mā yazīdu bi-'l-tā<sup>°</sup>a, akhdhan min khabar: “Lā yaznī al-zānī ḥīna yaznī wahuwa mu'min”. *Wa-matā taḥarraka bi-'l-amr al-ilāhī*, wa-qāma bi-hi, *kamila imānuhu* bi-'llāh ta<sup>°</sup>ālā.

*Ma<sup>°</sup>şiyat ahl al-yaqīn kufr* <sup>°</sup>inda-hum, lil-ikhlāş bi-hi wa-li-anna ḥasanāt al-abrār sayyi'āt al-muqarrabīn, fa-<sup>°</sup>alā qadr al-şu<sup>°</sup>ūd ya-

kūnu al-hubūt; wa-min dhālika qawl sayyidi ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ:

Wa-law khaṭarat lī fī siwāka irāda  
 ʿalā khāṭirī saḥwan qaḍaitu bi-riddatī,

wa-mithl hādhā yuktamu ʿan ghair ahl al-yaqīn; *wa-maʿṣiyat ahl al-īmān naqṣ*, fī-hi, li-mā marra.

Wa-ʿlam anna al-khāṭir (mā) yaridu ʿalā al-qalb bi-irādat al-Rabb, wa-huwa khams aqṣām: khāṭir rabbānī, wa-huwa hājis, wa-ʿilm al-ladunnī lā yukhtīʿu abadan; wa-khāṭir malakī; wa-ʿaqlī; wa-nafsānī; wa-shaiṭānī. Wa-ʿl-rabbānī yaridu min ḥaḍrat al-rubūbiyya wa-min ḥaḍrat al-raḥmāniyya wa-min ḥaḍrat al-ilāhiyya; wa-ʿl-farq baina-hā anna al-rabbānī yaridu bi-ʿl-jalāl, wa-ʿl-raḥmānī bi-ʿl-jamāl, wa-ʿl-ilāhī bi-ʿl-kamāl. Wa-ʿl-awwal yamḥaḥqu wa-yufnī; wa-ʿl-thānī yuthbitu wa-yubqī; wa-ʿl-thālith yuṣliḥu wa-yahdī. Wa-ʿl-ʿabd yastaʿiddu fī ʿl-jalāl bi-ʿl-ṣabr, wa-fī ʿl-jamāl bi-ʿl-shukr, wa-fī ʿl-kamāl bi-ʿl-sakīna; wa-ʿl-thalātha lil-ʿarīfīn. Wa-ʿl-khāṭir al-malakī wa-ʿl-ʿaqlī li-ahl al-mujāhada, wa-ʿl-nafsānī wa-ʿl-shaiṭānī li-ahl al-ghafla. Wa-ʿl-khāṭir idhā makutha ṣāra hamman, wa-idhā tamakkana thāniyan ṣāra ʿazman, wa-yaṣīru qubaila al-shurūf qaṣdan, wa-maʿa awwal al-fiʿl niyyatan.

*Al-muttaqī*, wa-fī nuskha: al-taqī, fī bidāyatihī *mujtahid* fī ʿibādatihi bi-ṣidq wa-ikhlāṣ, fa-yahtadī bi-hi ilā ṭarīq al-ḥaqq. Qāla Allāh taʿālā: “Wa-ʿlladhīna jāhadū fi-na la-naḥdiyannahum subulanā”.<sup>15</sup> Wa-qāla baʿḍuhum: “Man lam yakun fī bidāyatihī ṣāhib mujāhada, lam yajid min hādhā al-ṭarīq shamma”. *Wa-ʿl-muḥibb* al-ṣādiq *muttakil*, ay muʿtamid ʿalā maḥbūbihi, li-anna-hu, lammā dakhala ḥaḍrat al-maḥbūb baʿda al-mujāhada wa-raʿā minnat Allāh ʿalai-hi, faniya ʿan ʿamalihi wa-wujūdihi wa-ittakala ʿalā rabbihi taʿālā. Fa-ʿl-mujtahid wāqif ʿalā ʿamalihi wa-wujūdihi, wa-ʿl-muḥibb mafnī ʿan-humā bi-istighrāqihi bi-maḥbūbihi, fa-huwa fī rāḥa bi-shuhūdihi la-hu. *Wa-ʿl-ʿarīf* bi-ʿllāh *sākin* ilai-hi, lā yataḥarraku wa-lā yakhtīru la-hu khāṭir illā bi-idhnihi; *wa-ʿl-mawjūd* bi-ʿllāh *mafqūd* ʿammā siwāhu taʿālā; fa-ʿlam anna-hu *lā sukūn li-muttaqīn*, wa-fī nuskha: li-taqī, li-taḥarrukihi fī ijthādihi fī ʿibādatihi, *wa-lā ḥaraka li-muḥibb*, li-anna-hu faniya ʿan murādihi bi-murād maḥbūbihi; *wa-lā ʿazm li-ʿarīf*, li-anna-hu lā yarā fī ʿl-wujūd illā Allāh, li-anna-hu qad faniya ʿan wujūdihi wa-irādatihī bi-wujūd Allāh wa-irādatihī, fa-lā ʿazm la-hu yarāhu; *wa-lā wujūd li-mafqūd*, ay li-man ghāba ʿan nazarihi bi-mawjūdihi.

Wa-ʿlam anna awwal al-maḥāmāt al-tawba, wa-ākhirahā al-maʿrifa al-mutarattiba ʿalā al-maḥabba. Fa-ʿl-maḥabba baʿda al-yaqīn, ka-mā qāla: *Mā taḥṣulu al-maḥabba illā baʿda al-yaqīn* bi-wujūd al-maḥbūb,

idh kaifa yuḥabbu al-shai' qabla ma<sup>c</sup>rifatihī; *wa-'l-muḥibb al-ṣādiq fī ḥubbihi qad khalā qabuhu mim mā siwāhu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā*, li-anna ḥaqīqat al-maḥabba shahādat al-maḥbūb, wa-lā taḥṣulu illā ba<sup>c</sup>da al-fanā' wa-ṭahārat al-qalb <sup>c</sup>ammā siwāhu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā. *Wa-mā dāmat <sup>c</sup>alai-hi baqiyyat maḥabba li-siwāhu*, wa-law lil-maḥabba, *fa-huwa nāqiṣ al-maḥabba bi-'llāh*.

*Man taladhdhadha bi-'l-balā'* wa-ṣabara <sup>c</sup>alai-hi li-mā ra'āhu min al-ujūr, *fa-huwa ma<sup>c</sup>a-hu mawjūd; wa-man taladhdhadha wa-fariḥa bi-'l-na<sup>c</sup>mā*, *fa-huwa ma<sup>c</sup>a-hu mawjūd; fa-idhā afnāhu Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā*, ay afnā al-mutaladhdhidh bi-himā <sup>c</sup>an il-taladhdhudh bi-himā; yaj<sup>c</sup>alu al-ḍamīr rāji<sup>c</sup>an ilā lafz man, wa-fī nuskha: *fa-idhā afnāhum <sup>c</sup>an-hum; jama<sup>c</sup>a fī-hā al-ḍamīrain bi-i<sup>c</sup>tibār ma'nā man*, ay *fa-idhā afnā al-mutaladhdhidhīn <sup>c</sup>an anfusihi dhaḥaba al-taladhdhudh bi-'l-balā' wa-'l-na<sup>c</sup>mā*, wa-fī nuskha: *bi-'l-na<sup>c</sup>mā*, li-anna fī mushāhadat al-maḥbūb dahsha, wa-'l-mad-hūsh min al-balā' wa-'l-in<sup>c</sup>ām.

*Al-muḥibb anfāsuḥu*, kināya <sup>c</sup>an kalāmihi, *ḥikma*, li-anna-hu lā yashhadu illā maḥbūbahu wa-lā yasma<sup>c</sup>u illā min-hu, fa-lā yanṭiqu illā bi-'l-ḥikma, li-anna-hā al-fahm <sup>c</sup>an Allāh; *wa-'l-maḥbūb*, li-kawnihī qad tazāyada qurbuhu li-rabbihī bi-ziyādat ḥubbihi la-hu, *anfāsuḥu qudra*, sā'ira fī 'l-akwān bi-ma<sup>c</sup>ūnat al-malik al-mannān. Fa-'l-muḥibb sālik majdhūb, ay <sup>c</sup>an irādatihi, wa-'l-maḥbūb majdhūb sālik, wa-huwa a<sup>c</sup>lā wa-akhaṣṣ min al-muḥibb, li-anna-hu murād wa-'l-muḥibb murīd. Wa-la-hum majdhūb abtar wa-sālik abtar, wa-humā madhkurān fī 'l-muṭawwalāt, wa-<sup>c</sup>ābid nāsik, wa-huwa al-nāzir li-wujūdihi al-ṭālib li-<sup>c</sup>iwaḍ <sup>c</sup>amalihi, ka-mā ashāra ilai-hi bi-qawlihi: *Al-<sup>c</sup>ibādāt lil-mu<sup>c</sup>āwaḍāt*. Qāla ta<sup>c</sup>ālā: “Man jā'a bi-'l-ḥasana fa-la-hu <sup>c</sup>ashr am-thālihā”<sup>16</sup>; *wa-'l-maḥabba lil-qurubāt*, ay lil-taqarrub ilai-hi ta<sup>c</sup>ālā bi-ṣidq wa-ikhlaṣ. Wa-<sup>c</sup>lam anna al-mu'minīna khamsa aqṣām mā la-hu irāda; fa-'l-awwalān <sup>c</sup>awāmm al-mu'minīn wa-in tafāwatā, wa-'l-thālith khawāṣṣuhum, wa-'l-rābi<sup>c</sup> khawāṣṣ khawāṣṣihim wa-hum al-muḥibbūn, wa-'l-khāmis akhaṣṣ khawāṣṣihim wa-huwa al-<sup>c</sup>arif bi-'llāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā bi-'llāh fī 'llāh lillāh. Wa-min thamma qāla Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā fī ḥadīth qudsī: “*A<sup>c</sup> dattu li-<sup>c</sup>ibādī al-ṣāliḥīn*”, wa-hum al-<sup>c</sup>arifūn bi-'llāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, “*mā lā <sup>c</sup>ain ra'at wa-lā udhn sami<sup>c</sup>at wa-lā khaṭara <sup>c</sup>alā qalb bashar*”, wa-ha'ulā'u <sup>c</sup>abīd al-mun<sup>c</sup>im, lā <sup>c</sup>abīd al-ni<sup>c</sup>ma, wa-hum qalīlūn. Qāla Allāh ta<sup>c</sup>ālā: “*Illā alladhīna āmanū wa-<sup>c</sup>amilū al-ṣāliḥāt*”,<sup>17</sup> wa-qalīl mā hum, wa-hum ma<sup>c</sup>a al-khalq bi-abdānihim wa-ma<sup>c</sup>a al-Ḥaqq bi-qulūbihim, lā yaftirūna <sup>c</sup>an mushāhadatihi ṭarfāt <sup>c</sup>ain. Wa-qāla fī ḥadīth qudsī aidan, <sup>c</sup>alā mā qāla al-mu'allif: “*Lammā arādūnī*”, ay al-<sup>c</sup>arifūn bī, “*lī, a<sup>c</sup>ṭaituhum mā lā <sup>c</sup>ain ra'at wa-lā udhn sami<sup>c</sup>at*”, wa-

hādhā ma<sup>ca</sup> mā qablahu natīja mā amaddahum bi-hi min al-maḥabba.

*Idhā afnāka* <sup>ca</sup>an hawāka bi-'l-ḥukm, bi-'l-kāf, ay bi-'l-amr al-munazzal min ḥaḍrat al-rubūbiyya ilā <sup>ca</sup>alam ḥissī al-<sup>ca</sup>ubūdiyya, wa-fi nuskha: bi-'l-ḥilm, bi-'l-lām, wa-huwa iḥtimāl al-adhā wa-tarkihi bi-ḥaiṭhu tarā mā yajri min al-kā'ināt fi<sup>ca</sup>l Allāh ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā, wa-<sup>ca</sup>an irādatika bi-'l-<sup>ca</sup>ilm al-ladunni, *taṣīru*, wa-fi nuskha: *ṣirta*, <sup>ca</sup>abdan *ṣirfan*, ay khāliṣan la-hu ḥurran mim mā siwāhu, *lā hawā la-ka wa-lā irāda*, li-anna-ka fanaita <sup>ca</sup>an nafsika mim mā dhukira, fa-<sup>ca</sup>alimta anna al-irāda inna-mā hiya lillāh ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā, wa-mā tashā'ūna illā an yashā'a Allāhu,<sup>18</sup> *fa-ḥīna'idhin yukshafu la-ka*, <sup>ca</sup>an asrār al-ilāhiyya, *fa-taḍmaḥillu* <sup>ca</sup>an-ka al-<sup>ca</sup>ubūdiyya, ay tadhhabu, *fī 'l-waḥdāniyya fa-yafnā al-<sup>ca</sup>abd* fi-hā, *wa-yabqā al-Rabb* <sup>ca</sup>azza wa-jalla, fa-yashhaduhu al-<sup>ca</sup>abd bi-hi.

*Al-sharī<sup>ca</sup> a kulluhā qabḍ*, li-anna-hā ḥāmila li-athqāl al-taklīf bi-'l-<sup>ca</sup>ibāda, wa-'l-ḥāmīl maqbūd makdūd, *wa-'l-<sup>ca</sup>ilm* al-ladunni *kulluhu baṣṭ*, li-anna-hu <sup>ca</sup>an kashf wa-mushāhada, wa-ṣāra al-<sup>ca</sup>amal <sup>ca</sup>inda sāḥibihī <sup>ca</sup>āda lā thiḡal fi-hā wa-lā takalluf, li-anna-hu lam yara la-hu wujūdan fi <sup>ca</sup>amalihi, bal yarāhu faḍlan min Allāh wa-raḥmatan, fa-inbasaṭa li-dhālika; *wa-'l-ma<sup>ca</sup>rifa* bi-'llāh *kulluhā dalāl*, yatadallalu bi-hā al-<sup>ca</sup>abd <sup>ca</sup>alā Rabbihi ka-tadallul al-mar'a <sup>ca</sup>alā zawjihā bi-an turīhi jur'a tushakkilu ḥusnan ka-anna-hā tukhālifuhu, wa-mā bi-hā khilāf. Wa-hādhā maḥḍ jūd wa-ifḍāl min-hu ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā, lā taḥriḍ la-hu fi-hi yab<sup>ca</sup>athuhu <sup>ca</sup>alai-hi; wa-maqām al-dalāl yaqa<sup>ca</sup>u fi-hi al-inbisāṭ fī 'l-aqwāl wa-'l-af<sup>ca</sup>āl.

*Ṭarīqatunā*, ay al-muwaḥḥidūn, *maḥabba*, *lā* <sup>ca</sup>amal makdūd manzūr ilai-hi, *wa-fanā'*, *lā baqā'*, ḥāṣiluhu anna ṭarīqahum maḥabba wa-fanā', *lā* <sup>ca</sup>amal wa-baqā'; li-anna-ka, *idhā dakhalta fī 'l-<sup>ca</sup>amal*, wa-huwa al-<sup>ca</sup>ibāda *kunta la-ka*, *wa-idhā dakhalta fī 'l-maḥabba* lillāh wa-akhlaṣtahu, *kunta la-hu ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā*, *idh al-<sup>ca</sup>ābid ra'a li-<sup>ca</sup>ibādatihī*, li-anna-hu mujāhid fi-hā wa-fi nafsihī, *wa-'l-muḥibb ra'a li-maḥabbatihī*, li-anna-hu khāḍi<sup>ca</sup> li-<sup>ca</sup>aḡamat maḥbūbihī mutajarriḍ <sup>ca</sup>ammā siwāhu. Wa-'l-<sup>ca</sup>ārif fawqa-humā li-anna-hu aḥraza mā aḥrazāhu wa-zāda <sup>ca</sup>alaimā bi-<sup>ca</sup>ulūm ladunniyya wa-ma<sup>ca</sup>ārif ilāhiyya wa-wāridāt rūḥāniyya.

*Idhā* <sup>ca</sup>araftahu ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā bi-an <sup>ca</sup>arafta anna-hu yarāka wa-anna-hu al-fā<sup>ca</sup>il, wa-lam tanzur ilā <sup>ca</sup>amalika wa-lam taṭlub la-hu <sup>ca</sup>iwaḍan, *kānat anfāsuka bi-hi* ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā, *wa-ḥarakātuka la-hu*, li-anna-ka muta-khalliq bi-akhilāqihī; *wa-idhā jahiltahu* ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā, bi-an lam takun ka-dhālika, *kānat ḥarakātuka la-ka*, li-anna-ka shahidtahā ṣādira min-ka, bi-khilāf al-<sup>ca</sup>ārif, fa-lā yashhadu fā<sup>ca</sup>ilan illā Allāh. Qāla Allāh ta<sup>ca</sup>ālā: "Allāhu khāliq kulli shai'in",<sup>19</sup> "wa-'llāhu khalaqakum wa-mā ta<sup>ca</sup>-malūna".<sup>20</sup>

*Al-ābid mā*, ay laisa, *la-hu sukūn*, bal ḥaraka, li-anna-hu mujāhid, ka-mā marra, *wa-l-zāhid mā*, ay laisa, *la-hu ragħba* fī ghair Allāh, *wa-l-šiddīq mā*, ay laisa, *la-hu irtikān*, ay rukūn, ilā ghair Allāh, idh al-šidq °imād al-amr, wa-bi-hi tamāmuhu, *wa-l-ārif mā*, ay laisa, *la-hu ḥawl wa-lā quwwa wa-lā ikhtiyār wa-lā irāda wa-lā ḥaraka wa-lā sukūn*, fa-huwa bi-llāh, *wa-l-mawjūd* bi-llāh mā, ay laisa, *la-hu wujūd* ma°a nafsīhi li-fanā'īhi bi-istighrāqīhi bi-llāh, ka-mā taqaddama.

*Idhā ista'nasta bi-hi* ta°ālā, bi-an shahidtaḥu muḥīṭan bi-kull shai' khalqan wa-°ilman, wa-tataḥharta min al-shirk al-khafī, *istawḥashta* min ghairīhi ḥattā *min-ka*, li-anna-ka kunta tarā anna dhālika min-ka. *Man ishtaghala bi-nā* wa-bi-°ibādatinā, *la-hu a°maināhu* °an ru'yat al-ma°ārif li-wuqūfihi ma°a °amalihi, *wa-man ishtaghala bi-nā la-nā baṣṣarnāhu* li-ru'yatihā bi-an kashafnā °an-hu ḥujub al-kā'ināt.

*Idhā zāla hawāka* al-dunyawī, *kushifa la-ka*, ayyuhā al-sālik, °an *bāb al-ḥaqīqa* al-rabbāniyya, bi-ḥaithu tughlabu °alā al-qalb, *fa-tafnā irādatuka fa-yukshafu la-ka* °an il-wahdāniyya, fa-tarā al-wujūd kulla-hu lillāh bi-nūr yaqdhifuhu Allāh fī qalbika, *fa-tuḥaqqiqu*, li-fanā'ika °an ghairīhi ta°ālā, *anna-hu ta°ālā huwa* al-fā°il al-mawjūd *bi-nā*, wa-fī nuskha: lā anta, fa-lā tarā illā huwa bi-°ināyatihi. *In sallamta ilai-hi* umūraka, wa-tarakta tadbīr nafsika i°timādan °alai-hi, *qarrabaka* bi-naẓarihi ilai-ka bi-°ain al-raḥma wa-l-°ināya, ka-mā qāla al-Khalīl °alai-hi al-salām lammā qāla la-hu Jibrīl °alai-hi al-salām ḥīna alqūhu bi-l-manjanīq wa-arādū wuqū°ahu fī 'l-nār: "A-la-ka ḥāja?"; qāla: "Immā ilai-ka, fa-lā; wa-immā ilā Allāh, fa-ba-lā". Qāla: "Sal-hu". Qāla: "Ḥasbī min su'ālī °ilmuhu bi-ḥālī".<sup>21</sup> *Wa-in nāza°tahu*, bi-an lam tarḍa bi-qadā'īhi bi-an taqūla: "Af°alu kadhā li-yakūna kadhā, wa-law lam af°al kadhā, la-mā kāna kadhā", *ab°adaka*, ay ḥajabaka °an ḥaḍrat unsīhi. *In taqarrabta bi-hi* ilai-hi, bi-an lā tarā la-ka wujūdan wa-°amalan ma°a wujūdihi wa-°amalihi, *qarrabaka* ilai-hi bi-'l-in°ām wa-'l-faḍl, *wa-in taqarrabta bi-ka* ilai-hi bi-an ra'aita la-ka dhālika, *ab°adaka*, ay ḥajabaka wa-istaqalla bi-ka. *In ṭalabtahu la-ka*, bi-an ṭalabta min-hu al-darajāt wa-'l-karamāt, *kallafaka* lil-°amal wa-at°abaka, li-anna man ṭalaba al-ujra ṭūliba bi-'l-°amal. *Wa-in ṭalabtahu la-hu ta°ālā, dallalaka*, ay ja°alaka min ahl al-dalāl bi-maḥḍ jūdihi wa-ifḍālihi, ka-mā marra bayānuhu. *Qurbuka ilai-hi ta°ālā khurūjuka*, bi-fanā'ika, *min-ka, wa-bu°duka* °an-hu wuqūfuka ma°a-ka, li-anna-ka ḥijāb; wa-°inda-hu ḥasanāt al-abrār sayyi'āt al-muqarrabīn, ka-mā marra. Wa-hādhā qarīb min qawlihi *In j'ita bi-lā anta qabilaka*, wa-tawallāka bi-luṭfihi, *wa-in j'ita bi-ka*, bi-an ra'aita la-ka wujūdan wa-°amalan, *ḥajabaka* °an ḥaḍrat unsīhi.

*Al-āmil*, ay wa-'l-āmil fī 'ibādātihi, *lā yakādu yakhlusu min ru'yat* 'amalīhi, li-ṭalab al-ujra 'alai-hi; *fa-kun min qabūl al-minna*, ay minnat Allāh wa-tafaḍḍūlihi 'alai-ka, *lā min qabūl al-āmal*, li-taslama min ru'yatihi wa-tashhada anna-hu lā fā'il wa-lā mawjūd illā Allāh, *fa-takūna min al-ārifīn*, li-anna-ka, *in araftahu*, wa-anna-hu al-fā'il al-mawjūd, *sakanta* ilai-hi fī ḥarakātika wa-sakanātika, *fa-in naṭaṣṭa*, *naṭaṣṭa bi-hi*, wa-in sami'ta, *sami'ta min-hu*, wa-ha-kadhā fa-lā lisān la-ka wa-lā udhn, wa-li-hādhā qīla "Alāmat al-ārif an yakūnu fārighan min al-dunyā wa-'l-ākhirā"; *wa-in jahiltahu*, *taḥarrakta*, bi-ru'yatika 'amalaka wa-bi-ṭalabika al-ujra 'alai-hi.

*Fa-'l-murād* min dhālika kullahu, *an yakūna Huwa ta'ālā* 'inda-ka, *wa-lā takūna anta*, bal tafnā 'an ghairihi ta'ālā.

*Al-awāmm*, wa-hum al-'ibād alladhīna hum dūna 'awāmm al-ārifīn, *a'māluhum muttahamāt*, li-ṭalabihim al-ujra 'alai-hā, fa-hiya mashūba bi-ḥuzūzihim, wa-hum ka-'l-ujarā': in u'ṭū al-ujra 'amalū, wa-illā fa-lā.<sup>22</sup> *Wa-'l-khawāṣṣ*, wa-hum al-fānūn 'an ḥuzūzihim, *a'māluhum qurubāt*, lā naẓar la-hum ilā 'amal wa-lā ilā thawāb, bal ilā qurb min-hu ta'ālā; *wa-khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*, wa-hum al-fānūn fī Allāh bi-'llāh lillāh, al-bāqūn min Allāh lillāh, *a'māluhum darajāt*, yaṣ-ādūna fī-hā, fa-lā yashhadūna la-hum 'amalan wa-lā qurban, bal afnāhum Allāh 'an-hum wa-abqāhum la-hu li-adā' ḥuqūqihī.

*Kulla-mā ijtānabta*, ayyuhā al-sālik, *hawāka wa-ḥazzaka*, *qawiya imānuka*, fa-yukshafu la-ka sirr al-ḥikma al-rabbāniyya wa-'l-qudra al-ilāhiyya, wa-anna-hu al-fā'il al-mawjūd; *wa-kulla-mā ijtānabta dhātaka*, ay fanaita 'an-hā wa-'an sā'ir al-khalq wa-takhallaṣta bi-maqām al-baqā' bi-an ra'aita Allāh muḥītan bi-kull shai', *qawiya tawḥīduka*, wa-qaddamtu anna al-tawḥīd tawḥīd fī 'l-af'āl wa-tawḥīd fī 'l-ṣifāt wa-tawḥīd fī 'l-dhāt; wa-'l-awwal tawḥīd al-'awāmm, wa-'l-thāni tawḥīd al-khawāṣṣ, wa-'l-thālith tawḥīd khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ.

*Al-khalq*, ma'a wuqūfika ma'a-hum, *ḥijāb* 'an ru'yatihi ta'ālā, *wa-anta* ma'a dhālika *ḥijāb* 'an-hā aidan; *wa-'l-Ḥaqq* ta'ālā *laisa bi-mahjūb* 'an-ka, idh lā qudra 'alā ḥajbihi, *wa-Huwa yaḥtajibu* 'an-ka, idh lā qudra 'alā ḥajbihi, *wa-Huwa yaḥtajibu* 'an-ka *bi-ka*, li-naẓarika ilā wujūdika wa-'amalika; *wa-anta muḥtajib* 'an-ka *bi-ka*, li-dhālika, wa-hādhā sāqiṭ min nusakh, *wa-anta mahjūb* 'an-ka *bi-hi* ta'ālā, li-anna-ka idhā naẓarta ilā wujūdihi ta'ālā ḥujibta bi-hi 'an-ka, wa-fī nuskha: badal bi-him, ay al-khalq. *Fa-infaṣil* anta 'an-ka, ay 'an wujūdika wa-ḥawlīka wa-quwwatika, *tashhad* mā manna bi-hi 'alai-ka min al-ni'am wa-'l-jūd. Wa-'l-salām 'alai-ka wa-rahmat Allāh wa-barakātuhi.

CHAPTER IV

**KITAB PATAHULRAHMAN \***

T E X T

*Canto I*

1. Purwaning wangsit akarya gĕndĕng  
duk ingsun lagi aneng Pakudran  
kumawi tan wruh basane  
tan wruh ing tindak-tanduk  
nĕmbangakĕn kitab Arabi  
kitab PatahulRahman  
rinakit ing tĕmbung  
pinupuhan dandanggula  
muga-mugantuka sihe ing Yang Widi  
ing dunya ing ak erat.
2. Mugantuka sapangating nabi  
linĕbur sak(eh)ing dosa amba  
dening Yang, dosa kabeh  
mugantuka pitulung  
kabukaa rasa kang jati  
antuka amba barkat  
ing guru katengsun  
anulungi ingkang kajat  
kang akarsa kinarsakakĕn ing gĕndĕng  
kitab PatahulRahman
3. Nabi Muhammad mangke lingnyaris  
singsapa iku nulungi hajat  
ing dalĕm pawong-sanake

---

\* MS. India Office Library no. 3102, pp. 16-35 & Cod. or. Leiden no. 7563=  
S.H. 94 (10).

# KITAB PATAHULRAHMAN

## TRANSLATION

### *Canto I*

1. The idea of writing verse occurred to me  
when I was living in Pakudran,  
but though playing the poet I have no command of the language.  
I cannot find the right words  
now that I am turning an Arabic book into verse,  
namely, the book *Faḥ al-Raḥmān*,  
to be phrased in lines  
in the *ḍanḍanggula* metre.  
May God grant me His favour  
in this world and the next.
2. May the Prophet intercede for me,  
so that my sins be forgiven  
by the Lord, my sins all and sundry.  
May I be rendered assistance,  
so that the essential meaning of the book be clear to me.  
May I be accorded the beneficent influence  
of my Master,  
meeting my wish  
to turn into verse  
the book *Faḥ al-Raḥmān*.
3. The Prophet Muḥammad said,  
"Should anyone meet the wish  
of a friend, then

mangkya tulung Yang Agung  
 ing wong iku salagi maks(h)  
 nulungi marang hajat  
 Yang Agung atulung  
 ing wong kang nulungi hajat  
 mangka yogya den sami aněmbadani  
 hajating kang kawula.

4. Lawan malih pangandika nabi  
 kang sinung rahmat kalawan salam  
 ikilah pangandikane  
 utawi wong atudu(h)  
 kabēcikan kadya kang kardi  
 ganjaraning Pangeran  
 ing wong kang atudu(h)  
 iyeku amal jariya<sup>1</sup>  
 kang lumaku atudu(h) kalawan ilmi  
 kang sěpi saking riya.
  
5. Angandika seh kang luwih arip  
 ěseh Juned kang abangsa Bakdad  
 ikilah pangandikane  
 wa-kullaka sirkiyyu<sup>2</sup>  
 tĕgĕsipun sireku sirik  
 dening angrasa sira  
 ndarbeni panĕbut  
 pamuji lawan panĕmbah  
 sipta rasa makripat kang angalingi  
 iku dereng sampurna.
  
6. Iya iku kang luwih ngalingi  
 sipta rasa angrasa makripat  
 kalawan Allah siptane  
 maks(h) kalingan iku  
 maks(h) sirik tan wĕrung jati  
 kalingan sipta rasa  
 angrasa andulu  
 iyeku sirik kang samar  
 dereng tohid tingale maks(h) kalingling  
 dereng anunggal tingal.

the Lord will assist  
 that man all the while that  
 he is engaged in meeting this wish".  
 The Lord most high helps  
 anyone meeting another's wish;  
 therefore everyone should comply  
 with the wish of a fellow-creature.

4. Furthermore the Prophet,  
 whom God may grant mercy and peace,  
 said the following,  
 "To urge a reputable act  
 is tantamount to performing it".  
 The Lord rewards  
 anyone who urges reputable conduct;  
 doing this is (of the same import as) establishing a pious  
 provided it is done with good knowledge [foundation,  
 and free from ostentation.
  
5. A mystic of great renown,  
 Shaikh Junaid of Baghdād,  
 said the following,  
 "You are entirely polytheism".  
 You are a polytheist,  
 for you accredit yourself  
 with invocations,  
 praise and homage,  
 but your ideas, feelings and gnosis are screens;  
 you have not yet attained perfection.
  
6. The most serious impediments are  
 your ideas, feelings and enjoyment of gnosis,  
 when allied to the idea of duality.  
 Then you are still behind a screen,  
 still a polytheist lacking deeper understanding  
 and screened from the Lord by your idea and feeling  
 that you yourself think and see.  
 This is hidden polytheism and  
 not yet the profession of unity, since your vision is still obstructed,  
 and unification of vision is not yet attained.

7. Yen sira ayun tĕkeng rasadi  
 pancadriyanira den karaksa  
 dasadriya<sup>3</sup> den katalen  
 aja kĕmba[h] den kukuh  
 kirangana tĕḍa lan guling  
 sanggama den karaksa  
 tyasnya sĕdya ayu  
 aja pĕgat murakabah  
 iḍĕp aḍĕp iḍĕpe den ngati-ati  
 den wruh sirang pinangka.
  
8. Nora tumĕka maring Yang Widi  
 yen tan wruha ing pinangkanira  
 yen wus wĕrung pinangkane  
 dadya wĕrung Yang Agung  
 ḍirinira ya iku napi  
 kalingan ing Yang Sukma  
 nabi Allah muwus  
 sapa wĕrung ḍirineka  
 den kawruhi nora jumĕnĕng pribadi  
 mangkya wĕruh ing Pangeran.<sup>4</sup>
  
9. Angandika wong kang luwih arip  
 nora nyata tohidira ing Yang  
 saingga mĕtu awake<sup>5</sup>  
 den wruh ing tĕgĕsipun  
 wong kang amĕtu saking ḍiri  
 iku wong kang tumingal  
 ing dat sipat iku  
 atanapi ing apĕngal  
 den tingali ḍirine iku wus napi  
 anging Allah kewala.
  
10. Aja tungkul genira ngabakti  
 yen tungkula tĕmahan kajarah  
 kajarah sĕmbah pujine  
 tan wruh ing jatipun  
 katungkul ing sĕmbah pamuji  
 katungkul ing makamat  
 myang ing kaspi iku

7. If you are desirous of thorough understanding,  
then watch your five senses  
and keep a tight rein on the complementary organs.  
Do not be lax but be firm;  
minimize food and sleep;  
beware of sexual intercourse;  
cherish good designs  
and watch the Lord unremittingly;  
be cautious with your thoughts and the objects of your attention;  
be aware of your origin.
  
8. You will not attain to the Lord  
unless you know your origin.  
If you know your origin,  
you know the Lord most high.  
Your self is a non-entity,  
screened from the Lord.  
The Prophet said,  
“Whosoever knows himself, and is aware of the fact  
that he is not self-subsistent,  
knows God”.
  
9. A prominent mystic said,  
“Your profession of unity will not be evident  
unless you have given up self”.  
Know that this means:  
Whosoever has given up self,  
sees God’s Essence, attributes  
and works;  
he sees self as a non-entity,  
and God as the Only Being.
  
10. Do not be preoccupied with worship,  
otherwise you will become a captive  
of your homage and devotion.  
Ignorant of the essential,  
one is preoccupied with homage and devotion,  
preoccupied with the attainment of mystic stations  
and disclosure.

iyeku kang dadi hijab  
 sĕmbah puji makripat kang angalingi  
 tingalira ing Sukma.<sup>6</sup>

11. Bĕciking kang anĕmbah amuji  
 aywa tungkul ing puji panĕmbah  
 den wĕruh ing kajatine  
 yen tan wrung jatinipun  
 lir bagĕna sĕmbah pamuji  
 yen tan wruh jatinira  
 sayogya wong iku  
 takona wong kang sampurna  
 aja tungkul anggunggung sĕmbah pamuji  
 yeku ngalingi tingal.
12. Angandika wong kang luwih arip  
 sampurnaning pamuji panĕmbah  
 tan wruh ing sĕmbah pujine  
 muwah ing ėirnipun  
 tan ana liyaning Yang Widi  
 kang muji kang anĕmbah  
 tunggal jatinipun  
 tan na liyan saking iya  
 kang nĕmbah amuji tan liyaning Jati  
 amuji ėawakira.<sup>7</sup>
13. Angandika satĕngah wong supi  
 utawi yakin iku wong mĕdal  
 kang mĕtu saking ėirine<sup>8</sup>  
 tan ningali liyanipun  
 tatkalane wuwuh kang yakin  
 mangka angalih sira  
 saking makam iku<sup>9</sup>  
 angalih makam panunggal  
 malah tĕka maring makam kang sĕjati  
 tan wruh ing kaspinira.
14. Angandika wong kang ahli tohid  
 kang aran tohid den sami wikan  
 ing tohid iku tĕgĕse

All these things are a screen:  
 homage, devotion and gnosis obstruct  
 one's vision of the Lord.

11. The right way of bringing homage and praise  
 is to be not preoccupied by these  
 but to know the essential;  
 otherwise  
 homage and praise are void, as it were.  
 When one is in the dark about the essential,  
 one should ask  
 an adept.  
 Do not overrate the importance of homage and devotion,  
 for they obstruct the vision.
  
12. An advanced mystic said,  
 "Supreme praise and homage is  
 not to know of homage and praise,  
 nor of self.  
 There is no one but the Lord,  
 who praises and pays homage;  
 one in His essence;  
 there is no one but He.  
 None other than His Essence pays homage and praises,  
 in praise of Himself".
  
13. A mystic said,  
 "To have a firm conviction means that one has given up self".  
 He who has given up self,  
 sees nothing else.  
 When his conviction has grown firm,  
 he moves on  
 from that mystic station  
 to the station of unity;  
 nay, he attains the supreme station,  
 namely, that of not knowing of disclosure.
  
14. Those who experience unity say,  
 "You should know  
 what unity means,

anunggalakĕn kayun  
 lan makripat tan liyan jati  
 jatine iku tunggal  
 tan liyan jatipun  
 kadulu kang tiningalan  
 tan liyan kang dulu-dinulu pan sami  
 tan liyan ingkang tumingal.<sup>10</sup>

15. Angandika seh Juned Bakdadi  
 tatkalane sira sarta Allah  
 dadya kalingan ċirine  
 dening Yang Mahaluhur  
 dadya napi ċirine kadi  
 mulih kadya duk nora <sup>11</sup>  
 kalinđi(h) Yang Agung  
 ċirine nora katingal  
 sampun lĕbur lir malam katrapan api  
 ing upamane ika.
16. Yen sira ayun wruh ing Yang Widi  
 ayun wru(h) sira ing ċirinira  
 den wĕruh ing pinangkane  
 mangkya wrung jatipun  
 tan ana liyan kang ngawruhi  
 puniku dudu sira  
 ngandika Yang Agung  
 norana sira mĕmana(h)  
 ing nalika mĕmana(h) sira ing kapid  
 anging Allah kang mana(h).<sup>12</sup>
17. Iya iku sampurnaning tohid  
 tan ngawruhi iku ċirinira  
 datan wru(h) iku liyane  
 iku panjĕnĕgipun  
 sampun sirna tingale wali  
 wali kang asung tingal  
 wong arip amuwus  
 aywa sira anyana <sup>13</sup>  
 kang tumingal anĕmbah muji Yang Widi  
 liyaning kang amurba.

namely, surrender to the Lord  
and vision of nothing but the Reality,  
which is one.

Essentially there is no difference  
between the seer and the seen;  
subject and object of the vision are the same;  
the seer is none other (than the seen).

15. Shaikh Junaid of Baghdad said,  
when he was with God  
and screened from self  
by the Lord most high,  
so that his self was non-existent, as if  
returned to the stage of non-existence,  
overpowered by the Lord,  
and his self had vanished,  
molten away as wax put on a fire,  
as it were,
  
16. "If you want to know the Lord,  
you must know your self".  
You must know its origin,  
then you know the Reality;  
there is no other way of knowing.  
It is not you.  
The Lord most high said,  
"It was not you who threw,  
when you threw (a pebble) against the infidels,  
but Allah who threw".
  
17. Perfect unity is  
not to know of self,  
nor of anything else.  
This is real unity.  
The sight of the Friend has vanished,  
of the Friend who granted vision.  
The mystic says,  
"Do not nurse the idea that  
he who sees, pays homage and praises God,  
is another than the Creator".

18. Kawruhana ananing Yang Widi  
 angliputi ing sakehe asya <sup>14</sup>  
 sadurunge ana kabeh  
 muwah ing sawusipun  
 tan kejaba saking Yang Widi  
 saingga ku sadèrah  
 kaliputan iku  
 ing mangke kaya ing kuna  
 ora beda tingale kang sampun wasil  
 tan samar ing paningal.
19. Sampuning mangkana den asami  
 dipun wèruh ing ajal kamulan <sup>15</sup>  
 den wruh maring wiwitane  
 yen wrung kamulanipun  
 dadya wèruh sira ing jati  
 ðingining takyun awal  
 wiwitaning takyun  
 ing dalèm martabat wahdat  
 iya iku wiwitaning gen tajali  
 maks(i) dadalan mujmal.<sup>15a</sup>
20. Kaping kalih ènggening tajali  
 atas dadalan kang pisah-pisah  
 ing takyun sani ènggone  
 wus nyateng dalem ilmu  
 sakaṭahing sawiji-wiji  
 kaping tri karijiya  
 nyataning Yang Agung  
 iyeku mulaning ana  
 ingkang kocap sèdaya iku tajali  
 nyataning ahadiyat.
21. Yen sampun wèruh ing kajatining <sup>16</sup>  
 sakaṭahing asya kang gumèlar  
 dadya wruh ing Pangerane  
 lawan Pangeranipun  
 tan na liyan kang den kawruhi  
 anging Allah kang tunggal  
 tan wrung ðirininipun

18. Know that the Being of God  
encompasses everything.  
Before and after anything  
was called into being,  
there was no one but God;  
even the smallest particle  
is encompassed by Him,  
now as before.  
He who has reached the goal does not hold a different view;  
it is perfectly clear to him.
19. Furthermore everyone  
should know his origin;  
should know the beginning.  
When you know this,  
you have gone to the root of the matter.  
The beginning of the first determination,  
which is the starting-point of all determination,  
is at the grade of 'wahdat';  
this is the beginning of manifestation,  
still without differentiation.
20. The second stage is the manifestation  
in the way of individuation,  
which takes place in the second determination.  
Each several thing  
is present in His knowledge.  
The third is the stage of exteriorization,  
namely, that of the outward manifestation of the Lord most high.  
It is the starting-point of all being.  
All these grades are called manifestations,  
through which the Absolute Unity displays itself.
21. If you know the real situation  
as regards the whole of things created,  
you know the Lord;  
and as regards the Lord,  
none other is known  
beside Allah the Only One.  
You do not know of self,

sabab wěruh ing pinangka  
 wiwitaning takyun awal takyun sani  
 iku angsal kang gumĕlar.

22. Kalakuaning akyan kang karij  
 anut iya kang aneng maklumat  
 dat sipat lan apĕngal  
 ingkang iya iku  
 tan sĕlaya rupane kadi  
 nabi Allah ngandika  
 akarya Yang Agung  
 ing Adam apa (aneng?) rupanya  
 iku dalil tanĝaning akyan kang karij  
 anut akyan sabita.
23. Utawi wong kang suhud ing Widi  
 ayun wruh ing akyan karijiya  
 tan beda lan hakekate  
 kang aneng dalem ilmu  
 kang ingaran akyan kang sabit  
 yeku luwih utama  
 suhude puniku  
 iyeku marganing mĕdal  
 saking ĝiri ayun sami angawruhi  
 jumĕnĕng lawan Allah.

### *Canto II*

1. Ing awal lawan ing akir  
 jumĕnĕng lawan Yang Sukma  
 tan kĕna pisah anane  
 ing dunya tĕkeng akerat  
 anging kalawan Sukma  
 ing barang ĕndi wong iku  
 tan pisah lan kang Wisesa.
2. Yen sampun sira wĕruhi  
 jumĕnĕng kalawan Sukma  
 maka ngalingi Yang Manon  
 saking ĝirinira ika

for you know your origin,  
which has its beginning in the first and second differentiation,  
the starting-point of creation.

22. The exterior essences  
are in conformity to the intelligible ones.  
As regards their essence, attributes and works,  
none of these  
shows any difference,  
as the Prophet said,  
“The Almighty created  
Adam in His own image”.  
This is evidence of the exterior essences  
being in conformity to the latent ones.
23. Anyone devoting himself to the Lord  
should know that the exterior essences  
are not different from their intelligible prototypes  
which exist in God’s knowledge  
and are named the latent essences.  
This is the highest devotion  
and the way to get rid  
of self, in prospect of the knowledge  
of subsisting in God.

### *Canto II*

1. (Namely, the prospect of) subsisting in the Lord  
in the beginning and in the end,  
inseparable from Him  
in this world and the next,  
and of being with Him  
wherever one is,  
not separated from the Almighty.
2. If you know  
that you subsist in the Lord,  
He screens you  
from self,

dadya sirna dirinya  
 kalingan dening Yang Agung  
 sirna lir kadi duk kuna.

3. Tatkala wus sirna iku  
 saking dat sipat apěngal  
 dadya ambuka Yang Manon  
 ambuka ing hijabira  
 dadya sira tumingal  
 tan ana liyan Yang Agung  
 kang dulu kang tiningalan
  
4. Kalindih ing wahdat jati  
 dadi lěbur ngubudiyat  
 ing dalěm wahdat anane  
 dadya punika kawula  
 mangkya langkung . . . . .<sup>17</sup>  
 pangandikane Yang Agung  
 sakehe asya ku pana.<sup>18</sup>
  
5. Wong kang ahlulwahdat angling  
 ing mangko puniku adam  
 anging Yang Sukma anane  
 ing awal lan akir tunggal  
 tan ana ingkang liyan  
 Sultan Ali mangke muwus  
 ikilah kang pangandika
  
6. Nora aningali mami  
 ing sawiji-wiji asya  
 anging ananing Yang Manon  
 kang mojud kang tiningalan  
 tan ana kang katingal  
 liyane saking Yang Agung  
 kang murba kang amisesa.<sup>19</sup>
  
7. Satěngah wong supi angling  
 singsapa amrih Yang Sukma  
 karena iku đeweke  
 nora tuměka sinědya

so that self is annihilated,  
 eclipsed by the Lord most high  
 and brought to non-existence as of old.

3. When self is annihilated  
 through His Essence, attributes and works,  
 the Almighty lifts  
 the veil,  
 so that one sees  
 that there is none but the Lord most high,  
 who sees and is seen.
  
4. When one is overpowered by the real Unity,  
 the servitude is dissolved  
 into unity,  
 so that the servant  
 ..... (defective line in the MS.)  
 The Lord most high said,  
 "Everything perishes".
  
5. Those who experience unity say,  
 "Presently nothing will exist  
 save the Lord,  
 the Only One, in both the beginning and the end,  
 with no one beside Him".  
 Sultan Ali said  
 the following,
  
6. "In nothing whatever  
 do I see anything  
 but the Being of the Lord".  
 In the existing things within my sight  
 I see nothing  
 but the Lord most high,  
 who creates and rules.
  
7. A mystic said,  
 "Anyone who, striving after the Lord,  
 is motivated by self,  
 will not attain his end,

maksih puniku wuta  
singsapa amrih Yang Agung  
tuměka kalawan Sukma.

8. Satengah pandita angling  
singsapa wuta ing dunya  
dadi wuta maripate  
ing benjing tēkeng akerat<sup>20</sup>  
datan wruh ing Pangeran  
sabab wuta tingalipun  
ing dunya nora maripat.
9. Imam Hajali angling  
singsapa manjing suwarga  
ing dunya iku punang wong  
maka manjing suwarga  
akerat yugya aweha  
amal sadiyah<sup>21</sup> wong iku  
ing dunya manjing suwarga.
10. Ahli batin sarta yakin<sup>22</sup>  
ahli lahir sarta iman  
namung saosek kalbune  
kang liyan saking Pangeran  
maka wong iku kurang  
yakine maring Yang Agung  
lir kadya wong ahli iman.
11. Tatkalane iku mosik  
kang liyan saking amarullah  
kurang imane punang wong  
dereng sampurna kang iman  
kadya wong yakin ikrah<sup>23</sup>  
kang liyan saking Yang Agung  
kang yakin dereng sampurna.
12. Nora tuměkeng wong asih  
anging sawuse tetela  
yakin iku Pangerane  
utawing wong kang sampurna

as he is still blind.  
 Anyone striving after the Lord,  
 should come with the Lord.

8. A scholar said,  
 "Anyone who is blind in this life,  
 will be blind also  
 in the hereafter;  
 he will not behold the Lord,  
 since he was blind  
 and devoid of sight in this life".
  
9. Imam Ghazali said,  
 "Anyone living in paradise  
 in this life, that man  
 in order to win heaven  
 should do  
 pious works  
 while living in paradise on earth".
  
10. Certainty is proper to the spiritual-minded,  
 faith is proper to the secular man.  
 But when the heart of a man of certainty  
 is roused on account of anything save God,  
 his certainty with regard to God  
 is deficient,  
 as is the case with a man of faith.
  
11. When the latter is roused  
 on account of anything save God  
 his faith is deficient,  
 not yet perfect,  
 in the same way as an incentive  
 not springing from the Lord  
 impairs the certainty of a man of certainty.
  
12. The latter will not be roused  
 unless it has become clear to him  
 and he is certain that it is the Lord.  
 The man of perfect certainty

tan ana ikrah liyan  
ing dalēm sajroning kalbu  
anging Pangeran kewala.

13. Sampurnaning wong kang tohid  
ing Allah tan darbe tingal  
maripat saking deweke  
sěmbah puji tan katingal  
tan darbe tingkah polah  
tan angrasa darbe kayun  
wujud mung maring Sukma.
14. Nora tuměka mring tohid  
nanging dědalan maripat  
angawruhi pinangkane  
ngawruhi asya sědaya  
sakehing kang gumělar  
sadurunge ana mujud  
ing takyun awal kamulyan.
15. Anulya ing takyun sani  
lahire ing karijiyah  
agělar sakeh asyane  
asal ingkang luwih nyata  
nanging warnine akyan  
kang tětěp ing dalēm ilmu  
kang karij nora sělaya.
16. Yen sampun sami ngawruhi  
sakehing asya sědaya  
yen saking iku angsale  
něnggih margining maripat  
ngawruhi saking angsal  
angaspadakěn yen wujud  
juměněng lawan Yang Sukma.
17. Pangandikaning Yang Widi  
ing dalu kalawan ing siyang  
ing dalēm ilmu lampaha  
lir kadya ing asal

- is not roused by any impulse  
in his heart  
save the Lord.
13. The perfect monotheist  
does not view  
his gnosis as springing from himself;  
he does not look upon homage and prayer;  
he has no activity of his own  
nor has he any desires;  
he exists solely for God.
14. One cannot attain *tawhīd*  
save in the way of knowledge,  
namely, the knowledge of one's origin,  
the knowledge that all things,  
the entire universe,  
before coming into existence  
have their spring in the first determination;
15. then in the second determination,  
while exteriorizing in the exterior essences,  
in which all things are displayed.  
A clear origin,  
the shape of things being that of their essences,  
which are latent in God's knowledge.  
The exterior ones do not differ from these.
16. When you know  
that all things  
have their spring from there —  
in truth it is the way of knowledge  
to trace things to their origin —  
then you behold clearly  
that all existence is God's.
17. God said,  
"Night and day  
everything comes about with His knowledge,  
as in origin also

- lumampah lawan karsa  
pangandikaning Yang Agung  
kalawan Ingsun angucap<sup>24</sup>
18. Ningali kalawan mami  
muwah lan Ingsun miarsa  
kalawan Ingsun lampahe  
kalawan Ingsun akarĕp  
satingkah-polahira  
kalawan Ingsun anambut  
nĕnggih tĕgĕsing pasartan.
19. Ki Seh Juned sira angling  
sajrone kulambingwang Yang  
iku tan ana liyane  
kang muji nĕmbah angucap  
miwah saparipolah  
tan liya saking Yang Agung  
kang murba kang amisesa.
20. Ri sampunira ngawruhi  
sakatahe ingkang kocap  
yugya den sangĕt wĕdine  
nĕnggih sarate lumapah  
wĕdi maring Yang Sukma  
yen tan wĕdi mring Yang Agung  
..... dadya kiyanat.<sup>25</sup>
21. Awĕdi maring Yang Widi  
lan sabar tawĕkal lila  
ing dalĕm ilmu hukume  
nĕnggih sarating lumampah  
angarĕp-arĕp rahmat  
kalawan puji iku  
amuji kang asung rahmat.
22. Lan malih wajib lampahi  
pikukuh Islam sĕdaya  
lan anyĕgah ing cĕgahe  
sarating hakekat

it comes about through His will”.

The Lord most high said,

“They speak through Me,

18. They see through Me,  
and through Me they hear;  
they move through Me,  
through Me they strive.  
All their actions  
they perform through Me”.  
This indeed is what ‘subsisting in God’ means.

19. Shaikh Junaid said,  
“Inside my robe  
there is no one  
who prays, pays homage and speaks  
or performs any action whatever  
save the Lord most high,  
who creates and rules”.

20. Now that you have heard  
all that has been said,  
you should live in great fear.  
Indeed, fear of the Lord  
is prerequisite to any activity;  
otherwise,  
it results in a breach of trust.

21. Fear of the Lord (and also)  
patience, trust in God and acquiescence  
in His knowledge and disposal;  
for indeed, hope of His mercy  
is prerequisite to action,  
as are prayer, thankfulness  
and praise of the Merciful.

22. Furthermore one must comply  
with all precepts of Islam  
and refrain from what is forbidden.  
All this is prerequisite to the stage of Reality;

yen tan kalawan sarat  
sarengat tarekat iku  
kafir jidik ingaranan.<sup>26</sup>

23. Lan malih ayun kirangi  
ing sanḡang kalawan pangan  
anḡrasa iku kalbune <sup>27</sup>  
saking kang sumuwa ika <sup>28</sup>  
lan saking ujubriya  
miwah jahi lawan kasud <sup>29</sup>  
iyeku bataling lampah.
24. Lan malih sarat sawiji  
aja ngakehakēn lampah  
ing kang tan ana pedahe  
barang ing kang nora pedah  
pan sayugya tininggal  
dadya nungkulakēn laku  
punika kang dadi hijab.
25. Ing tingal dadya ngalingi  
katungkul ing pangal <sup>30</sup> dunya  
dadya lali ing Pangeran  
nulya tan anḡrasa sēlam  
tan wēdi ing Pangeran  
tan wontēn patobatipun  
katungkul dening kasukan.
26. Iya iku kang ngalingi  
tingal kita maring Sukma  
katungkul ing dunya kang wong  
datan emut lamun pējah  
katungkul ing hal dunya  
tan wēdi maring Yang Agung  
yeku alamat cilaka.
27. Pangandikaning Yang Widi  
singsapa arēp tumēka  
tētēmu lan Pangerane  
nora gawe ing amal

without these prerequisites,  
 (the stages of) Law and Path, that is,  
 one is deemed an infidel and an unbeliever.

23. Furthermore one should minimize expenses for food and dress, alive to the fact that spending money on either of these could spring from ambition, pride, ostentation, vainglory or envy, which invalidate all action.
24. Another prerequisite is not to indulge in purposeless activity; anything pointless should be avoided, absorption in activity being a screen.
25. Absorption in worldly activities obstructs vision, so that one does not attend to the Lord. Subsequently one does not feel a Muslim nor does one fear the Lord. One does not regret it, being wrapped up in pleasure,
26. And this obstructs one's vision of the Lord. Absorbed in the things of this world one is unmindful of death, since one is wrapped up in this world and does not fear God, which spells disaster.
27. The Lord said,  
 "No one desirous of coming and meeting the Lord, should bring with him pious works

saleh iya aywa katungkul  
 iku . . . . .  
 ing Pangeran wong sanunggal.<sup>31</sup>

28. Dadya sira apapanggih  
 kalawan Yang Sukma ika  
 yen anut ing Pangerane  
 cegah pakoning Yang Sukma  
 anut sarak Muhammad  
 ing lahir lan batinipun  
 anut ing nabi utusan.
29. Margane tumekeng jati  
 arsa anut nabi kita  
 satingkah-paripolahe  
 lahir batin pan tunggal  
 lan den wruh diri dawak  
 jumènèng lawan Yang Agung  
 nora jumènèng pribadya.
30. Ing siyang kalawan ratri  
 den eling maring Yang Suksma  
 maring saparipolahe  
 aywa nyana iku dawak  
 anging lawan Yang Suksma  
 ing saparipolahipun  
 tan sèpi saking Yang Suksma
31. Wèkas-wèkasan aurip  
 tingale tan darbe tingal  
 Allah saking iku deweke<sup>32</sup>  
 tan ngrasa darbe maripat  
 puji lawan panembah  
 tan angrasa darbe wujud  
 wujud saking dewekira.
32. Ing mangke lawan inguni  
 datan jumènèng pribadya  
 anging kalawan Sukmane  
 nora lawan dirinira

.....  
 .....  
 .....

- 28. In fact you will meet  
 the Lord,  
 when you obey Him,  
 refrain from what is forbidden,  
 abide by the Law of Muhammad  
 outwardly and inwardly, and  
 follow the Messenger of God.
  
- 29. The way to attain the Reality  
 is to follow our Prophet  
 in all one's doings,  
 for exterior and interior are one,  
 and to know that self  
 has its being in Him (the Lord),  
 and is not an independent entity.
  
- 30. Day and night  
 one must remember the Lord  
 in all one's doings.  
 Do not fancy that they are yours:  
 they are God's alone.  
 None of one's doings  
 is without the Lord.
  
- 31. The ultimate goal of life is reached  
 when Allah is not the end in view,  
 and therefore  
 one does not think that gnosis,  
 praise and homage are one's own,  
 nor does one ascribe being to oneself,  
 self-subsistent being, that is.
  
- 32. Neither now nor of old  
 was man independent:  
 he subsists in God,  
 not in self;

anging kalawan ing Yang  
 ing mangke kalawan dangu  
 yeku tingal kang sampurna.

33. Ngandika Bagenda Ali  
 kang kinarilan dening Yang  
 punika pangandikane  
 ingsun lamun binukaa  
 tan wuwuh ing Yang<sup>33</sup>  
 dening sampun yakin ingsun  
 dening wus nyateng Pangeran.

*Canto III*

1. Ri sampunira mangkana  
 den sami sira ngawruhi  
 prasanak ingsun kang mulya  
 satuhu wujud kakalih  
 kang satunggil hakiki  
 dat ingkang mutĕlak iku  
 .....<sup>34</sup>  
 ping kalih wujud majaji<sup>35</sup>  
 gih puniku ingaran wujud mukayad.<sup>36</sup>
2. Wujud mukayad tan ana  
 anging lan wujud hakiki  
 jĕnĕnge wujud mukayad  
 dat sipat apĕngal kadi  
 kang aneng dalem ilmi  
 kang lahir ing alam iku  
 ingaran karijiyat<sup>37</sup>  
 dening mijil saking ilmi  
 gih punika nyataning akyan sabitah.<sup>38</sup>
3. Tĕtĕp ingkang dat lan sipat  
 apĕngal hakekat sami  
 .....<sup>39</sup>  
 kang ingaran akyan sabit  
 ing akyan karij lahir<sup>40</sup>  
 akyan ingkang subut iku<sup>38</sup>

in God,  
 now and of old.  
 This is the final view.

33. Lord Ali,  
 may God be pleased with him,  
 said,  
 "Should I be fully enlightened,  
 my knowledge of Him would not increase,  
 for I am already a man of certainty,  
 as the Lord has already been revealed to me".

*Canto III*

1. Furthermore  
 all of you, my esteemed friends,  
 should know  
 that being is twofold:  
 first the Real One,  
 the Absolute Essence  
 .....  
 secondly the metaphorical one,  
 named limited being.
2. Limited being does not exist  
 save in relation to Real Being,  
 on account of its limited character.  
 Its essence, attributes and works are  
 in conformity to those existing in God's knowledge.  
 What becomes manifest in this world  
 is named 'exterior';  
 as it springs from God's knowledge;  
 it is, indeed, the manifestation of the latent essences.
3. Its essence, attributes and works  
 remain authentic  
 .....  
 What is named latent essences,  
 manifests itself in the exterior essences.  
 The latent essences

nyata ing karijyah  
 lakune kang dalēm ilmi  
 kalihipun lahire Yang Sukma Mulya.

4. Lahire akyan sabitah  
 atanapi akyan karij  
 yeku minongka takyunat <sup>41</sup>  
 karane tan anḍeweki  
 anging lawan Yang Widi  
 dat sipat apēngalipun  
 upama pawayangan  
 wujud tan anḍeweki  
 anging lawan kang darbeni wawayangan.
  
5. Tan darbe wujud pribadya  
 tarsonḍa maring Yang Widi  
 ananing wujud mukayad  
 anut ing wujud hakiki  
 saparipolahneki  
 ..... <sup>42</sup>  
 tan na jatining tingal  
 tan liyan saking sajati  
 gih punika jatining tohid sampurna.
  
6. Winastan salat da'imat <sup>43</sup>  
 sēmbah pujine kang da'im  
 tan pēgat pamujinira  
 ing siyang kalawan ratri  
 tansah nēmbah amuji  
 tan pēgat pamujinipun  
 tingale tan katingal  
 tan kandḗg sēmbah pamuji  
 dening wus wruh jatine puji panēmbah.
  
7. Pangandikaning Yang Suksma  
 ing hadis kudsi pinanggih  
 ingsan iku rasaning Yang  
 lan Ingsun rahsaning jalmi <sup>44</sup>  
 tansah Ingsun neng kapti  
 wong kang asih maring Ingsun

become manifest in the exterior ones (, which are)  
 in conformity to their intelligible forms.  
 Both are manifestations of the Exalted Lord.

4. The appearance of both the latent  
 and the exterior essences  
 means differentiation.  
 As neither of these is self-subsistent  
 but they exist through the Lord,  
 their essence, attributes and works  
 are comparable to a wayang play:  
 they are not self-subsistent;  
 they exist only through that which is shadowed forth.
  
5. They have no being of their own  
 but are leaning on the Lord.  
 Being of limited existence  
 is in conformity with Real Being;  
 all its activities  
 .....  
 .....  
 .....  
 This is indeed the essential of real *tawhīd*.
  
6. It is named ‘permanent prayer’,  
 ‘permanent homage and praise’.  
 One’s prayer is uninterrupted  
 day and night.  
 Continuously one pays homage and praises;  
 one’s prayer is uninterrupted.  
 Though there is no object in view  
 one’s homage and prayer never halt,  
 since one knows what praise and homage amount to.
  
7. A word of God  
 found in the *ḥadīth qudsī*  
 says, “Man is God’s secret,  
 and I am the secret of man”.  
 The longing of those who love Me  
 continuously goes out to Me;

tansah Ingsun katingal  
 kalingling sajroning kapti  
 Ingsun tunggal tan lali asih wong ika.

8. Pangandikaning Yang Sukma  
 yen sira ayun pinanggih  
 kalawan Ingsun ta sira  
 andadekĕn maring pamrih  
 pamrihe saking Kami  
 pamrihira maring Ingsun  
 aywa anyana sira  
 andadekĕn maring pamrih  
 iya iku murade sĕmbah wangsulan.
  
9. Kalawan Ingsun angucap  
 kalawan Ingsun ningali  
 kalawan Ingsun miarsa  
 kalawan Ingsun adikir  
 lawan lumaku Mami  
 nabiullah mangke muwus  
 norana wujud kita  
 anging ananing Yang Widi  
 iyeku tan lyan wujud lawan Yang Sukma.
  
10. Tatkala sira wus wikan  
 jumĕnĕng lawan Yang Widi  
 mangke wruh maring Yang Sukma  
 yata ing sawiji-wiji  
 wruhe tan andĕweki  
 anging kalawan Yang Agung  
 tan darbe tingal dawak  
 tingale punika napi  
 dening nora wong iku jumĕnĕng dawak.
  
11. Punika napining asya  
 anane tan andĕweki  
 anging kalawan Yang Sukma  
 kang batin lawan kang lahir  
 lahir batine sami  
 tan jumĕnĕng dĕwekipun

they watch Me continuously;  
 in their longing they are mindful of Me.  
 I, the Only One, am the permanent object of those people's love.

8. God said,  
 "When desirous  
 of meeting Me,  
 you intend to do that,  
 this intention springs from Me,  
 namely, your intention of striving after Me.  
 Do not fancy  
 that it is your own.  
 This is what is meant by 'return homage'.
  
9. Through Me they speak,  
 through Me they see,  
 through Me they hear,  
 through Me they are mindful,  
 their walk is Mine.  
 The Prophet said,  
 "Ours is no being  
 save the Being of the Lord",  
 that is to say, no being other than subsisting in God.
  
10. When you know  
 that you subsist in God,  
 you know God;  
 then you know  
 that nothing whatsoever is self-subsistent;  
 everything subsists in Him.  
 You have no vision of your own;  
 there is no such vision,  
 since man is not self-subsistent.
  
11. Now, as regards the nullity of 'things' (creation),  
 they are not self-subsistent;  
 they subsist only in God,  
 inwardly and outwardly.  
 Neither outwardly nor inwardly  
 are they self-subsistent.

ingaranan mukayad  
tarsonða maring Yang Widi  
wujud mutlak yeku yen wujud mukayad.

12. Lahiring wujud mukayad  
lahire wujud hakiki  
iya iku rupaning Hak  
kang lahir anut ing batin  
kang batin nyateng lahir  
kang lahir mangke atuduh  
ing kalakuwaning hak  
kang wontèn ing dalèm batin  
yata asya lampahe su'un datiyah.<sup>45</sup>
13. Lampahe su'un datiyah  
kakalih batin lan lahir  
kang lahir ananing asya  
kang batin ing dalèm ilmi  
kaliye iku sami  
kalawan hakikinipun  
tan sěpi saking ěhak  
kang batin lawan kang lahir  
gih puniku minongka nyataning ěhak.
14. Aywa samar ing paningal  
sakaðahe asya sami  
dadya ta jatining ěhak  
lampahe sawiji-wiji  
tan lyan saking Yang Widi  
batin kalawan lahir pun  
datan ana sělaya  
kang batin kalawan lahir  
gih punika minongka lahiring ěhak.
15. Ri sampunira měngkana  
dipun sami angawruhi  
wirasane kang siněrat  
dipun estokna ing galih  
něnggih rasa kang adi  
sakaðahe kang siněbut

Their existence is named a limited one.  
 They are dependent on God,  
 The Absolute Being, which means that their existence is a  
 [limited one.

12. Outward limited being  
 is the exterior of real being,  
 the manifestation of the Reality.  
 The outward goes by the inward;  
 the inward manifests itself in the outward.  
 The outward points  
 to the development  
 inside the Reality:  
 'things' grow out of the predispositions in the Essence.
13. The predispositions of the Essence develop  
 into both the inward and the outward;  
 the outward is the being of 'things' (creation);  
 the inward are their intelligible forms.  
 They are the same  
 and in fact  
 not devoid of the Reality,  
 neither the inward nor the outward.  
 Both indeed serve for manifestations of the Reality.
14. Be clear about this:  
 All things  
 are in fact the Reality;  
 the moving of each distinct thing,  
 both inwardly and outwardly,  
 springs from God alone.  
 There is no difference  
 between the inward and the outward;  
 both indeed serve for manifestations of the Reality.
15. Furthermore  
 you should know  
 the purport of this writing, and  
 realize it in your heart,  
 for this is indeed the sound interpretation.  
 What has been remarked here

- satēngahe pan rahsa  
 rasa kang bongsa rabani <sup>46</sup>  
 gih punika satēngah sih kanugrahan.
16. Sampun tamat kang sinurat  
 kitab kang abongsa Arbi  
 lawan sih nugrahaning Yang  
 pambuka bongsa rabani  
 kang tan sinungan ēsih  
 tan ambuka rasanipun  
 anging sih kanugrahan  
 ambuka rasa sējati  
 mangke yogya den sami agugurua.
17. Yen sampun wikan sēdaya  
 ing sawirasaning tulis  
 . . . . yogya angatahna <sup>47</sup>  
 dikir maring Yang Widi  
 ing siyang lawan latri  
 aja pēgat den lumintu  
 ing manah miwah lisan  
 dipun eling aja lali  
 sengga sirna ḍirine tan katingalan.
18. Mantuning sērat tinēḍak  
 Sēnen Wage Surya nēnggih  
 Dumadilakir wulannya  
 tanggal ping kalih Jimakir  
 taune duk tinulis  
 angkaning taun ingitung  
 sewu nēm atus warsa  
 sawidak lan tigang warsi  
 duk tinulis rusake Walonda Jawa.

is in part a secret,  
 a secret of a Lordly character,  
 a favour and a blessing.

16. This is the end  
 of the Arabic book.  
 God's favour and blessing  
 made me understand it.  
 When one is not granted God's favour,  
 one does not understand the meaning.  
 Only by favour and blessing  
 is its deeper meaning disclosed.  
 Therefore one should apply to a teacher.
17. When you understand completely  
 the purport of this writing,  
 then be continuously  
 mindful of the Lord,  
 day and night,  
 unremittingly,  
 in all you think or say.  
 Be mindful of Him, with never flagging attention.  
 so that your self disappears without leaving trace.
18. The copying of the book was finished  
 on Monday Wage Surya (?)  
 of the month Dumadilakir,  
 the second of the year Jimakir;  
 that was the time it was written,  
 which is the year  
 sixteen hundred  
 and sixty three (of the Javanese calendar),  
 when there was a war going on with the Dutch.

CHAPTER V

A RISALAH

by

Shihabuddin of Palembang \*

*Bismillāhi 'r-rahmāni 'r-rahīm.*

*Al-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-<sup>ᶜ</sup>ālamīn, wa-ṣallā Allāh <sup>ᶜ</sup>alā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma<sup>ᶜ</sup>in.*

*Wa-ba<sup>ᶜ</sup>du*, kemudian daripada itu, maka inilah suatu risalah yang latif lagi mukhtasar pada menyatakan ilm tasawwuf serta termadhkur dalamnya ilm tawhid atas jalan kelakuan orang yang ahl al-salik. Dan yaitu setengah daripada ilmu yang terafdal, karena bahwasanya adalah iya manapikan *shirk jalī* dan *khafī*, ya'ni shirk yang lahir dan shirk yang batin, *ka-mā qāla Allāh ta<sup>ᶜ</sup>ālā*, "*Fa-<sup>ᶜ</sup>lam annahu lā ilāha illā 'llāh*". Maka adalah segala ahl al-tasawwuf itu melazimkan akandia karena menapikan meréka itu shirk yang tersebut itu.

Maka erti *shirk jalī* itu yaitu barang yang memerintahkan hawa-nap-sunya yang amarah kepadanya hingga berbuat ia akan perbuatan yang sia-sia seperti kufr dan ma'siyat, dan makan ia akan makanan yang haram, dan meninggalkan sembahyang lima waktu, meninggalkan puasa pada bulan Ramadan dan barang sebagainya daripada segala perbuatan rukun Islam. Maka yaitu *shirk jalī* namanya.

2 / Dan erti *shirk khafī* itu yaitu lupa ia akan Allah ta'ala dalam hatinya sama ada daripada dunia atau akhirat, dan jikalau karamat atau mukashafat sekalipun. Maka inilah *shirk khafī* namanya, dan mudah-mudahan dipeliharakan Allah subhanahu wa-ta'ala kiranya kita daripada keduanya itu dengan hormat penghulu kita nabi Muhammad ṣallā 'llāhu <sup>ᶜ</sup>alaihi wa-sallama, serta dengan hormat Qur'an yang azim. Amin.

*I'lam*, ketahui oléhm, hay talib, bahwasanya jikalau ada wujud

---

\* MS. SOAS 12247, Marsden.

shirk yang jali itu kepadamu, maka keluarlah engkau daripada nama manusia kepada nama héwan, dan apabila ada wujud shirk yang khafi itu kepadamu, maka jauhlah engkau daripada hadrat Haqq ta'ala lagi jauh pula engkau daripada sampai kepada ilmu yang hakiki, yang pitulung, yang bangsa rububiyya . . . engkau orang ahl neraka . . .

Maka tiada sekali-kali (orang ahl neraka itu) menerima akan makanan orang ahl al-janna jikalau diberinya sekalipun, karena bahwasanya tabi'at orang ahl al-nar itu tiada sekali-kali menerima ia akan makanan ahl al-janna. Demikianlah ihwal manusia dalam mertabatnya, seperti firman Allah ta'ala: *Wa-qad <sup>c</sup>alima kullu unāsin mashrabahum,*  
 3 ya'ni: mengetahuilah / serta menerima tiap-tiap manusia akan minumannya masing-masing dengan mertabatnya; dan tiada memberi manfa'at bagi manusia itu dengan minum yang tiada menerima tabiatnya dan mertabatnya. Dan ketahu oléhm, hay talib, bahwasanya manusia itu tiada sejahtera ia daripada fadihat dan kehinaan melainkan dengan ilmu serta amal yang saléh. *Wa 'llāhu a<sup>c</sup>lam.*

Dan kata Shaikh Raslān, rahmat Allah 'alaihi, dalam sebuah risalatnya dengan menyatakan shirk yang khafi: *Wa-kulluka shirk khafī,* ya'ni: Sekalian kamu, hay talib, yaitu adalah shirk yang batin itu; ya'ni: bahwasanya wujud kamu dan hidup kamu dan perbuatan kamu sekaligus itu menjadi dinding bagi kamu kepada hadrat Allah s.w.t., dan jikalau engkau hilangkan yang demikian itu, maka sampailah engkau kepada hadrat Allah s.w.t., seperti engkau lihat sekaligus itu daripada Allah ta'ala. Ya'ni: Hendaklah tawajjuhkan mata hatimu serta ingatkan bahwasanya Allah s.w.t. itu menjadikan Ia akan dirimu dan hidupmu dan segala perbuatanmu, dan sekaligus itu makhluk Allah jua, serta  
 4 sebut oléhm: *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh;* tetapi jangan engkau lupakan barang yang telah kusebut ia dalam sharh / Jawharat al-tawhid daripada masalah nabi dan isbat, maka yaitu bagi orang yang muftadi pada ilm tawhid.

Dan adapun setengah daripada orang yang ahl al-salik itu maka adalah ia memberi ma'na kalimat *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* itu dengan barang ma'na yang munasabat dengan dia atas mertabatnya dan ihwalnya yang telah ma'ruf (?) akandia pada istilahnya, seperti kata setengah ahl al-salik: *Lā maṭlūba wa-lā maqsūda illā 'llāh;* dan setengah daripadanya: *Lā ḥaḍīra wa-lā mashhūda illā 'llāh;* dan kata setengahnya: *Lā fā<sup>c</sup>ila illā 'llāh;* dan kata setengah: *Lā ḥayya illā 'llāh* dan kata setengahnya: *Lā mawjūda illā 'llāh,* dan barang lainnya daripada itu. Maka segala ma'na yang tersebut itu khusus ia bagi orang yang ahlinya, yang arif ia pada istilahnya, dan haram bagi orang yang 'awam lagi muftadi

mengucap ia seperti kata meréka itu, sebab tiada tahu ia akan istilahnya dan sebab kurang amalnya dan mujahadahnya dengan hawa-napsunya, dan lagi sebab banyak yang bangsa batin dalam hatinya daripada segala sipat yang madhmumah dalam hatinya, seperti hubb al-dunya dan 'ujb dan tekabur dan riya dan / hasad dan tam'a dan barang  
5 lainnya daripada barang yang kusebut dalam sharh Jawharat al-tawhid.

Dan jikalau berkata orang yang muftadi lagi 'awam akan barang yang dikata oleh orang yang ahl al-salik seperti yang termadhdhur itu, maka iaitu bid'ah yang terlebih sangat lagi zindik, dan adakalanya menjadi kufr sebab katanya itu. Maka sebab itulah baiklah berwasiat jumbuh ahl ilm tawhid dengan menegahkan ia akan sekalian orang yang muftadi lagi 'awam dengan mutala'ah ia akan kitab orang yang ahl wahdat al-wujud, ya'ni kitab mertabat tujuh yang telah mashhur dalam negeri Jawi, dan melihat kitab orang yang ahl al-salik, supaya jangan tergelincir i'tikad orang yang 'awam. Maka peliharakan oléhm, hay talib, akan wasiyat jumbuh ulama ini supaya sejahteralah engkau daripada i'tikad tujuh puluh dua kawm yang amat sesat i'tikad meréka itu dengan khabar daripada rasulullah s. A. ' w. atas demikian itu.

Shahadan banyaklah sesat orang Jawi yang tiada ditunjuk Allah ta'ala akan meréka itu kepada jalan i'tikad ahl al-sunna wa 'l-jama'a  
6 dengan / mendapat ia akan guru yang murshid lagi yang memelihara-kan ia dengan munasabat ihwal manusia lagi yang memberi naséhat karena wajh Allah ta'ala akan anak muridnya. Maka sebab demikianlah banyak sesat orang 'awam oléh karena tiada memelihara-kan ia akan yang munasabat dalam mertabatnya, makamatnya dan adabnya. Maka apabila berkata meréka itu dengan beberapa perkataan seperti perka-taan awliya Allah ta'ala dan seperti perkataan orang yang telah sampai ia kepada ilm yang hakiki hingga masuk ia kepada perkataan yang menjadi kufr halnya tiada tahu sekali-kali ia akan peri hal kesalahannya kepada Allah sebab terlebih sangat sesatnya serta dengan harubiru sétan akan dia dengan membuang ia akan shari'at penghulu kita nabi Muhammad s.A.'w., maka yaitulah Dajjal berupa manusia. Maka mudah-mudahan disejahterakan Allah s.w.t. akan kita dengan hormat penghulu kita nabi Muhammad s.A.'w. pada hal yang demikian itu. Amin.

Dan sebab demikian itu berkata Shaikh Muhammad Raslani: *Wa 'l-shari'a la-hum*, ya'ni shari'ah Muhammadiyah yang mutahharah  
7 itu, bagi orang yang 'awam lagi / muftadi, tetapi orang yang muta-wassit dan orang yang muntahi terlebih sangat ia memelihara-kan shari'ah Muhammadiyah itu menjadi tunggul agama Islam.

Karena bahwasanya shari'ah Muhammadiyah itu, jikalau takluk ia pada lahir ibadat, maka yaitu shari'ah namanya, dan ibadat pun namanya, dan ilm yakin pun namanya, dan banyaklah namanya demikian itu.

Dan jikalau takluk ia dalam batin ibadat seperti khudu' hatinya dan ikhlas dan shukur dan rila dan sabar dan barang sebagainya daripada segala sipat yang mahmudah, maka yaitu 'ubudiyat namanya, dan 'ain al-yakin pun namanya, dan setengah ulama menamai akan dia ilm tarikat namanya.

Dan jika takluk ia pada ruh ibadat, seperti sangat tawajjuh hatinya kepada Allah ta'ala halnya tiada sekali-kali lawan hatinya kepada Allah ta'ala dan tiada berpaling hatinya kepada barang yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala seperti sorga dan neraka dan barang sebagainya, maka yaitu 'ubudat namanya dan hak al-yakin pun namanya, dan setengah ulama menamai akan dia ilm hakikat, dan banyaklah ibarat  
8 ulama dengan menamai / demikian itu.

Dan jikalau takluk ia dalam sirr ibadat seperti tiada sekali-kali melihat ia pada perbuatan sendirinya akan amalnya dan ibadatnya, melainkan melihat ia dengan mata hatinya kepada Tuhan Rabb al-<sup>c</sup>Arsh al-<sup>c</sup>Azim, serta kekal ia atas demikian itu, seperti sabda rasulullah s.A.'w. dalam bab al-ihsan, dan daim ia dengan tawajjuh mata hatinya akan dhat Allah ta'ala hingga lupa ia akan dirinya dan akan sekalian perbuatannya sebab sangat tawajjuhnya akan Allah s.w.t., maka yaitu dinamai akan dia dengan akmal al-'ubudah, dan akmal al-yakin pun namanya; dan menamai pula setengah ulama pula dengan ma'rifat pun namanya.

Shahadan ketahui oléhmu, hay talib, bahwasanya makamat yang empat mertabat itu tiada keluar sekali-kali ia daripada nama shari'ah Muhammadiyah yang mutahharah, ya'ni semata-mata itu ilm shari'ah jua namanya, tetapi manusia itu bersalahan dalam ihwalnya dan minumannya dengan nasibnya daripada Allah s.w.t., seperti firman  
9 Allah ta'ala dalam Qur'an: *Qad <sup>c</sup>alima kullu unāsīn mashrabahum,* / ya'ni bahwasanya telah mengenal serta menerima tiap-tiap manusia itu akan tempat minumannya. Demikianlah ihwal manusia seperti barang yang telah tersebut itu, tetapi tabiat manusia itu tiada sekali-kali menerima akan nasibnya daripada Allah s.w.t., hingga belajar dan berkata ia akan barang yang tiada di-kerilai Allah s.w.t.

Karena bahwasanya ilm yang telah diwajibkan Allah ta'ala atas tiap-tiap mukallaf itu yaitu ilm yang tiga perkara. Pertama: mengetahui ilm usul al-din yang dinamai akan dia ilm al-tawhid kepada Allah

dengan sekadar kifayatnya; dan kedua: mengetahui ilm pekih dengan sekadar kifayatnya mengesahkan ibadatnya akan Allah ta'ala; dan ketiga: mengetahui ilm tasawwuf dengan ilm tawhid yang telah tersebut dalam sharh Jawharat al-tawhid. Maka hendaklah engkau lihat dalamnya. *Wallāhu a<sup>c</sup>lam*.

Shahadan: ketahui oléhmumu, hay talib, bahwasanya ilm tawhid yang disebutkan ini yaitu tiga perkara. Pertama: tawhid dhathi namanya; dan kedua tawhid sifati namanya, dan ketiga tawhid af'ali namanya.

- 10 Maka erti tawhid yang bangsa dhathi itu maka hendaklah engkau ketahui bahwasanya / Allah ta'ala itu telah menjadikan Ia akan dirimu serta ingat engkau dengan senetiayasa dalam hatimu atas demikian itu dengan kata *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*; serta ikhlas dengan tawajjuh hatimu.

Dan adapun tawhid sifati itu maka yaitu hendaklah engkau kenal dengan yakin bahwasanya Allah ta'ala itu menjadikan akan hidupmu serta ingat engkau atas demikian itu dalam hatimu dengan daim tawajjuh hatimu dengan kata *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* serta memelihara akan ma'nanya demikian.

Adapun tawhid af'ali itu maka yaitu hendaklah engkau kenal dengan yakin bahwasanya Allah ta'ala itu telah menjadikan Ia akan sekalian perbuatanmu serta ingat hatimu dengan kata *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, serta engkau peliharakan ma'nanya.

Shahadan: ketahui oléhmumu, hay talib, bahwasanya tawhid yang tiga perkara itu asal kebajikan, dan yaitu menjadi roh sekalian ibadat. Dan wajib atas sekalian kamu, hay talib, dalam menyungguh-nyungguhi dia; mudah-mudahan disampaikan Allah s.w.t. akan kita atas hal yang demikian itu, dengan hormat penghulu kita nabi Muhammad s.A.'w.

- 11 serta dengan berkat Qur'an / yang azim. Maka apabila lupa engkau akan salah suatu daripada yang tiga perkara itu maka jadilah engkau *shirk khafī*, seperti yang telah tersebut itu. Maka wajib pula atas kamu membaharui dengan mengucap kalimah *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* serta memelihara akan ma'nanya pada tiap-tiap waktu yang engkau lupa akan dia.

Maka tiap-tiap barang yang engkau lihat atau engkau dengar daripada barang sesuatu maka ingatlah engkau kepada yang menjadikan dia, yaitu Allah s.w.t. yang bersifat Ia dengan kudrat dan iradat. Dan kata setengah ulama r.A.', Apabila kulihat akan makhluk maka kulihat akan Khalik s.w.t. Dan kata setengah ulama ahl al-salik r.A.', Dan apabila kulihat akan makhluk, serta kulihat akan Khalik s.w.t. Dan kata setengah ulama r.A.': Kulihat akan Khalik dahulu, maka kulihat akan makhluk. Maka mertabat yang awal itu yang terlebih teguh lagi amat yakin serta dengan dalil yakin. Dan mertabat yang

kedua itu terlebih tinggi, karena adalah bersamaan ingatnya akan makhluk dan Khalik dalam hatinya. Maka mertabat yang ketiga itu  
 12 yang terlebih akmal daripada keduanya karena / adalah melihat hatinya akan Allah s.w.t. yang bersifat ilm yang takluk ia akan sekalian maklumnya.

Maka setengah daripada maklumnya itu yaitu *māhiyyāt mumkināt*. Maka sangatlah yakin bagi segala ulama ahl al-salik bahwasanya wujud segala makhluk yang lahir pada kharijiyya itu far' pada *māhiyya* mungkin yang thabit dalam maklum Allah s.w.t. yang azaliyya. Maka pikirkan oléhmumu dalam hatimu, hay talib, dalam isharat ini, karena bahwasanya adalah dalamnya itu bicara yang amat mushkil adanya, upama manikam yang terlebih indah lagi tiada sepertinya serta nadir wujudnya dalam hakikatnya, yang tiada dapat ia dengan kata atau dengan belajar atas demikian itu dengan lisan tetapi demikian itu didapat akan dia dengan fadl serta anugeraha daripada Tuhan Rabb al-'Arsh al-'Azim. Mudah-mudahan dimudahkan Allah s.w.t. dengan rahmatnya akan kita serta dengan berkat shafa'at nabi kita Muhammad s.A.'w. dengan mendapat yang demikian itu adanya. Amin, yā Rabb al-<sup>c</sup>ālamīn.

13 *I<sup>c</sup>lam*, ketahuilah oléhmumu, hay talib, bahwasanya / permulaan jalan orang yang ahl al-salik itu hendaklah ia sabar atas menanggung mashakkat shari'ah Muhammadiyyah yang mutahharah daripada akidah orang yang sesat lagi kufr, dan yaitu daripada segala orang yang tujuh puluh dua kawm yang masuk meréka itu dalam naraka jahannam, yaitu telah termadhkur dalam hadith nabi s.A.'w. akan khabar demikian itu. Dan lagi hendaklah sabar pula dengan menjauh ia akan barang yang ditegahkan nabi s.A.'w., dan rila hatinya pada barang hukum Allah yang jatuh atasnya. Maka rila atas yang demikian itu terlebih afdal bagi amal orang yang ahl al-salik, dan jika ada ia daripada orang yang kafir sekalipun. Demikianlah kata Shaikh yang <sup>c</sup>ārif *bī'llāh* Muhammad Raslani dalam sharh Shaikh Zakariyya', *rahmat Allāh <sup>c</sup>alaihīmā*. Maka engkau pikirlah kata ini, hay talib, karena bahwasanya kelakuan yang demikian itu terlebih afdal bagi orang yang ahl al-salik.

Dan akhirnya kelakuan orang yang ahl al-salik itu lemah daripada barang sesuatu serta sangat tawajjuh hatinya kepada dhat Allah s.w.t. /  
 14 serta tiada sekali-kali berpaling hatinya kepada *mā siwā Allāh*, serta sangat khidmatnya kepada Khalik s.w.t., hingga lupa ia akan dirinya daripada sangat tawajjuh hatinya serta khidmat ia kepada Tuhan Rabb al-'Arsh al-'Azim. Serta kata sayyiduna Abu Bakr r.A.'.: *Al-ajz <sup>c</sup>an*

*darak al-idrāk idrāk*, ya'ni: Bermula, lemah daripada mendapat pendapat itu yaitulah pada sebenarnya pendapat. Maka yaitulah yang terlebih akmal pengenal ma'rifat kepada Allah s.w.t., maka yaitu ibarat daripada kesempurnaan peri hal orang yang ahl al-salik, dan yaitu ketika sangat ghalabahnya dalam hal berkhidmat ia kepada Allah s. serta tawajjuh hatinya yang bangsa rohani kepada Tuhannya hingga lupa ia akan dirinya dan akan sekalian *aghyār* sebab sangat tawajjuhnya akan Tuhannya, hingga merasailah ia bahwasanya dirinya itu sangat lemah halnya, tiada mempunyai ia upaya. Serta kata setengah ahl al salik r.A.'.: hingga ia merasai akan tiadanya, seperti firman Allah ta'ala: *Wa-qad khalaqtuka min qablu wa-lam taku shai'an*, ya'ni:

- 15 Sanya telah Kujadikan akan dikau daripada dahulu / pada hal tiada ada sesuatu. Dan jangan engkau sangka bahwasanya akan orang yang ahl al-salik yang telah sampai ia akan mertabat mahabbat kepada Allah s.w.t. maka gugurlah pada hak orang itu sekalian amar Allah dan nahinya, karena bahwasanya manusia itu tiada gugur sekali-kali segala amar Allah dan nahinya pada hak orang itu selagi ada wujud akalinya dalam hatinya; melainkan jika hilang akal daripada hati orang itu, karena hadith nabi s.A.'w. atas demikian itu. *Wallāhu a'lam*.

- Dan barangsiapa berkata bahwasanya orang yang ahl al-salik itu apabila sampailah ia dalam mertabatnya kepada. Allah ta'ala maka gugurlah daripadanya segala amar Allah dan nahinya . . . maka orang itu mulhid namanya, terlebih sesat lagi kufr dila'natkan Allah ta'ala atasnya dan segala malaikatnya dan segala manusia. Maka betapa sah kata orang itu? Bahwasanya yang terlebih afdal daripada makhluk itu penghulu kita nabi Muhammad s.A.'w., maka dalam itupun tiada jua gugur daripadanya sekali-kali segala amar Allah dan nahinya; dan demikian lagi pada hak segala sahabat rasullah s.A.'w., r.A. <sup>c</sup>anhum
- 16 / itupun tiada jua gugur sekali-kali pada hak meréka itu amar dan nahi, lagi terlebih sampai meréka itu kepada mertabat yang terlebih tinggi. Maka tiada siapa yang mengetahui dalamnya melainkan Allah ta'ala yang amat tahu, dan sekalian meréka itu terlebih afdal makhluk Allah ta'ala dan kemudian daripada nabi dan malaikat yang mursal. Dan jangan engkau dengarkan, hay talib, akan segala perkataan orang yang sesat yang membuang ia akan shari'ah Muhammadiyah yang amat suci lagi benar dengan dalil nass Qor'an yang 'azim dan hadith nabi Muhammad s.A.'w. Mudah-mudahan dijauhkan Allah s.w.t. kiranya kita daripada i'tikad orang yang sesat itu. Mudah-mudahan dikekalkan Allah akan kita sekalian Islam dengan melazimkan agama shari'ah nabi Muhammad s.A.'w. *Amīn*.

Dan ketahui olehmu, hay talib, bahwasanya mertabat ilm itu tiga perkara. Pertama: *ilm al-yaqīn*; dan kedua: *ain al-yaqīn*; dan ketiga: *haqq al-yaqīn*; dan pada setengah ibarat ulama yaitu *kashf al-nafs*, dan *kashf al-qalb*, dan *kashf al-sirr*.

17 Adapun erti *ilm al-yaqīn* itu, yaitu barang yang hasil ia akan ma'lumnya / dengan nazar dan istidlal, seperti mengetahui akan wujud api dengan wujud asap; dan seperti demikianlah upama kita mengetahui wujud Allah ta'ala dengan dalil wujud alam serta baharunya.

Dan erti *ain al-yaqīn* itu yaitu barang yang hasil sesuatu baginya itu dengan mushahadat dan mu'ayanat, seperti melihat ia akan api daripada tempat yang jauh; dan seperti demikianlah upama mengenal ia akan wujud Allah ta'ala dengan yaqīn serta kekal ingatnya dalam hati, dan barang yang dilihatnya daripada barang sesuatu, maka bertambah sangat yaqīnnya dalam hatinya bahwasanya Allah s.w.t. jua yang telah menjadikan dia, serta kekal ingatnya pada lahirnya dan pada batinnya.

Lagi erti *haqq al-yaqīn* itu yaitu barang yang hasil baginya dengan mubasharah, seperti upamanya masuk ia dalam api serta merasai ia akan barang ishraq daripada panasnya dan barang sebagainya; seperti demikianlah ia mengenal akan wujud Allah ta'ala serta kekal ingatnya pada lahirnya dan pada batinnya, dan sangatlah it tawajjuh hatinya

18 yang bangsa rohani kepada Allah s.w.t. pada hal / tiada berpaling sekali-kali ia akan barang sesuatu yang lain daripada Allah s.w.t. daripada *aghyār* hingga lupa ia akan dirinya daripada sangat tawajjuhnya kepada dhat Allah ta'ala. Mudah-mudahan disampaikan Allah ta'ala kiranya kita dengan rahmatnya seperti peri hal yang demikian itu dengan berkat shafa'at penghulu kita nabi Muhammad, s.A.'w.

Shahadan, apabila ia masuk mengerjakan sembahyang maka memeliharakanlah ia segala sharatnya dan rukunnya dan barang sebagainya, karena imtithal ia akan amar Allah ta'ala; maka yaitu *ilm al-yaqīn* namanya, dan shari'ah yang mutahharah pun namanya, dan yaitu asal sekalian kebajikan yang tiada sepeertinya.

Maka apabila engkau himpulkan yang demikian itu serta ikhlas hatimu dan sabar dan tawakkul dan rila dan kana'a dan zuhd dan barang sebagainya daripada segala sifat yang mahmudah, maka yaitu *ain al-yaqīn* namanya, dan tarikat pun namanya, dan 'ubudiyah pun namanya, dan kashf al-qalb pun namanya.

19 Dan apabila engkau himpulkan serta demikian itu dengan tawajjuh / hatimu yang bangsa sirri lagi rohani kepada dhat Allah ta'ala yang

telah menjadikan Ia akan dikau dan sekalian perbuatanmu serta kekal tawajjuh hatimu kepadanya dengan tiada sekali-kali berpaling engkau kepada barang sesuatu yang lain daripada Allah s.w.t., maka yaitu *ḥaqq al-yaqīn* namanya, dan *haqiqa* pun namanya, dan 'ubuda pun namanya, dan *kashf al-sirr* pun namanya. Maka jikalau engkau diberi Allah tawfik dengan fadlnya dan anugerahannya bagimu dengan meng-himpunkan yang demikian itu dengan tawajjuh yang bangsa hakiki [akan] kepada hadrat dhat Allah ta'ala serta tiada berputusan sekali-kali sama ada dalam sembahyang atau lain daripada sembahyang, hingga fanalah engkau daripada segala *aghyār* dan *kā'ināt*, serta daim atas demikian itu, mudah-mudahan disampaikan Allah ta'ala akan dikau atas demikian dengan hormat nabi Muhammad s.A.'w. *Amīn*.

20 Maka pikirkan oléhmumu kata pekir ini yang telah mankul daripada kata jumhur ulama ahl al-salik serta muwafakat meréka itu dengan segala imam ahl al-tasawwuf dan ahl al-salik, yaitu imam / Abi Kasim Junaidi al-Baghdadi dan lainnya, serta Shaikh Qushairi dan imam Ghazali dan barang lainnya daripada segala *masha'ikh* r.A. 'anhum.

Dan sabda nabi s.A.'w.: *al-Iḥsān an ta'ubuda Rabbaka ka'annaka tarāhu*, ya'ni: Bermula nama kebajikan itu bahwa mengerjakan engkau akan ibadat akan Tuhanmu seolah-olah engkau lihat dengan mata hatimu akan dia, hingga fanalah engkau daripada segala *aghyār* dan *ka'ināt* daripada sebab sangat tawajjuh mata hatimu kepadanya yang bersifat Ia dengan sifat rahman dan jamal, *wa-in lam takun tarāhu, fa-innahu yarāka*, ya'ni: dan jika tiada kuasa engkau dengan mengerjakan mertabat yang tersebut itu, maka tiadalah engkau melihat akan dia, maka yakinkan dalam hatimu bahwasanya Tuhanmu itu telah melihat Ia akan dikau dan segala perbuatanmu, serta kekal ingat hatimu atas demikian itu. Maka hendaklah engkau pikirkan hadith ini, karena bahwasanya dalamnya itu beberapa ma'na yang melengkapinya pada shari'ah yang lahir dan shari'ah yang batin, seperti barang yang tersebut dalamnya itu.

21 Maka jika tiada kuasa / engkau daripada mertabat yang telah tersebut itu, maka wajib atasmu, hay talib, melazimkan dengan barang yang dikata oléhmumu pekir yang amat da'if daripada kata setengah ulama ahl al-salik, r.A.', *wa-alaika ayyuhā al-insān bi 'l-sharī'at al-ulyā allatī bi-hā al-najāt min al-dār al-bawāri*, ya'ni: Fard atasmu, hay talib, pada segala orang yang awam yaitu melazimkan shari'ah Muhammadiyyah yang asaliyyah lagi amat tinggi, serta sejahtera ia daripada . . . dunia dan akhirat daripada api neraka, dan diperlihatnya akan ni'mat shorga dengan karunia Allah s.w.t., seperti firman Allah ta'ala dengan memuji

Ia akan ummat nabi Muhammad s.A.'w.: *Kuntum khaira ummatin ukhrijat lil-nāsi ta'muruna bi 'l-ma'rūfi wa-tanhawna 'ani 'l-munkari*, ya'ni: Adalah kamu, hay ummah Muhammadiyyah, terlebih baik ummah yang dilahirkan ia bagi manusia pada halnya menyuruh meréka itu dengan berbuat kebajikan dan menegahkan meréka itu daripada segala perbuatan munkar lagi ma'siyat dan segala akidat yang sesat daripada orang Mu'tazilah dan falasifah dan Rafidiyyah dan / Qadariyyah dan barang sebagainya daripada tujuh puluh dua firkat kawm *la'nat Allāh 'alaihim ajma'in*.

*Wa-kunta ka 'l-'abdi 'l-mukht'i 'l-ābīqi*, ya'ni: Adalah engkau, hay segala 'awam, seperti hamba yang durhaka bagi tuannya lagi lari ia daripada tuannya yang bersifat kahar dan sifat rahman dan rahim. Maka tobatlah kamu kepada Tuhanmu dengan tobat yang makbul lagi nasuhan serta kerjakan oléhmumu dengan berkhidmat, ya'ni dengan mengerjakanlah engkau akan segala suruhnya dan jauhilah oléhmumu akan segala larangannya, karena Ialah Tuhan kita yang sebenarnya yang menjadikan kita dan sekalian perbuatan kita. Dan adalah engkau dengan khawf dan raja', ya'ni takut ia kepada Tuhanmu dan mengharap kepada rahmat Tuhanmu yang bersifat rahman rahim, serta mengerjakan engkau akan segala asbabnya datang rahmat Tuhanmu kepadamu, dan yaitu mengerjakan segala suruh Allah ta'ala kepadamu dan menjauhi segala yang ditegahkan Allah s.w.t. kepadamu, dan lagi hendaklah membanyakkan engkau dengan mengucap kalimah yang musharrafah dan yaitu *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, serta memelihara ma'nanya yang telah kusebutkan dalam sharh Jawharat al-tawhid. Maka /

23 engkau lihatlah dalamnya dan membanyakkan pula engkau dengan membaca salat dan salam atas nabi Muhammad s.A.'w. serta hormat ta'zim dan wakar akan mertabat nabi Muhammad s.A.'w., supaya beroléh shafa'atnya dalam dunia dan akhirat, karena itulah menjadi pintu akan rahmat Allah ta'ala. [dan dunia dan akhirat s.A.'w.]

Khatimat kata pikir yang telah muhtāj akan rahmat Allah s.w.t. adalah kuwasiatkan akan dikau, hay talib, hendaklah dengan memelihara shari'ah Muhammadiyyah yang telah suci lagi benar serta yang telah tersebut ia dalam Qur'an yang azim. Dan jangan sekali-kali engkau menaruhkan mutiara, yaitu ilm ini, pada bukan tempatnya, karena bahwasanya demikian itu seperti menaruhkan mutiara pada léhér babi atau anjing, seperti yang tersebut dalam khabar nabi s.A.'w. akan demikian itu.

*Subhān Rabb al-'izza 'ammā yaşifūna, wa-salām 'alā al-mursalin, wa'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-'ālamīn, wa-ṣallā Allāhu 'alā sayyidinā*

*Muhammad wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma<sup>c</sup>īn. Wa 'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-<sup>c</sup>ālamīn. /*

- 24 Shahadan, adalah jalan tarikh yang terlebih afdal itu menghimpunkan lahir dan batin daripada mengucapkan kalimah *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*. Maka hendaklah engkau mengucap dengan lidah yang lahir daripada kalimah *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, serta memelihara ma'nanya yang tiga perkara, yaitu tiada sekali-kali sebenarnya hanya Allah; dan keduanya itu: tiada kuharapi sekali-kali hanya Allah; dan ketiga: tiada kusembah sekali-kali hanya Allah. Maka inilah ma'na bagi orang yang muḥtad.

Adapun ma'nanya kepada orang yang mutawassit itu tiga perkara pula: pertama: tiada kusahaja sekali-kali hanya Allah; dan kedua: tiada kutuntut sekali-kali hanya Allah; dan ketiga: tiada yang khatir dalam hatiku hanya Allah. Maka inilah ma'na bagi orang yang menjalan dalam tengah-tengah tarikat.

- Maka adapun ma'nanya bagi orang yang muntahi itu tiga perkara pula. Pertama: *Lā fā<sup>c</sup>ila illā 'llāh*, ertinya: tiada yang punya . . . sekali-kali hanya Allah; dan kedua: *Lā ḥayya illā 'llāh*, ertinya: tiada yang punya hidup sekali-kali hanya Allah; dan ketiga: *Lā mawjūda illā 'llāh*, ertinya: tiada yang punya wujud sekali-kali hanya Allah. Maka inilah ma'na bagi orang yang muntahi yang terlebih akmal, dan yaitu
- 25 jalan orang yang khas yang sampai kepada / darajat wali kutub.

Bermula: Inilah tiga makamat; maka makamat yang kedua dan ketiga itu haram dikata dalam lidah dan dibicara serta orang yang banyak yang dungu, tetapi wajib diingatkan dalam hati jua, jangan dikata dalam lidah serta mendengar orang banyak. Maka inilah tarikat dalam lidah serta dalam hati. Adapun tarikat dalam hati itu yaitu hendaklah engkau jalankan dhikr *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* itu dalam hatimu serta memelihara ma'nanya *Lā fā<sup>c</sup>ila illā 'llāh* dan *Lā ḥayya illā 'llāh* dan *Lā mawjūda illā 'llāh*, serta kekalkan hatimu dengan ma'na yang tiga itu. Ertinya: Maka engkau gerakkan hatimu dengan *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, halnya senentiasa barang sesuatu hal, atau hal berhadap engkau kepada hati sanubari, serta jalankan hatimu dengan kata *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*. Maka jikalau sudah senentiasa demikian itu, maka engkau ingatkan dengan ma'na *Lā fā<sup>c</sup>ila illā 'llāh*. Maka apabila senentiasa demikian itu, maka engkau ingatkan dengan ma'na *Lā ḥayya illā 'llāh*, serta mudawamah. Maka jikalau sudah demikian itu maka engkau ingatkan pula dengan ma'na *Lā mawjūda illā 'llāh*, hal mudawamah,

- 26 ertinya senentiasa engkau / tilik dengan ma'na itu hingga ghalib engkau dengan ma'na demikian itu. Maka jangan engkau lupakan ma'na

demikian itu hingga tiada berasa engkau punya perbuatan sendirimu dan tiada hidup sendirimu dan tiada wujud sendirimu, hingga sampai engkau kepada darajat fana.

Maka jikalau selesailah daripada demikian itu maka engkau rasa bahwasanya tubuhmu itu kembali kepada ma'dum, ertinya: kembali tubuhmu kepada tiada. Karena bahwasanya i'tikad yang terlebih akmal itu, maka bahwasanya perbuatan kamu dan hidup kamu dan wujud kamu itu pulang kepada asal kamu, yaitu kembali kepada ma'dum. Maka jikalau sudah selesailah daripada demikian, maka engkau lihat dengan lihat yang bangsa hati lafz harf Allah serta engkau ghalabahkan dalam hatimu, halnya barang yang engkau lihat, maka kelihatan lafz harf Allah; maka jangan engkau lupakan sesa'at sekalipun. Maka inilah tawajjuh namanya yang hakiki, dan yaitu dinamai salat da'im, puji da'im, tasbih da'im, puasa da'im, dan banyaklah namanya.

27 Maka inilah hakikat ma'rifat yang akmal kepada jalan orang ta-sawwuf yang betul lagi selamat daripada segala kata orang yang sesat dan zindik dan mulhid / yang diberi la'nat Allah ta'ala akan segala meréka itu, *A'ūdhu bi 'llāh min-hā*. Tetapi ilm ini haram dibicarakan orang yang tiada ahlinya. Maka jangan engkau lahirkan sekali-kali.

Maka inilah janji kami, hay talib: Hapalkan Allah fī 'l-dārain. *Amīn, yā Rabb al-ālamīn*.

Tammāt al-risāla ta'lif tuan shaikh Shihabuddin Jawi, raḥmat Allāh 'alaihi. Intahā.

## A RISALAH

by

**Shihabuddin of Palembang**

### S U M M A R Y

The subject of this tract is the mystical interpretation of the short Muslim creed, viz. the words "There is no God but God", or, to put it into the author's own words, the meaning of *tawḥīd*, the profession of God's unity and uniqueness as taught in the Qor'ān (47: 19), according to the view of the adherents of orthodox mysticism (*ahl al-salik*, as they are called here). Mystics deem this interpretation obligatory in order to keep clear of both manifest and hidden polytheism.

Manifest polytheism is to indulge in one's passions, so that one comes to unbelief and disobedience, such as to partake of forbidden food, neglect of ritual prayer and so on. It degrades man to the state of animals.

Hidden polytheism is to give full attention to things of this world and the next, inclusive of marks of divine favour and revelations, while paying no heed to God most high. Then one is far from the Supreme Reality, far too from attaining the salutary essential knowledge, which is of a transcendent character.

Men, however, are not equally capable of receiving knowledge. People destined for hell will decline the food and drink of the people of paradise, even if they are offered these. This is the deeper meaning of Qor'ān 7: 160, "All the people already knew their drinking places". But this does not take away from the fact that man is not protected from disgrace and vileness except by knowledge and righteous conduct.

In explanation of 'hidden polytheism' Shaikh Raslān says in his *Risāla fī'l-tawḥīd*, "You are entirely hidden polytheism", that is to say that your self, your life and your acts are a screen between you and God. Only when you remove this screen can you come to God; therefore turn your inward eye to God and keep in mind that He has created you, your life and your acts, and say, "There is no God but God". But meanwhile

do not forget what I have said in my commentary on the *Jawharat al-tawhīd* concerning this formula of denial and affirmation with respect to novices in the field of the science of *tawhīd*.

The *ahl al-salik* interpret this formula in accordance with their progress on the mystic path. Some of them say, "God is our only aim and end"; others say, "Nothing but God is present and apparent"; or, "There is no agent but God"; or, "There is no one living but God"; or, "There is no Being but God", and so on.

All these interpretations are permissible only to adepts who understand the language of mysticism. The common people and the beginners are not allowed to speak in this way because they are not familiar with this language and, moreover, are failing in righteous conduct and in fighting their passions. Therefore, when common people or novices speak like adepts, it is heresy and unbelief, which sometimes lead to infidelity. They should be forbidden to read books written by the followers of the doctrine of the unity of being (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), that is to say books on the "seven grades" (*martabat tujuh*), that have such a wide circulation in the Malay lands. Instead of these they should read books written by the *ahl al-salik*, to that they be protected against the heresies professed by the 72 sects that are mentioned in the well-known tradition of the Prophet.

Furthermore, the Malays often go astray owing to lack of competent teachers who can give them appropriate tuition and advise them with good counsel. On account of this situation a good number of common people with complete disregard of their real status speak like the adepts who have attained essential knowledge. But they are *Dajjāls* in human shape; in their mouths such words are unbelief, while they are not conscious of their sinning against God nor of the fact that their being confused by the devil is at the bottom of their rejection of the sacred law of the Prophet.

On that score Shaikh Raslān says, "The Law is for them", the common people, that is, although at both the middle and the highest station people observe the Law still more strictly.

The Law of Muhammad (*Sharī<sup>c</sup>ah Muḥammadiyyah*), when pertaining to outward worship, is called *sharī<sup>c</sup>ah*, *ibādah*, *ilm yaqīn*, and many other names. Pertaining to inward worship, such as mindfulness, purity in heart, thankfulness, satisfaction, patience and suchlike commendable qualities, it is called *ubūdiyyah*, *ain al-yaqīn*, and sometimes *ilm ṭarīqah*. Pertaining to the spirit of worship, such as turning the heart solely to God; utter acquiescence; unconcern with things

beside God as, for instance, paradise and hell, it is called <sup>ᶜ</sup>*ubūdah*, *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*, and sometimes <sup>ᶜ</sup>*ilm ḥaqqīqah*, and many other names. Pertaining to the fundamental of worship, which is that one does not look on any work of one's own, not even on pious works or acts of worship, but attributes these merely to the Lord of the Exalted Throne and continuously turns one's heart to the Essence of God most high while oblivious of self and of all activity of one's own, it is called supreme <sup>ᶜ</sup>*ubūdah*, supreme certainty, and sometimes *ma<sup>ᶜ</sup>rifah* (gnosis).<sup>1</sup>

All of these four stations are equally named "the pure Law of Muhammad", but according to God's word in the Qor'an, men differ as to condition and "drink",<sup>2</sup> in conformity with their preordained destiny. Man's nature, however, is such that he is impatient of accepting his destiny, so that he takes cognizance and speaks of things which are not agreeable to God.

God has bound over every accountable person to threefold knowledge, viz. sufficient knowledge of dogmatics, of jurisprudence and of mysticism, the last in combination with the knowledge of dogmatics, as dealt with in my commentary on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*. Dogmatics has three parts, viz. *tawḥīd dhātī*, *tawḥīd šifātī* and *tawḥīd af<sup>ᶜ</sup>ālī*. The first deals with God as the Creator; the second with God as the Creator of your life;<sup>3</sup> the third with God as the Creator of your acts. All this should be kept in mind when turning your heart to God you say, "There is no God but God", and you should hold to this interpretation of the formula.

This threefold *tawḥīd* is the source of all good and the spirit of all worship. One should take it seriously, in the hope that God will make one reach this certainty for the sake of our Prophet and through the beneficent influence of the holy Qor'ān. Leaving out one of these three parts constitutes hidden polytheism.

Some mystics say, "When I look at created things they remind me of the Creator". Others say, "Looking at created things I see the Creator at the same time"; while yet others say, "First of all I see the Creator, then the created things". The third saying is the most sound, because then one sees God with His attribute of knowledge which encompasses everything known, inclusive of the possible quiddities (*māhiyyāt mumkināt*). These mystics are fully convinced that all outward existence is part of the possible quiddities that are present potentially in God's eternal knowledge.

One should ponder on these instructions, as it concerns a very difficult subject which cannot be mastered by talking about it or by tuition, but only by the grace and favour of the Lord of the Exalted Throne.

The beginning of the mystic path is the patient acceptance of the burden imposed by the pure Law of Muhammad, which is free from error and the heresies professed by the followers of the 72 sects destined for hell. This patient acceptance should be accompanied by refraining from everything forbidden, and by satisfaction with everything dispensed by God. Eventually the mystic, conscious of his own impotence, turns his heart to God's Essence and never to anything but God, in absolute submission to the Lord of the Exalted Throne. Abū Bakr said, "The incapacity of attaining understanding is understanding".<sup>4</sup> This is the highest attainable knowledge of God, namely, to renounce self and all other things in complete surrender to God, so that one realizes that one is utterly devoid of power. Some people even say: so that one realizes one's non-being, in accordance with Qor'ān 19: 9, "I have created thee formerly when thou wert nothing".

But do not imagine that the mystics who have attained this grade of love of God are exempt from keeping God's commandments as long as they are still in their right senses. Anyone maintaining the contrary is a heretic. Not even our Prophet Muhammad, who was the best of creatures, nor his companions were exempt from the obligations of the Law, let alone others.

Knowledge is tripartite: *ilm al-yaqīn*; *ain al-yaqīn*, and *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*; or, with other words, *kashf al-nafs*; *kashf al-qalb*, and *kashf al-sirr*, 'cognition by means of the intellect, the heart and man's innermost self'.<sup>5</sup>

*Ilm al-yaqīn* is that which is ascertained by way of speculation and argumentation, such as concluding the presence of fire from smoke. In this way one concludes the existence of God from the existence of creation.

*Ain al-yaqīn* is that which one comes to know by way of observation and vision, such as, for instance, the presence of fire by seeing it from a distance. It is a lasting and ever increasing certainty with regard to God as the Creator of all things.

*Ḥaqq al-yaqīn* is knowledge acquired by experience, such as, for instance, the experience of heat from entering into a fire. It is an absolute and lasting certainty with regard to God's Being, accompanied by a complete turning of the heart towards Him and a complete turning away from anything but Him, so that one renounces self absolutely through concentration on God most high.

When one performs the ritual prayer in conformity with the received rules out of obedience to God's commandments, we speak of *ilm al-yaqīn* and *sharīḥ muṭahharah*; it is the source of all good. Should one

combine this with purity in heart, patience, trust in God, satisfaction, contentment, austerity and such commendable qualities, then we speak of *ʿain al-yaqīn* and *kashf al-qalb*. Should one further combine all this with turning one's innermost heart to the Essence of God who has created man and all his deeds, in permanent and unwavering concentration on Him alone, then we speak of *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*, *ḥaqīqah*, *ʿubūdah* and *kashf al-sirr*. God grant that you may be able to achieve this unflagging concentration on Him during the ritual prayer and at other times, so that you pass away permanently from all that exists.

Ponder on these my words, that were taken from the words of famous teachers of mysticism and are in keeping with the teachings of prominent mystics such as Abū Qāsim Junaid, Shaikh Qushairī, Imām Ghazālī and others.

Said the Prophet, "Correct behaviour means that you serve your Lord as though you saw Him, even if you do not see Him, for He sees you". Ponder on this tradition, for its content is complementary to the Law in its outer and inner aspect. Should you, however, be incapable of attaining this stage, then, Oh student! it is incumbent on you to hold to the words of the mystic who said, "Oh man! Keep to the exalted Law in which lies the salvation from the dwelling of perdition". (Cf. Qor'ān 14:28)

Furthermore, the Law opens a vista of celestial bliss, for God has praised the community of our Prophet by saying, "Ye have become the best community ever produced for the people urging what is reputable and restraining from what is disreputable" (Qor'ān 3:110), and from disobedience and erroneous doctrines such as professed by the Mu'tazilites, the philosophers, the Rāfiḍites, the Jabarites, the Qadarites and all other sects which are numbered among the 72 sects destined for perdition.

Oh you common people! You resemble a slave who has failed his master and fled. Repent yourself sincerely before the Lord and keep His commandments. Live in fear and hope, and hold to the interpretation of the words "There is no God but God" that I have given in my commentary on the *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*. Bless the Prophet out of esteem for his person and reverence of his high rank, so that you may be granted his intercession in the world to come. Observe the Law and do not cast pearls before swine by bringing up the subject of mystical knowledge in inappropriate places.

The appropriate method for beginners is to utter the words "There is no God but God" with full understanding of their meaning. There-

fore, speaking these words with the tongue one should at the same time apprehend clearly their threefold sense, viz., no one is self-sufficient save God; I put my trust in God alone; I adore no one but God.

For those who are advanced these words also have a threefold meaning, viz., God is my only aim; I aspire solely after God; in my heart I think only of God.

For the adepts they likewise have a threefold meaning, viz., there is no agent but God; there is no one living but God; there is no Being but God. This interpretation, however, is restricted to those adepts who have reached the stage of *wali quṭb*, "Pole" in the mystical hierarchy of saints. One should not discuss the last two stages with common people but rather be reticent about them.

Inward recital of the words "There is no God but God" should be performed while simultaneously keeping in mind the fact that there is no agent but God; no one living but God; no Being but God. Then one realizes that one's actions, life and being are not one's own. One sees oneself as non-being, as returned to one's origin, non-being, that is, and the inward eye sees the word 'Allāh'. Continue with this without even a moment's interruption. This is called real turning to God, and also permanent devotion, permanent praise, permanent fasting etc. This is what the accomplished mystic's supreme knowledge amounts to; it is knowledge that one should keep from unqualified people.

CHAPTER VI

THE SO-CALLED KITAB MUKHTASAR

by

Kemas Fakhruddin of Palembang

TEXT

*Bismi 'llāhi 'l-Raḥmāni 'l-Raḥīm.*

*Qāla al-faqīr al-ḍa'if al-dhalīl ilā mawlāhu al-ghanī al-jalīl, Kata* pekir yang laip lagi hina kepada Tuhannya yang kaya lagi mahabesar: Inilah kitab yang mukhtasar bagi ta'lif shaikh al-wali Rislān al-Dimishqī, *qaddasa Allāh sirrahu al-azīz*, dan memberi manpa'at Allah ta'ala akan kita dengan berkatnya.

Maka adalah aku menterjemahkan kitab ini dengan bahasa Jawi supaya mudah bagi segala orang yang muḥtadī memahamkandia, dan sesungguhnya telah kumasukkan sedikit daripada perkataan sharahnya *Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān* bagi Shaikh Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī dan sharahnya *Khamrat al-Khān* bagi Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā'īl dan lain daripada itu dengan sekadar kifayat bagi segala orang yang salik yang muḥtadī mengetahui dia. Dan adalah<sup>1</sup> kuharap kepada Allah subhanahu wata'ala akan memberi manpa'at Ia akandaku dan segala  
2 saudaraku yang salik dalam dunia dan dalam akhirat. Dan / bahwasanya Allah ta'ala jua yang menunjuk bagi betulnya, dan kupohonkan akandia bagi sempurnanya, *bi-jāh sayyid al-mursalīn wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma'in*.

Dan kata Shaikh *qaddasa Allāh sirrahu al-azīz*:

*Kulluka shirk, wa-mā yabīnu la-ka tawḥīduka illā idhā kharajta an-ka.*

Sekalianmu, hai manusia, dhat dan sifat dan af'al, shirk yang khafi; ya'ni shirk pada dhat daripada sekira-kira melihat manusia itu akan dirinya; dan shirk pada sifat daripada sekira-kira menetapkan sipat

## THE SO-CALLED KITAB MUKHTASAR

by

Kemas Fakhruddin of Palembang

### TRANSLATION

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

I, a destitute, weak and worthless person before the Lord rich and exalted, say, "This is a concise tract by Shaikh Walī Raslān of Damascus — may God sanctify his exalted soul and cause us to profit by his beneficent influence —. I have translated this tract into Malay in order to make it easily understandable to beginners, adding a few things taken from the commentary named *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān* by Shaikh Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī and from that named *Khamrat al-khān* by Shaikh ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿīl, and other things to the extent to which novices should know these, and I hope that God may cause me and all my brethren on the mystic path to profit by it in this world and the world to come. / It is God who shows the right way and I beseech Him to do this to the full, for the sake of the first among the apostles, his family and his companions".

The Shaikh — may God sanctify his exalted soul — says:

*You are entirely polytheism and your tawḥīd will not be manifest unless you have renounced self.*

All that is yours, Oh man! your essence, attributes and works, is hidden polytheism. With regard to essence, inasmuch as you look for essence in yourself; with regard to attributes, inasmuch as you ascribe

baginya; dan shirk pada af<sup>c</sup>al daripada sekira-kira menerbitkan barang yang terbit daripadanya baginya. Dan tiada lahir bagimu tawhidmu melainkan apabila telah keluar engkau daripada dirimu dan daripada segala aghyar dengan sebab keluarmu daripada segala sifat bashariyya dan meninggalkan ikhtiyar dan tadbir, dan tahqiq pada maqam al-'ubudiyya. Maka terbitlah atasmu pada <sup>1</sup> demikian itu anwar al-tawhid, dan adalah engkau pada <sup>2</sup> lahirmu serta makhluk dan pada batinmu serta Haqq; dan lahirmu pada <sup>3</sup> shari'a dan batinmu pada haqiqah.

- 3 Dan ketahuilah olehmu bahwasanya / shirk itu atas dua bahagai, pertama shirk jali namanya,<sup>1</sup> dan kedua shirk khafi namanya.<sup>2</sup> Maka shirk jali itu yaitu orang yang melihat perbuatan makhluk, ya'ni melihat perbuatan dirinya,<sup>3</sup> dan tiada di-i'tiqadkannya haqiqatnya daripada Allah ta'ala. Dan demikian itu memberi cidera kepada iman, seperti i'tiqad segala orang yang kafir. Dan shirk khafi itu yaitu orang yang melihat perbuatan makhluk serta di-i'tiqadkannya segala haqiqatnya <sup>4</sup> daripada Allah ta'ala jua <sup>5</sup> Dan demikian itu tiada memberi cidera kepada iman, tetapi adalah belum lagi sampai kepada martabat orang yang kamil itu, yaitu <sup>6</sup> orang yang tiada melihat bagi wujudnya <sup>7</sup> dan bagi wujud <sup>8</sup> lainnya, dan hanyasanya yang mawjud itu yaitu Haqq ta'ala jua,<sup>9</sup> karena tiada wujud bagi sesuatu itu serta Haqq ta'ala. Maka adalah bahwasanya wujudnya kepadanya pada tawhidnya itu adalah ia yang menegahkan baginya daripada sempurna tawhidnya; maka <sup>10</sup> tatkala telah hilanglah wujudnya kepadanya, maka sempurna lah tawhidnya. Maka inilah kesudah-sudahan tawhid yang di/tuntut oleh
- 4 Haqq ta'ala daripada kita, karena shuhud yang demikian itu <sup>1</sup> maqam orang yang 'arif pada Allah ta'ala, dan orang yang 'arif itu yaitu orang yang tiada melihat akan <sup>2</sup> dirinya wujud.

Dan ketahuilah olehmu, hai salik, bahwasanya erti <sup>3</sup> tawhid itu yaitu menapikan yang lain, karena menetapkan Yang Esa <sup>4</sup> sebenarnya.<sup>5</sup> Dan yaitu atas tiga martabat:

pertama: bagi segala orang yang 'awamm, yaitu yang iqrarkan <sup>6</sup> dengan lisan <sup>7</sup> dan mentasdiqqan dengan hati; dan

kedua: bagi segala orang yang muqarrabin, yaitu orang yang melihat sekalian sesuatu banyak, tetapi dilihatnya terbit daripada Yang Esa sebenarnya, dengan penglihat yang memutuskan akan berpaling daripada segala sebab dan segala wasit; dan

ketiga: bagi segala orang yang siddiqin, yaitu bagi orang yang tiada melihat ia dalam wujud melainkan wujud Haqq ta'ala jua,<sup>8</sup> dan menamai orang yang sufi akandia fana dalam tawhid. Wa 'llāhu a<sup>c</sup>lam.

attributes to yourself; with regard to works, inasmuch as you attribute to yourself whatever action springs from you. Your *tawhīd* will not be manifest unless you have renounced self and everything else by freeing yourself from all human attributes and have given up all will and disposition of your own, and apply yourself thoroughly to (the requirements of) the station of devotion. Then the light of *tawhīd* will dawn upon you; outwardly you will be numbered among the created but inwardly you will be with God. The outward man will be under the Law but the inward man will be with the Reality.

- 3 Know that / polytheism is of two kinds, manifest and hidden. Manifest polytheism is when one looks upon the actions of created beings, that is to say at one's own actions, without acknowledging that actually they proceed from God — a notion which impairs one's faith, as is the case with the unbelievers. Hidden polytheism means that looking on the actions of created beings one acknowledges that actually they spring from God. This does not impair one's faith but even so one has not attained the rank of the perfect man, which is when one does not look upon one's own being nor on the being of anything else. The only Being is the Supreme Reality, for beside Him Being cannot be ascribed to anything else.

- 4 As for the matter of one's own being, in the case of perfect *tawhīd* one denies being to oneself; when this notion of a being of one's own has vanished, the *tawhīd* will be perfect. This is the ultimate *tawhīd* / which God demands of us, since it is the testimony of those who have attained mystical knowledge of God, that is to say, who do not ascribe being to themselves.

Know, Oh traveller on the mystic path, that the meaning of *tawhīd* is the denial of being to anything else by the acknowledgement of the Truly One. This has three grades:

- 1°. the grade of the common people who affirm with their tongues and believe in their hearts;
- 2°. that of those who are 'brought near', *i.e.*, those who see the multiplicity of things but look upon them as springing from the Truly One, with an eye that makes them look away from causes and means; and
- 3°. that of the truthful, *i.e.*, those who in all being see only the Being of the Supreme Reality, and of whom the mystics say that they have passed away in *tawhīd*. God knows best.

5 Dan adalah bahwasanya diri manusia itu mahjub daripadanya dengan aghyar. Maka apabila telah keluar ia daripada / aghyar, niscaya terangkutlah hijab daripada dirinya, maka dikenalnya dirinya, dan apabila telah dikenalnya <sup>1</sup> dirinya, niscaya keluarlah ia daripada dirinya, maka dikenalnya Tuhannya. Dan karena inilah kata mu'allif, raḍiya Allāhu <sup>c</sup>anhu:

*Fa-kullamā akhlaṣta, yukshafu la-ka anna-hu Huwa, lā anta, fa-tastaghfir min-ka*, Maka manakala khalis engkau dengan keluar daripada demikian itu, niscaya dibukakan bagimu bahwasanya Ia jua yang mawjud sendirinya dengan wujud yang qadim, tiada engkau, ertinya tiada wujud bagimu pada sekalian, tetapi adalah engkau 'adam mahd jua.

Maka apabila tiada engkau pandang lain daripada Allah ta'ala, maka adalah engkau muwahhid baginya sebenarnya,<sup>2</sup> dan apabila telah terbuka bagimu dengan demikian itu, maka engkau ketahui bahwasanya pandangmu bagi dirimu itu dosa, maka engkau minta ampun daripada pandangmu bagimu itu. Maka dengan khalismu daripada demikian itu, maka tahqiqlah bagimu pada maqam al-tawhid, dan berpeganglah <sup>3</sup> engkau dalam segala harakat dan dalam segala diam atasnya, yaitu Allah subhanahu wa-ta'ala, karena bahwasanya Ia jua yang mutasarrif

6 dalam tiap-tiap sesuatu / dan yang mudabbir bagi tiap-tiap sesuatu dan yang menggerakkan dan yang <sup>1</sup> mendiamkan bagi tiap-tiap sesuatu.

*Wa-kulla-mā wajadta bi-anna la-ka al-shirk, fa-tujaddid fi kull sā'a wa-waqt tawhīdan wa-īmānan*, Dan manakala telah tahqiqlah engkau dalam inkishaf yang tersebut itu bahwasanya Ia jua, tiada engkau, maka lahirlah bagimu shirk yang ada padamu dan engkau lupa daripadanya, maka engkau datangkan dalam tiap-tiap sa'at dan waktu akan tawhid, ertinya mentahqiqkan bahwasanya Ia jua, tiada engkau, dan akan iman, ertinya mentasdiqkan pada haqiqat bahwasanya Ia jua, tiada engkau, hingga sempurnalah yaqinmu.

Maka murad pada tawhid itu yaitu zuhur sifat al-wahdaniyya bagi hamba itu, hingga binasalah sekalian hamba itu dalamnya dan tiada <sup>2</sup> tinggal baginya athar,<sup>3</sup> dengan semata-mata tasdiq hati bahwasanya demikian itu sebenarnya jua.

7 Dan apabila telah engkau ketahui bahwasanya Allah ta'ala jua mutasarrif dalam sekalian pekerjaan, tiada / lainnya, dan telah engkau tahqiqkan kepada demikian itu di <sup>1</sup> haqiqat *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, dan engkau ketahui bahwasanya tiada yang memberi melarat dan tiada yang memberi manfa'at dan tiada yang memberi dan tiada yang menegah dan tiada yang merendahkan dan tiada yang meninggikan

5 Man's self is veiled from him by (outward) things. When he gets rid of / these, undoubtedly the veil will be lifted from his self, so that he will know himself. When he knows himself, undoubtedly he will get rid of self and know the Lord. This is why the author says:

*Whenever you worship sincerely, it will be disclosed to you that He is and you are not; therefore, take refuge from your self.*

Whenever you have truly got rid of self, undoubtedly it will be disclosed to you that He is the only and eternal Being, not you; that is to say that you have no being at all but are only pure non-being.

6 When you see nothing but God, you are a true monotheist, and when this vision is disclosed to you, you know that looking upon self is sinful and you ask God's forgiveness for it. When you are free from it, then realize the station of *tawhīd* and hold to it both when active and inactive, that is to say, to God, praise be unto Him and He is exalted, because as a free agent He disposes of everything / and is the primordial cause of all activity and inactivity.

*Whenever you find polytheism in yourself, renew your profession of His Uniqueness and your faith at every moment and time.*

Whenever you consider the inferences from the revelation that He is and you are not, then the polytheism that is yours without your being aware of it will become apparent to you, and ever and anon you will renew your *tawhīd*, *i.e.*, you will realize anew that He is and that you are not, and renew your faith, that is to say that you truly profess that He is and you are not, so that absolute certainty will be yours.

What is meant by *tawhīd* is that the attribute of uniqueness becomes manifest to the servant, so that the servant is wiped out completely without leaving a trace, while the heart fully professes that this is the actual situation.

7 When you know that God alone acts as a free agent in everything / and when by means of the (understanding of the) essential meaning of *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* ('There is no god but God') you have realized this and you further know that no one but God gives misery and bestows benefit, gives and withholds, humiliates and raises, then let the traveller on the mystic path never desist from uttering this sentence with his

melainkan Allah subhanahu wa-ta'ala jua, maka hendaklah senentiasa orang yang salik itu<sup>2</sup> menyebut kalimah *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* dengan lisannya hingga sampai athar<sup>3</sup> kepada hatinya dan hapuslah shirk dengan sebabnya.

Dan manakala melazimkan orang yang salik itu akandia, niscaya bertambah-tambah imannya dan keluar ia daripada makhluk, dan manakala bersungguh-sungguh dalamnya dan berbilang-banyak ia, niscaya bertambah-tambah yaqinnya,<sup>4</sup> dan keluar ia<sup>5</sup> daripada dirinya dan sampai ia kepada Yang sebenar-benarnya, seperti kata mu'allif, *raḍiya Allāhu 'an-hu*:

*Wa-kulla-mā kharajta min-hum, zāda imānuka; wa-kullamā kharajta min-ka, qawiya yaqīnuka*, Dan manakala telah berpaling engkau daripada sekalian makhluk, niscaya bertambah tasdiqmu pada Allah ta'ala dan maqam al-kashf dan maqam almu'ayana /, karena keluar daripada dua lawan itu masuk dalam yang satu. Dan manakala telah bercerai engkau daripada dirimu, niscaya kuatlah yaqinmu pada Allah ta'ala, hingga jadilah engkau 'arif padanya, karena bahwasanya keluar daripada sekalian makhluk itu yaitu meninggalkan sukun kepada meréka itu, dan ketiadaan i'timad atas meréka itu. Dan apabila telah keluar orang yang salik itu dengan hatinya daripada sekalian makhluk itu, niscaya ruju' ia pada hatinya kepada Tuhannya, dan demikian itu yaitu haqiqat tasdiqnya.<sup>1</sup>

Dan terkadang keluar orang yang salik itu, yaitu<sup>2</sup> daripada makhluk, tetapi lagi tinggal dalamnya sesuatu tinggal daripada melihat dirinya dan tadbirnya dan ruju'nya kepada iradatnya dan ikhtiyarnya, dan tiadalah hasil baginya maqam al-yaqin, dan yang sempurna itu hingga keluar ia daripada dirinya seperti yang keluar daripada lainnya. Maka bahwasanya diri itu daripada makhluk, dan tiada sampai hamba itu kepada Haqq ta'ala selagi tiada bercerai daripada sekalian / makhluk, seperti yang dikata oleh setengah orang yang ahl al-tariqa: "Ceraikan oléhm, dan sampai engkau". Dan dikata Shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir, *raḍiya Allāhu 'anhu*, dalam ma'na ini: "Apabila telah mati engkau daripada makhluk, niscaya mati engkau daripada hawamu; dan apabila telah<sup>1</sup> mati engkau daripada hawamu, niscaya mati engkau daripada iradatmu; dan apabila telah<sup>2</sup> mati engkau daripada iradatmu, niscaya hidup dengan hidup yang tiada mati kemudiannya, dan kaya engkau dengan kaya yang tiada pekir kemudiannya, dan sehat engkau dengan sehat yang tiada sakit kemudiannya". Dan betapa yang<sup>3</sup> tiada jadi<sup>4</sup> demikian itu pada halnya telah jadilah hamba bagi Tuhannya, dan betapa tiada tahqiq baginya dan tiada tinggal dalam hatinya melainkan Allah?

tongue, so that it sets its mark on his heart and so wipes out his polytheism. Whenever the traveller on the mystic path makes a habit of this, no doubt his faith will steadily increase and he will get rid of things created, and whenever he perseveres in this and practises it assiduously, no doubt his conviction will be more and more settled. He will get rid of self and attain to the Essential Being, as the author says:

*Whenever you get rid of these, your faith will increase, and whenever you get rid of self, your conviction will be confirmed.*

Whenever you have turned away from all things created, no doubt your faith in God will increase at the stations of disclosure and vision, /  
8 since getting rid of one of two opposites means adhering to the other. Whenever you have got rid of self, no doubt your certitude of God most high will be firm, so that you will know Him, since getting rid of all things created means desisting from confiding in them and the absence of depending on them. When the mystic's heart has got rid of all things created, no doubt he will turn inwardly to the Lord. This is the essential meaning of the profession of faith.

Sometimes the mystic gets rid of all things created but there is left in him a remnant of looking on himself, of disposing himself, and of reverting to his own will and choice, and the station of absolute certainty is not reached, since perfection in this is that he gets rid of self in the same way as he got rid of other things. Self is created, and the servant will not attain to the Supreme Reality until he has got rid  
9 of all things / created, as was said by some mystics, "Part (with yourself) and the end will be gained", while <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Qādir said with respect to this, "When you have died to things created, no doubt you will die to your desires; when you have died to your desires, no doubt you will die to your own will; when you have died to your own will, no doubt you will live an immortal life and be rich without being ever reduced to poverty, healthy without being ill ever afterwards". How could it be otherwise, as the servant has come to exist for the Lord, and how could this not be realized by him, seeing that in his heart nothing but God is left? Whosoever has reached this state undoubtedly will not care for other things nor pay attention to heaven and hell, nor will he

Dan barangsiapa ada seperti demikian itu, niscaya tanggallah hématnya daripada segala aghyar dan tiada berpaling kepada sorga dan tiada kepada neraka dan tiada sukun kepada segala ibadat dan kepada segala maqam dan tiada cenderung kepada segala / mukashafa dan mushahada, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.' :

*Yā asīr al-shahawāt wa 'l-ibādāt! Yā asīr al-maqāmāt wa 'l-mukāshafāt! Anta maghrūr!*, Hay yang ditawan oléh segala shahwat dan segala ibadat! Hay yang ditawan oleh segala maqam dan segala mukashafa <sup>1</sup>! Engkau teperdayalah dengandia!, ya'ni teperdaya <sup>2</sup> oléh segala shahwat yang mubah seperti makan dan minum dan pakaian dan bernikah dan berumah dan perahu dan arta dan anak dan kebesaran dan berkhidmat <sup>3</sup> dan ilmu, hingga lain daripada demikian itu, dan hanyasanya adalah ditawannya karena cenderung kepadanya dan ishtighalnya padanya dan <sup>4</sup> raghibnya <sup>5</sup> dalamnya, tiada kepada Tuhannya. Karena bahwasanya hati itu, apabila cenderung ia kepada sesuatu maka adalah <sup>6</sup> ditawannya dan diperhambakannya, seperti dikata orang: "Tiadalah <sup>7</sup> kasih akan sesuatu melainkan adalah aku hamba sesuatu". Dan adalah Tuhanmu itu tiada gemar Ia bahwa ada engkau hamba bagi lainnya. Maka seperti yang tiada gemar Ia akan amal yang mushtarik, tiada gemar Ia akan hati / yang mushtarik, dan adalah amal yang mushtarik dan hati yang mushtarik itu tiada diterima atasnya. Maka selesaikan oléhmua akan hatimu daripada segala aghyar, maka penuhi <sup>1</sup> dengan ma'arif dan asrar, dan adalah segala ibadat <sup>2</sup> dan segala mukashafa itu daripada segala akhyar, maka manakala ishtighal orang yang salik itu dengandia dan cenderung ia kepadanya, niscaya adalah ia tawanan, maka adalah <sup>3</sup> teperdayalah dengandia. Maka karena demikian itu kata mu'allif, r.A.' :

*Anta mushtaghil bi-ka 'an-hu; aina al-ishtighāl bi-hi 'an-ka, wa-Huwa 'azza wa-jalla ḥāḍir wa-nāzīr, wa-Huwa ma'a-kum aina-mā kuntum fī 'l-dunyā wa 'l-ākhirā?*. Engkau yang ishtighal dengan segala bahagian <sup>4</sup> napsumu yang lahir seperti segala shahwat yang batin, seperti segala ibadat daripada yang engkau sangka bahwa (engkau) kehendaki <sup>5</sup> hampir kepadanya dan berhadap atasnya, yaitu Allah s.w.t., maka mana ishtighalmu yang engkau sangka pada Allah ta'ala daripada dirimu serta <sup>6</sup> keadaanmu ditawan bagi lainnya? Dan tiap-tiap orang yang kasih akan sesuatu, maka <sup>7</sup> ditawan bagi sesuatu, dan yaitu 'azza wa-jalla hadir serta kita / dengan ilmunya dan menilik kepada kita dengan hukumnya. Tiada terbunyi atasnya sesuatu, maka betapa engkau ishtighal pada dirimu dan yaitu serta kamu dengan ilmunya

- 10 confide in worship and mystic stations or be given to / visions and contemplation, as the author says:

*Oh captive of passions and of worship! Oh captive of stations and of visions! You are deluded!*

- Oh you who are the captives of passions and of worship! Oh you who are the captives of stations and of visions! You are deluded by these! That is to say, deluded by lawful passions such as the desire of eating, drinking, clothes, marriage, houses, ships, possessions, children, rank, respect, knowledge, etc., and these keep you captive only because you have an inclination to them and exert yourselves for their sake and strive after them, but not after the Lord. For when the heart is inclined to anything, it becomes its captive and its slave, as someone said, "I never love anything without becoming its slave". But the Lord is not satisfied with your being a slave of anything but Him, and He is no more satisfied with the heart / of a polytheist than his works are agreeable to Him. Neither of these is acceptable to the Lord. Therefore, empty your heart of all other things and replenish it with knowledge and secrets. Among these other things are acts of worship, stations and visions, and whenever the mystic occupies himself with these and is inclined towards them, he certainly is captivated and deluded by them.
- 11

Because of this the author says:

*You are occupied with self, not with Him. In what respect are you occupied with Him, not with self, while He, the mighty and great, is omnipresent and all-seeing, and is with you wherever you are in this world and the next?*

- You who are occupied with all that pertains to your exterior person such as your inner desires and all forms of worship by which you fancy to grow near to Him and meet Him — God, that is; may He be praised and He is exalted —, with respect to what do you think you are engaged with Him, not with self, while your being is captivated by other things — since anyone who loves a thing is captivated by it — although He, the mighty and great, is among us / with His knowledge and looks upon us with His judgment? Nothing is hidden from Him, so how can you occupy yourself with self, though He is with you with His knowledge, power and help wherever you are in this world and the next? When you know that He is with you outwardly and inwardly, then see to it that you are with Him by means of concentration on *tawhīd*. In short,
- 12

dan qudratnya dan inayatnya dimana ada kamu dalam dunia dan dalam akhirat?

Dan apabila telah engkau ketahui bahwasanya Ia serta kamu dalam lahirmu dan dalam batinmu, maka jadikan oléhm<sup>u</sup> engkau<sup>1</sup> sertanya dengan istighraqmu dalam tawhid, dan adalah hasilnya bahwasanya bagi segala orang yang menjalan jalan orang yang khawass itu bahwa adala<sup>2</sup> dalam sekalian sesuatu itu bersifat dengandia<sup>3</sup> tiada menilik kepadanya. Maka adalah ia dalam segala mu'amalat pada lahirnya, dan hatinya kepada Tuhannya, karena ia hambanya dalam tiap-tiap hal dan Ia jua Tuhannya. Dan apabila engkau minta, maka pinta oléhm<sup>u</sup> akan<sup>4</sup> Allah ta'ala; dan apabila engkau minta tulung, maka minta tulung<sup>5</sup> pada Allah. Dan apabila engkau seperti demikian itu, maka sanya telah engkau datangkan akan adab beserta dengandia dan terhijab dengan demikian itu daripada dirimu /, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.'.:

*Idhā kunta ma<sup>c</sup>a-hu, ḥajabaka <sup>c</sup>an-ka; wa-idhā kunta ma<sup>c</sup>a-ka, ista<sup>c</sup>badaka la-hu,* Apabila ada engkau sertanya, niscaya meninding Ia akandikau daripadamu, ertinya menjauhkan Ia akandikau daripada penglihatmu akan dirimu, maka sejahtera lah engkau daripada shirk yang khafi; dan inilah<sup>1</sup> hal yang dinamai dengan fana' dalam tawhid dan dengan hal al-jam'. Dan apabila ada engkau sertamu karena ketiadaan istighraqmu, niscaya dituntut engkau ibadat baginya, ertinya dijadikan engkau akan ibadat, maka (di)tuntut daripadamu ibadatnya, dan inilah<sup>2</sup> hal al-farq, dan dalamnya kembali hamba itu kepada ibadatnya dan lainnya. Ya'ni, apabila ada engkau hadir sertanya dan beradab engkau dengan segala adab al-ma'iyya, niscaya didi(n)dingi engkau daripadamu.

Dan adalah adab al-ma'iyya itu dengan beberapa martabat:  
 pertama: bahwa ada engkau sertanya dengan<sup>3</sup> adab al-shari'a. Maka yaitu mengerjakan barang yang disuruhkan akandikau dan menjauhi<sup>4</sup> pada barang yang ditegahkan akandikau; dan engkau réla pada barang yang / dihukumkan dan ditakdirkan atasmu; dan engkau ishtighalkan segala anggotamu pada ta'atnya; dan engkau tasarrufkan segala waqtmu dalam khidmatnya. Maka didinding engkau pada ketika itu daripada melihat dirimu dan daripada segala hal dirimu, dan ditetapkan engkau bagi memandang karunianya atasmu; dan  
 kedua: bahwa ada engkau [bagi]<sup>1</sup> sertanya dengan adab al-tariqa, yaitu seperti bahwa ada engkau dalam khidmat pada hal engkau fana' daripada menilik khidmat, karena tiada amal itu yang diharap bagi hati dan ghaib daripadamu memandang dia dan tahqir kepada wu-

for all those who walk in the way of the select spirits, it is suitable that they behave in anything whatsoever without setting store by it. Outwardly they move in daily life but their hearts are with the Lord, since they are His servants under all circumstances and He is their Lord. When you ask, ask from God most high, and when you ask for help, ask God. If you behave that way you have realized the discipline of being with Him, and thereby you will be screened from self, / as the author says:

*If you are with Him, He screens you from self, and if you are with self, He brings you under bondage.*

If you are with Him, He certainly will screen you from self; that is to say, He will prevent you from looking upon yourself, so that you will be protected from hidden polytheism. This situation is called 'passing away in *tawhīd*', and 'union'. If, however, you are occupied with self on account of your not concentrating on Him, He certainly will demand worship of you; that is to say, you were created for worship and worship will be demanded of you. This situation is that of separation, in which the servant is back to the performance of religious service etc.. This is to say that when you are with Him and have adopted to the full the discipline of being with Him, you certainly will be screened from self.

This discipline has a number of grades.

1°. You are with Him on the footing of the Law, *i.e.*, you observe all commandments and refrain from what is forbidden; you are satisfied with anything / that falls to your lot; you exert all limbs in obedience to Him and spend all your time in His service. Then you are screened from looking upon self in all your conditions and steadily looking upon His favour to you.

2°. You are with Him on the footing of the Path, *i.e.*, you are in the state of servitude but have ceased to see it as such, because it is not pious works that you have at heart. You do not look upon these any more, nor do you take credit to yourself for them, as someone said, "Oh Lord! If good works spring from me, it is by Thy grace and it is

judnya. Seperti yang dikata orang: “Hai Tuhanku! Jikalau lahir segala kebajikan daripadaku, maka dengan anugerahamu, dan bagimu mengurniai atasku; dan jikalau lahir segala kejahatan daripadaku, maka dengan adilmu dan bagimu hujjat atasku”. Dan

- ketiga: bahwa engkau sertanya dengan adab al-haqiqa, dan demikian itu seperti bahwa engkau ketahui barang yang bagimu dan barang yang baginya.<sup>2</sup> Maka yang bagimu<sup>3</sup> pekir dan laip dan lemah dan hina, dan  
 15 yang baginya itu / kaya dan kuat dan kuasa dan mulia. Maka apabila telah ada engkau sertanya dengan segala adab ini, niscaya terhijab pekirmu dengan kayanya, dan laipmu dengan kuatnya, dan lemahmu dengan kudratnya, dan hinamu dengan mulianya; maka tiada engkau pandang pada ketika itu melainkan segala af’alnya dan segala sifatnya, dan hapuslah wujudmu dan hilanglah daripadamu<sup>1</sup> tiap-tiap persandaran, dan berdirilah bagimu pada maqam al-tawhid dan jadilah engkau daripada orang yang ahl al-tafriid.

- Dan barangsiapa tiada meliharakan adab al-ma’iyya, tetapi adalah ia serta napsunya, maka yaitu mahjub daripada dirinya dan adalah ia itu terlebih sangat hijab, seperti kata Shaikh Dhū ’l-Nūn, r.A.’.: “Terlebih sangat hijab itu melihat<sup>2</sup> dirinya<sup>3</sup> dan tadbirnya<sup>4</sup>”. Dan sabda nabi, shallā ’llāhu ‘alaihi wa-sallama: (L ā y u ’ m i n u a ḥ a d u k u m ḥ a t t ā y a k ū n a h a w ā h u t a b c a n l i - m ā j i ’ t u b i - h i ) ,<sup>5</sup> Tiada percaya seorang daripada kamu hingga ada hawanya mengikot bagi<sup>6</sup> barang yang datang aku dengandia.<sup>7</sup> Maka apabila telah engkau ketahui demikian itu, hai saudaraku, maka keluarkan oléhmū daripada ta’at dirimu dan hawanya dan ceraikan oléhmū akan makhluk, maka  
 16 sempurnalah / imanmu, seperti kata mu’allif, r.A.’.:

*Al-īmān khurūjuka ‘an-hum, wa ’l-yaqīn khurūjuka ‘an-ka*, Bermula, iman yang sempurna pada Allah ta’ala keluarmu daripada sekalian aghyar, dan yaqin pada Allah ta’ala itu keluarmu daripada dirimu dengan bertambah-tambah atas keluarmu daripada sekalian aghyar, karena haqiqat iman itu haqiqat L ā il ā h a ill ā ’ll ā h . Dan barangsiapa telah tetap dalam hatinya haqiqat L ā il ā h a ill ā ’ll ā h , niscaya tiada memandang ia akan perbuatan bagi seseorang lain daripadanya; maka barangsiapa memandang ia dengan pandang ini dan telah sempurna baginya ma’nanya, maka betapa tiada keluar ia daripada sekalian makhluk dan berhadaplah ia atas Tuhannya? Maka pada<sup>1</sup> ketika itu keluar ia daripada dirinya dan daripada segala sipatnya yang jahat dan terbitlah atasnya segala sifat Tuhannya, dan tahqiqlah ia kepada segala maqam yang tinggi; tiada yang tetap<sup>2</sup> pada asra(r)nya(?)<sup>3</sup> melainkan Tuhannya.

for You to grant them to me. And if evil deeds spring from me, it is by Thy justice and I am to blame for them”.

15 3°. You are with Him on the footing of Reality, *i.e.*, you know all that is yours and all that is His. All that is yours is poor, infirm, weak and worthless, and all that is His is / rich, strong, mighty and glorious. If you are on this footing with Him altogether, your poverty certainly will be veiled by His riches, your infirmity by His strength, your weakness by His power, your worthlessness by His glory. Then you see nothing but His works and His attributes; your being passes away; you have nothing to rely upon; the station of *tawhīd* will be attained and you will belong to the people of utter dedication (to God).

16 Anyone who does not cultivate the discipline of being with Him but is occupied with his own desires, is screened by self, as was said by Shaikh Dhū 'l-Nūn, “The most complete screen (between man and God) is that one looks on self and one’s own disposals”. Said the Prophet, “None of you will be a believer until his desires are conformable to my message”. When you know this, my brother, then forego the ready pursuit of your own desires and turn away from things created. Then your faith will be sound, / as the author says,

*Faith is your turning away from these and certainty is your turning away from self.*

Sound belief in God means turning away from everything else, and certainty means turning away from self in addition to turning away from everything else. For faith amounts to (the understanding of) the real meaning of the profession that there is no god but God. Anyone who is inwardly convinced of the real meaning of this profession will certainly not credit any other person with activity, and whosoever sees things in this light and fully grasps the situation, how would he not turn away from all things created and turn to the Lord? Then he will be free from self and all its evil qualities, and the attributes of the Lord will be manifest in him and he will attain all high stations (on the mystic path); inwardly he will be absorbed in God.

- Maka manakala telah bertambah-tambah engkau tetap dalam iman, niscaya berpindah engkau dalam segala hal; dan manakala telah bertambah-tambah engkau tetap dalam yaqin, niscaya / berpindah engkau dalam segala maqam daripada maqam segala orang yang ahl al-kamal, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.':

*Wa-idhā zāda īmānuka, nuqilta min ḥāl ilā ḥāl; wa-idhā qawīya yaqīnuka, nuqilta min maqām ilā maqām*, Dan apabila bertambah imanmu dengan keluarmu daripada segala akhyar, niscaya dipindahkan engkau daripada satu hal kepada satu hal, ertinya daripada laip kepada kuat, hingga bahwa sempurnalah imanmu, yaitu yaqin; dan apabila telah sempurna yaqinmu, maka jadilah segala ghaib itu bagimu nyata, maka hasillah iman yang sempurna bagimu. Dan apabila telah kuatlah yaqinmu dengan keluarmu daripada dirimu dan daripada segala aghyar, niscaya dipindahkan engkau daripada satu maqam kepada satu maqam, ertinya daripada ma'rifat kepada kashf, dan daripada kashf kepada mushahada, dan daripada mushahada kepada mu'ayana, dan daripada mu'ayana kepada ittisal, dan daripada ittisal kepada fana', dan daripada fana' kepada baqa', hingga lain daripada demikian itu daripada segala maqam yang ma'ruf bagi ahlinya.

- 18 Dan / ketahui olehmu bahwasanya bagi mereka itu shari'a, yaitu bahwa engkau sembah akan Allah ta'ala; dan tariqa, yaitu bahwa engkau qasdkan akandia dengan ilmu dan amal; dan haqiqa, yaitu natija keduanya, yaitu bahwa engkau pandang akandia dengan nur yang ditaruhkan akandia dalam batin hati.

Dan bahwasanya tiap-tiap batin baginya lahir, dan tiap-tiap lahir itu baginya batin. Dan shari'a itu lahir haqiqa, dan haqiqa itu batin shari'a, dan kedua itu mulazim<sup>1</sup> satu ma'na. Maka shari'a dengan tiada haqiqa sunyi, ya'ni hempa, seperti padi tiada berisi,<sup>2</sup> dan haqiqa dengan tiada shari'a itu batil. Dan diupamakan yang tiga itu dengan buah nyiur: maka shari'a itu seperti kulit yang lahir, dan tariqa itu seperti isi yang didalam, dan haqiqa itu seperti minyak yang pada<sup>3</sup> batin isi. Dan tiada sampai kepada isi melainkan dengan mengupas kulit,<sup>4</sup> dan tiada sampai kepada minyak melainkan (dengan) melumatkan isi.

Dan adalah manusia itu beberapa bahagai:

- 19 pertama: laip /, dan meréka itulah segala orang yang 'awamm; dan kedua: khawass, dan meréka itulah segala wali; dan ketiga: khawass al-khawass, dan meréka itulah segala nabi 'alaihim al-ṣalāt wa 'l-salām.

Dan mentertibkan atas demikian itu kata mu'allif:

- In proportion as you grow confirmed in your belief you certainly will proceed from state to state, and in proportion as you grow confirmed in your conviction you certainly / will proceed from station to station of the people of perfection. As the author says,

*When your faith increases you will move from state to state, and when your conviction becomes strong you will move from station to station.*

When your faith increases by your turning away from anything but Him, you certainly will move from state to state, that is to say, from weakness to strength, so that your faith will mature to conviction. When your conviction has matured to certainty, all things that are hidden will become manifest to you and you will have attained a consummate faith. When your conviction has become a certainty by your turning away from self and all other things, you will move from one station to another, that is to say, from knowledge to the lifting of the veil; from the lifting of the veil to contemplation; from contemplation to sight; from sight to union; from union to passing away, and from passing away to eternal life in God, (in short) to all further stations known by the adepts. /

- 18 Know that the adepts combine *sharī<sup>c</sup>a*, *i.e.*, serving God most high, *ṭarīqa*, *i.e.*, striving after Him with knowledge and pious works, and *ḥaqīqa* (which is the result of both the preceding stages), *i.e.*, looking on Him by means of the light cast into the innermost heart. Everything inward has an outward aspect and everything outward an inward. *Sharī<sup>c</sup>a* is the outward aspect of *ḥaqīqa* and *ḥaqīqa* is the inward aspect of *sharī<sup>c</sup>a*; they are inseparable and identical in meaning. *Sharī<sup>c</sup>a* without *ḥaqīqa* is void, *i.e.*, deaf, like an ear of rice without grains, and *ḥaqīqa* without *sharī<sup>c</sup>a* is null. These three are comparable to a coconut, *sharī'a* (the Law) being the husk, *ṭarīqa* (the Path) the content, and *ḥaqīqa* (the Reality) the oil in the flesh. The content cannot be obtained without cracking the nut, and the oil cannot be obtained without crushing the flesh.

- 19 Mankind is of different categories: 1°. the weak /, that is to say, the common people; 2°. the select, *i.e.*, the saints; 3°. the select of the select, *i.e.*, the prophets. Grading these three categories the author says,

*The Law is (meant) for you, so that thanks to Him you strive after Him for your own sake.*

*Al-sharī<sup>c</sup> a la-ka ḥattā taṭlubahu min-hu la-ka*, Bermula, shari'a itu <sup>1</sup> bagimu hingga engkau menuntut akan <sup>2</sup> Haqq ta'ala daripadanya bagimu, seperti bahwa engkau menuntut akandia dengan ikhlas dan sidq; dan jikalau tiada demikian itu, maka yaitu lazim atasmu, tiada bagimu manfa'a. Dan adalah shari'a itu bagimu, hai hamba yang mukallaf; engkau dikhitab <sup>3</sup> dengandia pada iman dan amal, hingga engkau menuntut akan Haqq ta'ala dengan imanmu, dengan segala katamu, dan dengan segala amalmu.<sup>4</sup> Maka adalah Ia jua maqsudmu daripada balasmu atas barang yang terbit daripadamu daripada ta'atnya yang batin dan yang lahir. Dan engkau memutuskan nazarmu daripada menuntut lainnya daripada balas akhirat atau dunia daripada Allah ta'ala, ya'ni jangan engkau menuntut akandia daripada lainnya, karena tiada menyampaikan ia akandikau kepadanya, karena ia / lemah daripadanya seupamamu; dan yang lemah itu tiada kuasa ia atas menyampaikan dirinya, maka betapa menyampaikan ia akan lainnya? Dan demikian segala ibadat dan segala ta'at, dan jikalau ia qabul kepada Allah ta'ala, tiada menyampaikan ia kepada Allah ta'ala, karena bahwasanya ia lainnya, dan sampai itu daripada Allah ta'ala dengan sendirinya, tiada daripada segala ibadat dan ta'at, karena Ia mengurniai dirimu daripada haknya.

*Wa 'l-ḥaqīqa la-hu ḥattā taṭlubahu bi-hi la-hu <sup>c</sup>azza wa-jalla ḥaithu lā ḥīn wa-lā ain*, Dan haqiqa itu bagi <sup>1</sup> Allah subhanahu wa-ta'ala hingga <sup>2</sup> engkau menuntut akan Haqq ta'ala dengandia, tiada dengan dirimu <sup>3</sup> dan tiada dengan hawlmu dan <sup>4</sup> tiada dengan kuatmu, karena Allah 'azza wa-jalla, tiada karena dirimu, bagi menghasilkan ni'matnya. Sekira-kira dituntut <sup>5</sup> Haqq ta'ala itu tiada zaman dan tiada makan, maka bersalahan dengan shari'a.

*Fa 'l-sharī<sup>c</sup> a (la-hā) ḥudūd wa-jihāt, wa 'l-ḥaqīqa lā ḥadd wa-lā jihāt*, Maka shari'a itu, karena keadaannya pekerjaan segala amal yang bangsa shar', baginya berhadd, seperti keadaan sembahyang itu <sup>6</sup> dua rak'a atau tiga rak'a dan berjihad, karena / keadaan fard atau sunna, berwaktu atau tiada berwaktu. Dan haqiqa itu tiada berhadd dan tiada berjihad baginya, karena bahwasanya ia shar' ma'nawi, dan bahwasanya yang qa'im padanya itu 'arif pada Allah ta'ala. Sanya <sup>1</sup> telah berpaling ia daripada segala bahagian nafs al-bashariyya. Karena bahwasanya orang yang 'arif itu dalam maqam al-jam', maka yaitu senentiasa menuntut Allah dengan Allah karena Allah, maka yang dituntutnya tiada berhadd, karena bahwasanya Ia sebenar-benar <sup>2</sup> yang disembah, dan adalah yang dituntut <sup>3</sup> daripada yang berdiri pada shari'a itu berhadd.

The Law is (meant) for you, so that thanks to Him you strive after the Supreme Reality for your own sake, providing you strive after Him with a pure and sincere heart. Should this not be the case, then the Law, though incumbent on you, is not to your benefit. The Law is (meant) for you, oh servant under the obligation of the Law! It appeals to your faith and your pious works, so that you strive after Him with your faith, words and acts. To Him you must turn for the reward for your inward and outward works of obedience. Stop looking forward to anyone but God with regard to your reward in this world and the next, *i.e.*, do not strive after a reward from anyone else, because others, being as / powerless as you are yourself, are of no avail in bringing you nearer to Him. What is powerless is unable to bring itself nearer (to God); so how could it bring nearer anyone else? By the same token all acts of worship and obedience, though accepted by God most high, do not bring one nearer to God, as these too belong to the things other than God. Nearness to God is brought about by God Himself, not by acts of worship and obedience, for He grants His favour at His own discretion.

*Reality (ḥaqīqa) is His, so that you strive after Him through Him for His sake, irrespective of time and place.*

Reality (ḥaqīqa) is His — may He be praised and He is exalted — so that you strive after God through Him, not through yourself, and not by your own power or strength, for His sake, not for yours, to acquire His favour.

Inasmuch as striving after God is not conditioned by time or place, it is different from the Law.

*The Law knows of provisions and aspects, whereas ḥaqīqa does not.*

As the Law amounts to all actions the Lawgiver has ordained, it has provisions, such as, for instance, that prayer consist of two or three *rak<sup>c</sup>as*, and it has aspects, such as, for instance, / that acts may be compulsory or recommended, and fixed or otherwise as to time. *Ḥaqīqa*, however, knows neither provisions nor aspects, as it is a figurative Law, observed by those who know God most high (the gnostics). They have turned away completely from human nature. Because those who know are at the station of union, they continuously strive after God through God for the sake of God, and so their aim is boundless, since the object of their worship is the Supreme Reality, whereas those who are at the stage of the Law pursue a limited aim.

Maka menyebutkan mu'allif dalam <sup>4</sup> kelebihan haqiqa atas shari'a dengan katanya:

*Wa 'l-qā'im bi 'l-sharī'a fa-qaṭ tafaddala 'alaihi bi 'l-mujāhada; wa 'l-qā'im bi 'l-ḥaqīqa tafaddala 'alaihi bi 'l-minna,* Dan yang <sup>5</sup> thabit pada shari'a-tiada-haqiqa itu telah mengurniai Allah ta'ala atasnya dengan mujahada, yaitu berdiri dengan ibadat yang lahir dan 'ubudiyya yang batin; dan ibadat itu bagi diri karena keadaannya lahir, dan 'ubudiyya bagi hati karena keadaannya batin. Dan yang / thabit pada haqiqa itu telah mengurniai Allah ta'ala atasnya dengan ni'mat yang amat besar; dan dikehendaki dengan ni'mat itu yaitu ilmu iladuni yang bangsa nurani, yang telah diketahuikan Allah akandia bagi segala arwah pada ketika dikhitab meréka itu dengan firmanNya: A-l a s t u b i-R a b b i k u m ?, ya'ni: Bukanlah Aku Tuhan kamu?, dan di-isaratkan kepadanya dengan firmanNya ta'ala: W a - c a l l a m a Ā d a m a a l-a s m ā', ya'ni: Telah diajari nabi Allah Adam dengan segala nama. Hanyasanya masuk dalam segala arwah ditutupi dengan kelam <sup>1</sup> wujud <sup>2</sup> dan dengan segala shughul tabi'a. Maka apabila telah hilang kelam <sup>1</sup> wujud <sup>2</sup> dan <sup>3</sup> segala shughul tabi'a itu dengan tulung Allah ta'ala, niscaya lahir ia, dan yaitu murad daripada sabda nabi ṣallā 'llāhu 'alaihi wa-sallama: Barangsiapa mengamalkan dengan barang yang telah diketahuinya, niscaya mengwarisi Allah ta'ala akandia ilmu barang yang tiada diketahuinya. Maka dibukakan daripada hatinya tutup demikian itu, maka berpaling ia daripada sekalian makhluk hingga daripada shirk. Maka inilah yang qa'im pada segala haqq al-rububiyya, dan demikian / itu <sup>1</sup> pada segala <sup>2</sup> haqq al-'ibada dan haqq al-'ubudiyya.

*Wa-shattāna mā baina al-mujāhada wa'l-minna,* Telah <sup>3</sup> jauhlah antara orang yang didirikan kepada mujahada dengan tiada kashf dan shuhud pada tempat farq dan orang yang dibukakan baginya daripada sirr al-ilahiyya, maka memandangi ia kepada ma'na al-jam' dengan jam'.<sup>4</sup> Maka tiap-tiap daripada kedua maqam al-farq dan maqam al-jam' itu dituntut, tetapi dalam <sup>5</sup> iqtisar atas yang awwal itu sunyi, dan atas yang kedua itu batil, ya'ni: yang qa'im serta shari'a itu diperbuat pekerjaannya atas mujahada dan khidmat, karena ia dalam bidaya, dan yang qa'im serta haqiqa itu menilik fadl dan melazimkan hormat karena ia dalam nihaya. Dan jauhlah antara maqam al-mujahada dan maqam al-minna.

Maka orang yang ahl al-mujahada itu karena dalam farq, yaitu mu'amalatnya mahjub; dan orang yang ahl al-minna itu karena dalam fadl,<sup>6</sup> yaitu dalam segala harakatnya dan diamnya, mahbub. Dan jikalau

The author phrases the superiority of *ḥaqīqa* to *sharīʿa* as follows: *He blesses those who are at the stage of nothing-but-sharīʿa with exertion, and those at the stage of ḥaqīqa with favour.*

- God blesses with exertion those who are at the stage of *sharīʿa*-without-*ḥaqīqa*, that is to say, with the observance of outward religious duties and inner servitude: worship as a bodily act, on account of its being outward, and servitude as an inner effort, on account of its being inward. / On the other hand, God blesses with supreme favour those who are at the stage of *ḥaqīqa*. What is meant by favour is illuminative knowledge of a resplendent character, (the knowledge) communicated by God to all the spirits at the moment He addressed them with the words, “Am I not your Lord?” (Qor’ān 7: 172), and to which He points with the words, “And He taught Adam all the names” (Qor’ān 2: 31). It is only that with the spirits this knowledge is obscured by the darkness of existence and preoccupation with the physical world, but when with God’s help these are done away with it will become manifest. This is what is meant by the words of the Prophet — God bless him and grant him peace —, “Whosoever acts according to his knowledge, God will bequeath him knowledge of what is unknown to him”. Then the veil will be taken away from his heart, so that he turns away from all created things and so from polytheism.
- 23 At this grade one professes God’s absolute sovereignty as well / as His claim to worship and servitude.

*And what a difference between exertion and favour!*

There is a great difference between those who are under the obligation of exertion without vision or cognition at the state of separation and those to whom the secret of deity has been revealed, so that by the experience of union they understand its meaning. Both these stations, separation as well as union, should be striven after; confining oneself to the former is void and confining oneself to the latter is null. That is to say that at the grade of *sharīʿa* one’s acts are marked by exertion and servitude because one is still a beginner, while at the grade of *ḥaqīqa* one sees God’s grace and feels bound to do homage because the ultimate state has been reached. And what a difference between the station of exertion and that of grace! The people of exertion are secluded from God on account of their state of separation, *i.e.*, their occupation with the things of ordinary life, whereas the people of grace are God’s beloved, because they enjoy God’s favour whether they are

berkata, maka dengan Allah; dan jikalau mengerjakan amal, maka karena Allah ta'ala, dan tiada memandang ia melainkan Allah. Maka  
 24 sungguh-sungguh oléhm, / hai saudaraku, dalam i'timid atas fadl, dan fana'kan oléhm daripada segala sifat bashariyya, dan keluarkan oléhm daripada wujudmu; mudah-mudahan engkau jadi mafqud, ya'ni tiada wujudmu, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.':

*Al-qā'im ma<sup>c</sup>a al-mujāhada mawjūd, wa 'l-qā'im ma<sup>c</sup>a al-minna mafqūd*, Bermula, yang qa'im serta mujahada itu, karena keadaannya berdiri pada shari'a pada hal menilik ia kepada segala amalnya, mawjud dengan Allah; dan yang qa'im serta minna itu, karena keadaannya berdiri pada segala haqq al-rububiyya, tiada menilik ia kepada amalnya, mafqud daripada barang yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala karena fana'nya dengan istighraqnya pada Allah ta'ala. Dan adalah orang yang qa'im serta mujahada itu menilik kepada mujahadatnya dan menetapkan bagi perbuatannya dan kudratnya,<sup>1</sup> maka yaitu mawjud dengan wujudnya yang wahmi. Dan yang qa'im serta minna itu tiada memandang ia bagi mujahadatnya dan tiada amal dan tiada hawl dan tiada quwwa, dan tiada sesuatu daripada segala hal, maka yaitu fana' dalam fana'nya.

Maka menyatakan [segala] shaikh r.A.' dalam menyatakan segala  
 25 maqam, yaitu maqam ahl al-bidaya / dan (maqam) ahl al-'inaya dan ahl<sup>1</sup> al-nihaya, maka katanya:

*Al-a<sup>c</sup>māl muta<sup>c</sup>alliqā bi 'l-shar<sup>c</sup>, wa 'l-tawakkul muta<sup>c</sup>alliq bi 'l-īmān, wa'l-tawhīd muta<sup>c</sup>alliq bi ['l-]kashf (al-ghīṭā')*, Bermula, segala amal yang takluk pada kesempurnaan dhat hamba yang lahir seperti mengucap dua kalima shahada dan mendirikan sembahyang dan memberi jakat dan puasa dan hajj, itu yang takluk pada shar' yang mulia, dan<sup>2</sup> tiada (di)kenal<sup>3</sup> sekalian itu melainkan daripadanya. Dan karena inilah adalah mengenal shar' itu awal daripada segala maqam dalam berjalan kepada Allah ta'ala. Dan yang terhenti dalam maqam awal itu putus daripada Allah ta'ala karena tiada naiknya kepada maqam yang kemudiannya, yaitu maqam yang kedua.

Dan tawakkul atas Allah ta'ala dan seupamanya daripada yang takluk pada<sup>4</sup> kesempurnaan dhat yang batin, seperti zuhd dan wara' dan sabr dan khawf dan raja',<sup>5</sup> itu yang takluk pada iman, karena haqiqatnya<sup>6</sup> itu memadailah dengan ilmu Allah padamu daripada takluk hati pada yang lain daripadanya. Dan pekerjaan ini tiada hasil /  
 26 ia melainkan bagi orang yang telah tahqiq dalam haqiqat<sup>1</sup> Lā ilāha illā 'llāh. Maka lazim atasmu, hai saudaraku,<sup>2</sup> dengan mengesahkan imanmu dengan berhadap hatimu atas Tuhanmu dan berpaling engkau

active or otherwise. When they speak, they speak through God, and when they work, they work for the sake of God; they see nothing but God. Rely seriously on God's grace, / oh my brother! Part with your human qualities and give up your own being, so that you be rid of it; that is to say, have no being of your own, as the author says,

*Anyone at the station of exertion (still) has being (of his own); anyone at the station of grace has got rid of it.*

At the station of exertion one still considers oneself as being, aside of God, because owing to being at the stage of *sharī<sup>c</sup>a* one looks upon one's works, whereas at the stage of grace one does not look upon one's works because one professes God's absolute sovereignty and is rid of all beside God, having passed away as a result of being immersed in God most high. At the stage of exertion one looks upon one's efforts and fancies that these as well as the power to put them forth are one's own, while their existence is only illusory. At the stage of grace, however, one does not look upon one's exertion, pious works, might, power or any state whatever; one has passed away from passing away.

The Master — may God be pleased with him — says in his description of these stations, to wit that of the beginners /, that of those who enjoy God's favour, and that of the accomplished mystics,

*Works depend on the Law; trust in God depends on faith, and tawḥīd depends on disclosure.*

Works contingent on the servant's physical person such as the uttering of the 'two clauses' of the creed, the performance of prayer, the paying of the alms-tax, fasting and the pilgrimage to Mecca, depend on the sacred Law and are known only by this. Therefore, knowledge of the Law is the first station on the way to God most high, but anyone who remains at this first station is separated from God because he has not proceeded to the next station.

On the other hand, trust in God and similar states of mind contingent upon inner soundness such as austerity, scrupulousness, patience, fear and hope, depend on faith, because essentially your knowledge of God is sufficient to prevent the heart from attaching itself to anything but Him. This only obtains / with people who thoroughly understand the meaning of the words *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*. Therefore, oh my brother! it is incumbent on you to confirm your faith by turning your heart to the

daripada barang yang lain daripadanya, maka engkau perolehlah maqam al-tawakkul, yaitu i'timad atas Allah ta'ala dan memutuskan nazar daripada segala asbab serta bersenggerahnya.<sup>3</sup> Dan kata setengah orang yang ahl al-sufi, yaitu keluar daripada segala asbab seperti<sup>4</sup> halnya berpegang pada Allah ta'ala.

Dan tawhid itu, yaitu hukummu dan ilmumu pada wahdaniyyat Allah ta'ala, [dan]<sup>5</sup> takluk ia dengan kashf, ertinya dibukakan Allah ta'ala daripada mata hati hamba itu tutupnya, ya'ni segala hijab daripada segala ka'inat, seperti bahwa engkau fana'kan daripadanya dan engkau lihat akandia masuk dalam segala nur al-'azama al-rabbaniyya.

27 Dan kashf itu tiga perkara: pertama: kashf diri; dan kedua: kashf hati; dan ketiga: kashf sirr, yaitu yang dikehendaki disini. Dan (di-) ibaratkan daripada yang awal dengan 'ilm al-yaqin; dan daripada yang kedua itu dengan 'ain al-yaqin; dan daripada yang ketiga itu dengan / haqq al-yaqin. Dan ketiga itu 'ilm, karena bahwasanya ia daripada segala bahagian 'ilm jua. Karena bahwasanya, ilm itu<sup>1</sup> i'tibar ma'lumnya: jikalau takluk ia pada dhat yang lahir, maka yaitu 'ilm al-yaqin; atau pada<sup>2</sup> dhat yang batin, maka yaitu 'ain al-yaqin; atau pada<sup>2</sup> Haqq (ta'ala, maka yaitu haqq) al-yaqin.

Dan barangsiapa menuntut sorga dengan napsunya dan hawanya, niscaya sesat ia kepada jalan dan lupa daripada yang dianugrahakan Allah ta'ala akandia daripada segala ni'matnya, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.':

*Al-nās tā'ihūna ʿani 'l-Ḥaqq ta-ālā bi 'l-ʿaql, wa-ʿani 'l-ākhhira bi 'l-hawā,* Bermula, manusia itu tercengang meréka itu daripada Haqq ta'ala dengan<sup>4</sup> sebab tuntutan meréka itu baginya dengan 'aql yang bangsa tabi'a jusmani, karena bahwasanya ia mahjub dengan sendirinya daripada segala tajalli al-ilahi dan segala ma'arif rabbaniyya, karena berdiri<sup>5</sup> atas segala rupa yang lahir daripada baik dan jahat dan salah dan benar; bersalahan dengan 'aql yang bangsa ruhani yang<sup>6</sup> nurani, 28 maka bahwasanya ia malaki<sup>7</sup> tiada tercengang sertanya. / Dan manusia itu tercengang pula meréka itu daripada akhirat dengan sebab tuntutan meréka itu baginya dengan hawa-napsu dan sebagainya,<sup>1</sup> karena bahwasanya hanya sanya diperoléh ia dengan mujahadat shari'a.

*Fa-matā ṭalabta al-Ḥaqq bi-'l-ʿaql, ḡalalta; wa-matā<sup>2</sup> ṭalabta al-ākhhira bi-'l-hawā, ḡalalta,* Maka manakala engkau menuntut akan Haqq ta'ala dengan 'aql yang telah tersebut itu, niscaya sesat engkau daripada sampai kepadanya; dan manakala engkau menuntut akan akhirat karena hawa yang telah (ter)sebut itu, niscaya sesat engkau daripada sampai kepadanya, karena bahwasanya Haqq ta'ala tiada dikenal Ia melainkan dengan nur iman, dan akhirat itu tiada diperoléh ia melainkan dengan

Lord and away from anything but Him. Then you will reach the station of trust in God, *i.e.*, reliance on God most high, and give up looking on secondary causes (means of livelihood) and providing for these. Some adepts even say, "Reject all secondary causes, while holding to the Lord".

*Tawhīd*, your statement of God's Uniqueness and your knowledge of it, is dependent on disclosure, that is to say that God most high opens the eyes of your heart, which means that He has removed all screens arising from existing things, as though you had passed away from these and (now) look at them from the splendours of divine majesty.

Disclosure is threefold: 1°. disclosure of self; 2°. disclosure of the heart; 3°. disclosure of the soul, which last is meant here. The first is indicated by the term *ʿilm al-yaqīn*; the second by *ʿain al-yaqīn*; the third by *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*. All of these are called knowledge because they form parts of it. The object of the knowledge is taken into account: If the knowledge pertains to the exterior world it is called *ʿilm al-yaqīn*; if to the inner life *ʿain al-yaqīn*; if to the Supreme Reality *ḥaqq al-yaqīn*.

Anyone aspiring to heavenly bliss although yielding to his passions, will go astray, unmindful of the favours bestowed on him by God most high. As the author says,

*Man is confused in mind with regard to God most high owing to reasoning, and with regard to the world to come on account of his passions.*

Man is perplexed at God most high because the divine manifestations and God-inspired knowledge are concealed from his view by self, so that he strives after God with the aid of his natural reason, holding to what is outwardly good or evil, right or wrong; unlike (the result of) spiritual, luminous reasoning, which does not lead to perplexity, as it is of an angelic character. / Furthermore, man is confused in mind with regard to the other world because he aspires to it although yielding to his passions etc., whereas it can only be attained by a painstaking observance of the Law.

*When you strive after God with the aid of reason, you are on the wrong track, and when you aspire to the other world although yielding to your passions, you have gone astray.*

When you strive after God most high with the aid of reason as mentioned above, you will certainly miss Him, and when you aspire to the other world although yielding to your passions as mentioned above,

menyalahi hawa-napsu dan istiqamat dalam maqam al-ihsan,<sup>3</sup> seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.'.

29 *Al-mu'min yangzuru bi-nūr Allāh ta'ālā, wa 'l-ārif yangzuru bi-hi ilai-hi*, Bermula, orang yang mu'min yang sempurna itu, yaitu orang yang telah suci daripada shirk yang lahir dan yang khafi, menilik ia dengan nur Allah ta'ala kepada yang telah dikaruniakan<sup>4</sup> Allah atasnya daripada / anugrahanya, karena dengandia terbuka baginya sekalian sesuatu, dan karena (itulah) sabda nabi s.A.'.w.: Takut oleh kamu<sup>1</sup> akan tilik mata orang yang mu'min, maka bahwasanya menilik ia dengan<sup>2</sup> nur Allah ta'ala. Dan orang yang 'arif itu, yaitu orang yang karam pada Allah ta'ala daripada barang lain daripadanya, menilik ia dalam batinnya dan lahirnya dengan nur Allah ta'ala kepada Haqq ta'ala, tiada kepada lainnya, karena tiada lainnya dalam tilik mata hatinya. Karena ia telah fana' daripada dirinya dan daripada segala sifatnya, maka tiada memandang ia melainkan Tuhannya, dan telah hapuslah daripadanya<sup>3</sup> segala aghyar. Dan sungguh-sungguh oléhm, hai saudaraku, dalam tahqiq pada maqam al-ihsan<sup>4</sup> dengan mengikut segala suruh dan menjauhi segala tegah, hingga hasil bagimu 'inayat, maka fana'lah daripada dirimu dan sempurnalah bagimu karunia Tuhanmu, seperti yang lagi di-isharatkan mu'allif kepada demikian itu dengan katanya:

30 *Mā dumta anta ma'a-ka, amarnāka; fa-idhā fanaita an-ka, tawallaināka; fa-mā tawallāhum / illā ba'da fanā'ihim*, Selagi engkau serta dirimu, tiada karam pada Kami, niscaya Kami<sup>1</sup> suruh<sup>2</sup> akandikau, ertinya: Kami<sup>1</sup> berati<sup>3</sup> akandikau dengan bersungguh-sungguh pada suruh Kami yang berhadap atasmu daripada segala ta'at dan menjauhi daripada segala yang ditegah, karena bahwasanya engkau dalam maqam al-farq. Maka apabila telah fana'lah engkau daripada dirimu, maka Kami perintahkan akandikau dengan peliharaan dan tulung dan anugraha dan lainnya daripada yang tiada sampai ia kepadanya dengan kasb,<sup>4</sup> karena bahwasanya engkau dalam maqam al-jam'. Maka tiada diperintahkan akan meréka itu melainkan kemudian daripada fana' meréka itu daripada diri meréka itu, dengan sekira-kira tiada tinggal bagi meréka itu haraka dan sukun dan amal dan wujud melainkan dengan Haqq ta'ala.

31 Dan apabila ada engkau dalam nihaya, maka adalah engkau dalam maqam al-mushahada; maka barangsiapa mushahada Tuhannya maka betapa lagi<sup>5</sup> tinggal baginya berpaling kepada barang yang lain daripadanya? Seperti sabda nabi, s.A.'.w.s.: Dijadikan<sup>6</sup> kesedapan dua mataku dalam sembahyang. Dan orang yang / 'arif itu sekalian waktunya

you will certainly miss it, because God most high can only be known by the light of faith, and the other world can only be attained by fighting one's passions and by right behaviour. As the author says,

*The right believer sees by the light of God, and the mystic sees Him through Him.*

29 The right believer, that is to say anyone who is free from both manifest and hidden polytheism, sees God's favour to him by His light /, which is all-revealing; therefore, the Prophet — God bless him and grant him peace — said, "Beware of the eye of the right believer, for he sees by the light of God". The mystic, *i.e.*, anyone who, ignoring all but God, is immersed in Him, looks upon Him outwardly and inwardly by His light, and not upon anything else, because his inward sight is focussed on Him. As he has passed away from self and all its attributes, he sees only the Lord, to the exclusion of everything else.

Oh my brother! Set yourself to follow the right way by the observance of all His commandments and refraining from all things forbidden, so that you will receive God's help. Then you will pass away from self and God will complete His favour to you. As the author says with the following words,

30 *So long as you hold to self and are not immersed in Us, We command you; when you have passed away from self, We rule you. (But He does not rule them / until they have passed away from self.)*

So long as you hold to self and are not immersed in Us, We command you; that is to say, We load you with the heavy burden of observing Our commandments and bewareing of things forbidden, because you are at the station of separation. When, however, you have passed away from self, We rule you with care, help, grace and other marks of favour which are not to be obtained by human effort, since you are at the station of unity. But this regime is not brought into effect until one has passed away from self and moves, rests, works and has being only through God most high.

31 At the final stage you are at the station of contemplation, and how could anyone at this station still turn to anything but Him? As the Prophet said, "I find the comfort of my eye in prayer". The mystic / prays continuously, because real prayer consists in turning away from

sembahyang, karena haqiqat sembahyang itu berpaling daripada barang yang lainnya dan berhadap atas Tuhannya. Maka barangsiapa telah sempurna baginya pandang ini, maka <sup>1</sup> adalah dalam segala amalnya <sup>2</sup> dengan lahirnya, dan keluar daripadanya pada hatinya dan sirrnya, dan inilah haqiqa memerintahkan Haqq ta'ala akandia.

*Mā dumta anta, fa-anta murīd; fa-idhā afnāka* <sup>c</sup>*an-ka, fa-anta murād*, Selagi engkau melihat bagi wujudmu dan amal <sup>3</sup> dan <sup>3</sup> iradat, maka (engkau) murid bagi Allah ta'ala, dan orang yang murid itu lelahnya dengan sekira-kira yang dikehendaki. Maka mengehendaki Allah ta'ala yang amat besar, maka lelahnya amat besar. Maka apabila telah memfana'kan Tuhanmu akandikau daripada dirimu dan wujudmu, maka engkau murad bagi Haqq ta'ala pada ketika itu, karena tiada memfana'kan Ia akandikau melainkan karena melihatkan Ia akandikau (seperti yang dibaqa'kannya sertanya, tiada dibaqa'kannya) melainkan karena sanya <sup>4</sup> yang <sup>4</sup> dikehendakinya. Maka bahwasanya Allah ta'ala itu tiada Ia mengehendaki akan seseorang melainkan 32 diambilnya daripada dirinya / kepadanya, dan apabila telah diambilnya kepadanya, maka difana'kannya daripada dirinya, maka tiada tinggal lagi dirinya, tetapi adalah ia kepada Tuhannya. Dan <sup>1</sup> selagi engkau melihat akan dirimu dan engkau tetapkan akandia, maka adalah engkau dalam bidaya; maka apabila telah keluar engkau daripadanya dan engkau napikan akandia, maka adalah engkau dalam nihaya.

Maka asal tiap-tiap ma'siya dan lupa dan shahwat itu rida daripada napsu, dan asal tiap-tiap ta'at dan jaga ketiadaan rida daripadanya. Dan rida daripada napsu itu yaitu keadaan menetapkan dia (dan melihat kebajikannya); dan ketiadaan ridanya <sup>2</sup> itu yaitu keadaan menapikan (dia dan menetapkan) <sup>3</sup> kejahatannya. Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.' :

*Al-yaqīn al-adwam ghaibatuka* <sup>c</sup>*an-ka wa-wujūduka bi-hi. Kam baina mā yakūnu bi-amrihi wa-baina mā yakūnu bi-hi*, Bermula, yaqin pada wujud Allah ta'ala yang senentiasa dalam tiap-tiap hal daripada segala (hal) dengan 'inayat Allah ta'ala itu ghaibmu <sup>4</sup> daripada wujudmu dengan dirimu [dan wujudmu dan wujudmu dengan dirimu] 33 itu dengan Allah ta'ala; maka kekallah / engkau ghaib daripada wujudmu yang padamu, hadir kepada wujudmu yang dengan Allah 'azza wajalla. Dan haqiqatnya itu tiada wujud bagimu dengan dirimu itu, dan hanyasanya engkau menyangka bahwasanya bagimu wujud dengan dirimu, maka apabila telah hilang daripadamu sangkamu bahwasanya wujudmu dengan dirimu, maka lahirlah bagimu bahwasanya wujudmu dengan Haqq ta'ala, karena <sup>1</sup> wujud <sup>2</sup> dengan Haqq ta'ala itu daripada dahulu, tetapi engkau ghaib daripadanya, dan

everything but the Lord and applying oneself to Him. Whosoever sees this clearly is outwardly concerned in his occupations, while in his heart and soul he is not. This is the essential meaning of God's reign over him.

*So long as your self remains, you are a seeker, but when He has made you pass away from self, you are sought after.*

32 So long as you still look on being, activity and will (of your own), you are still seeking after God most high. Now a seeker's efforts will be commensurate with the object of his quest, and the quest of God being a lofty one, he will spare no effort. When, however, the Lord has made you pass away from self and selfhood, you are sought after by God most high, as He made you pass away only because He looked at you (as it were considering whether or not to make you live eternally with Him), with the only motive of wanting it. God never wants anyone unless He takes him from himself to / Him, and then He causes him to pass away from selfhood, so that his individuality vanishes and God is his only aim. So long as you persist in looking on self, you are still at the beginning, but when you have outgrown this stage and deny selfhood, you have reached the final stage.

All disobedience, inadvertence and desire spring from self-complacency, and all obedience and mindfulness spring from the absence of self-complacency. Self-complacency consists in self-assertion and self-satisfaction; absence of self-complacency means a strong disapproval of it. The author says,

*Permanent certainty means freedom from self and existence through Him. What a difference there is between that which is done by His order and that which is done through Him!*

33 Permanent certainty with regard to God's Being under all circumstances and with God's help means that you are free from the (delusion of) self-subsistence and exist through God most high. Then you have permanently / given up (the delusion of) self-subsistence for being with Him most high. For in point of fact you are not self-subsistent; you only fancy that you are, but when this delusion has vanished it is apparent to you that you subsist through God most high, as from old you have been with God most high but you lost sight of Him, so that you believed in the invisible but not in the visible. But when you have returned to being with God most high, you will believe in the invisible and the visible, like your Lord who knows both the invisible and the visible (Qor'ān 6: 73). Therefore, it is incumbent on you to pronounce the creed, viz. the profession with regard to God most high, over and

karena inilah engkau mu'min pada ghaib (dan tiada)<sup>3</sup> pada shahadat. Maka apabila telah kembali wujudmu dengan Haqq ta'ala, maka jadilah engkau mu'min pada ghaib dan shahada, seperti<sup>4</sup> Tuhanmu yang 'alim al-ghaib wa 'l-shahada. Maka wajib atasmu bahwa engkau kata dengan shahadat al-Haqq ta'ala dalam tiap-tiap sesuatu. Dan berapa antara yang mu'min pada ghaib yang ada pada suruh Allah ta'ala daripada segala bahagai 'ibada dan mujahada yang memberati, dan antara yang 'arif yang ada dengan Haqq ta'ala daripada segala bahagai ni'mat / dan karunia rabbaniyya. Maka menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.' yang telah tersebut itu dengan katanya:

*In kunta bi-amrihi, khada<sup>c</sup>at la-ka al-asbāb; wa-in kunta bi-hi, tada<sup>c</sup>da<sup>c</sup>at la-ka al-akwān,* Jikalau ada engkau pada suruhnya pada ibadat, pada<sup>1</sup> hal<sup>1</sup> berdiri dengan Dia, niscaya dimudahkan segala asbab<sup>2</sup> bagimu; dan jikalau ada engkau dengan Allah ta'ala, seperti bahwasanya<sup>3</sup> tiada engkau lihat akan lainnya, niscaya hinalah segala akwan bagimu, maka tiada terdinding akandikau suatu daripada akwan itu daripada mushahada yang mukawwinnya. Maka orang ahl al-tariq itu adakalanya mengetahui pada (Allah ta'ala, maka memandangi ia akan sesuatu dengan Allah, dan adakalanya mengetahui pada)<sup>4</sup> segala hukum dengan nazar dan istidlal, maka memandangi ia akan Allah dengan sesuatu. Dan yang awal itu daripada segala orang yang siddiq dan segala orang yang shuhada', dan lisannya jam'; dan yang kedua itu daripada segala orang yang saléh, dan lisannya farq.

Dan tatkala ada segala maqam orang yang salik kemudian daripada ruju' itu berkurang<sup>5</sup>-lebih, maka menyatakan mu'allif akandia, maka katanya:

*Awwal al-maqāmāt al-ṣabr<sup>c</sup> alā murādihi; wa-awsaṭuhā al-riḍā bi-murādihi, wa-ākhiruhā an takūna / bi-murādihi,* Bermula, awal segala maqam itu sabar, yaitu menahani napsu atas yang dikehendaki Allah ta'ala atau dikata<sup>1</sup> ia, yaitu menanggung diri atas mashaqqa daripada keberatannya, karena menuntut balas atasnya. Dan pertengahannya itu yaitu rila, dan yaitu qabul dan tetap hati pada yang dikehendaki Allah ta'ala dengan sekira-kira tiada dapat kepadanya keberatan dalam menerima demikian yang dikehendaki Allah ta'ala akandia, sama ada kebajikan atau kejahatan, atau manfa'a atau maddarra. Dan akhirnya itu yaitu yang terlebih tinggi maqam, bahwa adalah engkau peroléh berdiri pada yang dikehendaki Allah ta'ala dalam segala ahwal; maka hilanglah daripadamu sabar itu<sup>2</sup> atas yang dikehendaki Allah ta'ala dan rila kepada yang dikehendaki Allah ta'ala: maka tiada dapat engkau bagi barang yang lahir bagimu daripadamu

over again. What a difference there is between the believer in the Unseen who is under the obligation of performing all kinds of religious duties and bound over to burdensome exertion, and the mystic who is  
 34 with God most high and fully enjoys His favour / and grace! This is expressed by the author in the following words:

*If you are put to His service, all means (of livelihood) are at your disposal; when you are with Him, all that exists will be subservient to you.*

If you are on the footing of obligatory worship with Him, you will certainly make an easy living; if you are with God most high and do not look on anything but Him, all that exists will be subservient to you and none of it will be secluded from you, as you behold its Creator.

The people of the Way (*ṭarīq*) sometimes know God most high, so that they see everything as springing from God, and sometimes they form their opinions by speculation and argumentation, so that to them all things lead up to God. The first is the case with the truthful and the martyrs whose tongues speak the language of union; the second is the case with the pious, whose tongues speak the language of separation.

As there is a gradation with regard to the stations on the path after the mystics have returned to being with God, the author gives the following explanation:

35 *The first station is patient acceptance of God's will; the middlemost is satisfaction with it; the last is the identification of oneself / with it.*

The first station is patience, that is to say, the repression of one's sentiments with regard to God's will, or, according to others, the endurance of the strain of its burden, because one expects to be rewarded for it. The middlemost is satisfaction, viz. the confident acceptance of God's will without the slightest scruples, irrespective of whether it entails good or evil, gain or loss. The last station, which is the highest, is that under all circumstances you identify yourself with God's will. Then patience and satisfaction with His will will be overridden and you

atau daripada lainmu mashaqqa; maka sabar engkau atas demikian mashaqqa sahh<sup>3</sup> itu, dan tiada<sup>4</sup> ladhhat dan<sup>5</sup> suka maka rila engkau pada yang demikian [ladhdhat dan suka] itu, tetapi adalah engkau  
 36 dapat sekaliannya demikian itu terbit daripada Allah ta'ala atas / yang dikehendaki iradatnya yang qadim; maka tiada<sup>1</sup> tinggal bagimu sifat daripada dirimu, dan gagal segala sifatmu dengan zuhur segala sifatnya Yang Mahatinggi bagimu, maka adalah engkau 'arif. Maka hamba itu apabila sabar ia, maka rila ia, dan rila<sup>2</sup> ia,<sup>2</sup> maka<sup>2</sup> adalah ia dalam murad Allah ta'ala, maka fana'lah ia daripada fi'lnya dan qawlnya (dan hawlnya) dan quwwatnya dengan barang yang memandang<sup>3</sup> ia akandia daripada hadrat al-rabbaniyya. Karena bahwasanya barangsiapa fana' ia daripada yang demikian itu, baqa' ia dengan Allah, maka adalah penengarannya<sup>4</sup> dan penglihatnya dan lainnya<sup>5</sup> daripada kedua itu daripada yang tersebut dalam hadith<sup>6</sup>: (K u n t u s a m<sup>c</sup> a h u a l l a d h i y a s m a<sup>c</sup> u b i - h i , ertinya:) Adalah Aku penengarnya yang didengarnya dengandia, dan penglihatnya yang dilihatnya dengandia.

Dan maqam al-fana' itu maqam al-khawass, yaitu maqam al-'ubudiyya. Maka orang yang sabar itu pada maqam al-'ibada, dan yang<sup>7</sup> rila itu pada maqam al-'ubudiyya, dan tiap-tiap daripada<sup>8</sup> kedua itu melihat baginya wujud dan<sup>9</sup> amal. Maka orang yang 'arif itu pada maqam al-'ubuda, dan tiada melihat baginya wujud dan amal, karena  
 37 bahwasanya / ia qa'im dengan Allah bagi Allah, tiada dengan dirinya bagi dirinya. Maka menyatakan<sup>1</sup> mu'allif, r.A.', jalan berjalan kepada Allah ta'ala dengan 'ilm dan amal, yaitu mujahadat shari'a yang menyampaikan kepada Allah ta'ala dengan katanya:

*Al-<sup>c</sup>ilm ṭarīq al-<sup>c</sup>amal; (wa 'l-<sup>c</sup>amal) ṭarīq al-<sup>c</sup>ilm; wa 'l-<sup>c</sup>ilm ṭarīq al-ma<sup>c</sup>rifa; wa 'l-ma<sup>c</sup>rifa ṭarīq al-kashf; wa 'l-kashf ṭarīq al-fanā'; wa 'l-fanā' yakūnu<sup>c</sup> amalan, thumma haqqan;* Bermula, ilmu shari'a yang takluk pada i'tiqad, dan ilmu<sup>2</sup> itu jalan amal yang menyampaikan ilmu itu kepada amal, karena tiada sahh amal<sup>3</sup> melainkan dengan mengetahui kaifiyyatnya. Dan amal yang telah tersebut itu jalan ilmu iladuni,<sup>4</sup> dan ilmu iladuni<sup>5</sup> itu jalan ma'rifa pada Allah ta'ala, dan ma'rifa itu jalan kashf daripada haqiqa sesuatu; dan kashf itu jalan fana' daripada barang yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala, seperti bahwa tiada engkau lihat akan lainnya. Karena bahwasanya hamba itu apabila telah diketahuinya ia makhluk dan tiap-tiap makhluk itu fana', maka  
 38 dilihatnya dengan mata hatinya bahwasanya ia fana', dan / fana' (ia) daripada fana' itu, seperti bahwa tiadalah engkau lihat fana'; dan inilah yang dinamai dengan baqa'.

will not worry about anything that befalls you through your own doing or from another quarter. Therefore, have patience to endure real trouble and let not delight in and satisfaction with it inspire you to  
 36 content, but accept all this as happening to you / in consequence of God's eternal dispensation. Then none of your own attributes will remain; all of them will fall away, owing to the manifestation of the attributes of God most high in you, and you will be a knower (gifted with mystic knowledge). When the servant has reached (the station of) patience, then that of satisfaction, and God has destined him to it, he passes away from his own action, speech, power and strength, as he has caught a glimpse of the Divine Majesty. Anyone who has passed away from all these, has everlasting life in God; his hearing, sight etc. are such as mentioned in the tradition of the Prophet, I am his hearing by which he hears, *i.e.*, I am his hearing by which he hears and his sight by which he sees.

The station of passing away is that of the select, that is to say, the station of servitude. Those who are patient are at the station of worship; those who are satisfied are at the station of servitude; both categories still reckon with being and works (of their own). But he who knows is at the station of submission and does not reckon with  
 37 being (of his own) nor with works, as / he lives through God for the sake of God, not by himself for his own sake.

The author says that the way to God most high comprises knowledge and works, that is to say, strict observance of the Law, as follows:

*Knowledge is the way to works and works are the way to knowledge; knowledge is the way to gnosis; gnosis is the way to unveiling and unveiling is the way to passing away; passing away consists in <sup>c</sup>ilm, then <sup>c</sup>ain, then haqq (see M.S. pp. 26, 27).*

The knowledge of the Law depends on dogmatic belief, and this knowledge is the way to works which make you (at the same time) know them, for works are not valid until one knows how they must be performed. The works just mentioned are the way to God-inspired knowledge, and this in its turn is the way to mystical knowledge of God most high; mystical knowledge is the way to the disclosure of all higher realities, and this is the way to passing-away from everything but God most high, so that you do not look on anything else. When the servant knows that he is created and that all created things are bound to perish,  
 38 he sees with his inner eye that he passes away / and passes away from passing-away, so that he does not see his passing-away. This is what is named everlasting life in God.

Dan fana' itu adalah ia amal, maka ain, maka haqq, karena bahwasanya fana' itu tiga bahagai: suatu fana' dalam segala fi'l, seperti kata meréka itu: Tiada yang berbuat melainkan Allah; dan kedua fana' dalam segala <sup>1</sup> sifat, seperti kata meréka itu: Tiada yang <sup>2</sup> hidup melainkan Allah; dan ketiga fana' dalam dhat, seperti kata meréka itu: Tiada yang mawjud melainkan Allah. Dan adalah <sup>3</sup> ketiga itu dikehendaki dengan kata meréka <sup>4</sup> itu <sup>4</sup> setengah orang yang 'arif: (Barangsiapa) memandang segala makhluk tiada perbuatan bagi meréka itu, maka sanya berbahagialah ia; dan barangsiapa memandang meréka itu tiada hidup bagi meréka itu, maka sanya beroléh bahagian ia; dan barangsiapa memandang meréka itu keadaan 'adam, maka sanya telah sampailah ia.

39 Dan ketahui oléhmumu bahwasanya segala maqam (yang enam yang telah tersebut itu, yaitu maqam) al-'ilm yang kasbi yang bangsa shar'i; maka dengandia atas ikhlas daripada tiada bid'a; maka ilmu iladuni yang wahbi <sup>5</sup> yang fa'ida amal serta ikhlas yang sunyi daripada bid'a sahh; / maka ma'rifa pada Allah ta'ala; maka kashf daripada Haqq ta'ala dalam <sup>1</sup> segala anwa' tajallinya; maka fana' daripada tiap-tiap ma'qul dan mahsus dengan sekira-kira hapuslah rusum al-nafs.

*Mā ṣalaḥta la-nā mā dāmat fi-ka baqiyya li-siwā-nā; fa-idhā ḥaw-walta al-siwā, afnaināka <sup>c</sup> an-ka, fa-ṣalaḥta la-nā wa-awda<sup>c</sup> nāka sirranā,* Tiada patut engkau bagi Kami selagi padamu yang <sup>2</sup> tinggal bagi lain daripada Kami, ya'ni pada dunia atau <sup>3</sup> akhirat. Karena bahwasanya engkau pada ketika itu tiada patut bagi maqam al-'ubuda, yaitu berdiri bagi Allah dengan Allah, karena engkau berdosa dengan dosa sahh <sup>4</sup> yang amat besar, karena setengah daripada dosa yang amat besar kepada meréka itu bahwa engkau lihat bagimu wujud serta Allah ta'ala. Maka <sup>5</sup> apabila telah berpaling engkau daripada yang lain, seperti bahwa <sup>6</sup> engkau keluar daripadanya hingga daripada fana'kan,<sup>7</sup> maka Kami <sup>8</sup> fana'kan akandikau daripada dirimu hingga jadilah engkau tiada melihat bagimu wujud, tetapi engkau lihat wujud Allah; maka jadilah hatimu tempat bagi rahasia Kami yang rabbani, yaitu sesuatu  
40 ma'na yang lemah pikir daripada mentasawwurkannya <sup>9</sup> / dan lisan daripada mengibaratkan <sup>1</sup> daripadanya. Maka patutlah engkau pada ketika itu bagi Kami, maka Kami taruhkan akandikau rahasia Kami; maka tiadalah patut bagi rahasia itu melainkan kemudian daripada memfana'kan Tuhannya akan dia daripadanya dan menunggalkan akan dia dengan Dia. Maka jadilah ia merdahéka daripada diperhambanya <sup>2</sup> oleh lainnya dan tempat bagi segala asrar. Maka yang <sup>3</sup> dituntut <sup>4</sup> itu bersunyi daripada barang lain daripada Haqq ta'ala. Dan kepada inilah

Passing-away, being threefold, is approached by the stages of <sup>ʿ</sup>*amal*, <sup>ʿ</sup>*ain* and *ḥaqq*. The first is the passing-away in the works; the mystics say, “There is no agent but God”. The second is the passing-away in the attributes; the mystics say, “There is no life other than God”. The third is passing-away in the divine Essence; the mystics say, “There is no Being other than God”. Having these three stages in mind some of them say, “Happy the man who does not ascribe action to anything created; whosoever does not ascribe life to anyone understands in part; whosoever sees all created things as non-being, has reached the goal”.

39 Know that the six(?) stations mentioned above are (the stations of) acquired knowledge of the Law, and this combined with sincerity not tainted by heresy; God-inspired knowledge endowed by the Lord and leading to pious works and sincerity free from heresy; / mystical knowledge of God most high; disclosure of the Supreme Reality in its multiple manifestations; passing-away from all things intelligible and sensible, inasmuch as all traces of self are blotted out.

*You are unacceptable to Us as long as there is left in you the slightest trace of attention to anything but Us. But when you have turned away from everything save Us, We shall make you pass away from self, so that you will be acceptable to Us, and We shall entrust you with Our secret.*

40 You are not appropriate for Us so long as there is left in you a remnant of attention to anything but Us, that is to say, to this world or the next, as in that case you are not appropriate for the station of submission — which amounts to being with God for His sake —, because you will be guilty of a deadly sin. For with the mystics it is a deadly sin to ascribe being to oneself aside from God. But when you have turned away from everything save God We shall make you pass away from self, so that you do not ascribe being to yourself but only see God’s Being. Then your heart will be the abode of Our divine secret, which is beyond imagination / and cannot be put into words. Then you will be acceptable to Us and We shall entrust you with Our secret. But the former will not be the case until the Lord has made you pass away from self and united you with Him. Then you will be free from being enslaved by anything else and the appropriate abode of all secrets.

What is required is a heart that is clear from anything save God most high. Shaikh <sup>ʿ</sup>Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī alluded to this when he said,

di-isharatkan shaikh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Gilani,<sup>5</sup> r.A.<sup>c</sup>., dengan katanya: Hay sekalian saudaraku! Tiadalah sampai engkau kepada Allah ta'ala dengan berdiri malam, dan tiada dengan puasa siang, dan tiada dengan mendarus ilmu, dan tetapi<sup>6</sup> sampai engkau kepada Haqq ta'ala dengan karam dan tawadu' dan selamat al-qalb.

- Maka bahwasanya dengan karam itu, yaitu keluarlah ia daripada takluk kepada dunia, dan dengan tawadu' itu yaitu keluarlah ia daripada takluk kepada napsu, dan (dengan)<sup>7</sup> selamat dihati<sup>8</sup> itu yaitu keluarlah ia daripada takluk kepada barang yang lain daripadanya.
- 41 Dan hendaklah keluarkan / oléhmü daripada segala harakat bagi dirimu dan fana'kan oléhmü daripada wujudmu, maka hasillah bagimu yaqin<sup>1</sup> dan sempurnalah tawhidmu, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>.:

*Idhā lam yabqa<sup>c</sup> alaika ḥaraka<sup>2</sup> li-nafsika, kamila yaqīnuka, wa-idhā lam yabqa la-ka wujūd, kamila tawhīduka,* Apabila tiada tinggal lagi atasmu haraka bagi dirimu, seperti bahwa engkau keluarkan akan dia daripadamu, maka sempurnalah yaqinmu karena qiyam dengan Allah ta'ala; dan apabila tiada tinggal lagi bagimu wujud daripadamu, seperti bahwa telah fana'lah engkau daripada barang yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala, maka sempurnalah tawhidmu, sekira-kira tiada wujud bagimu dan tiada (bagi) lainmu pada ketika itu dalam penglihatmu dan dalam tilik mata hatimu, dan hanyasanya yang mawjud itu yaitu Allah ta'ala; maka yaitu sempurnalah tawhidmu,<sup>3</sup> karena tiada wujud bagi sesuatu dalamnya serta Allah ta'ala.

- Maka bahwasanya wujudmu kepadamu pada hal tawhidmu itu adalah yang menegahkan bagimu daripada sempurna tawhidmu<sup>4</sup>; maka tatkala telah hilang wujudmu daripadamu,<sup>5</sup> maka sempurnalah tawhidmu.<sup>6</sup> / Seperti bahwa harakatmu bagi dirimu adalah ia menegahkan bagimu daripada sempurna yaqin (pada) Allah ta'ala. Maka tatkala telah hilang harakat<sup>1</sup> daripadamu bagi dirimu, maka sempurnalah yaqinmu. Dan tersebut dalam khabar: Barangsiapa telah mengenal Allah ta'ala, niscaya kelulah lisannya.
- 42

*Ahl al-bāṭin ma<sup>c</sup>a al-yaqīn, wa-ahl al-ẓāhir ma<sup>c</sup>a al-īmān,* Bermula, segala orang yang ahl al-batin, ertinya haqiqah, yaitu hati, dan barang yang terkandung atasnya daripada segala asrar, dan meréka itulah segala 'ulama' al-haqiqah, yang terbuka meréka itu daripada segala haqiqah pekerjaan dalam sekalian hal, serta yaqin pada Allah ta'ala karena khalis meréka itu daripada wahm al-rusum. Maka tiada ghaib daripada meréka itu atas tiap-tiap hal, maka menilik meréka itu dengandia kepadanya dengan batin meréka itu. Maka hati meréka itu kuasa melihat dia atas barang yang atasnya dalam tiap-tiap sesuatu,

“My brethren! You will not come near to God by keeping awake at night or fasting by day nor by pious recitation, but you will come near to God most high by prostration, humility and purity of heart”.

41 By prostration one gets rid of dependence on this world; by humility one gets rid of dependence on self, and by purity of heart one gets rid of dependence on anything else. Free yourself / from all action for your own sake and pass away from your own being; then you will acquire absolute certainty and your *tawhīd* will be complete. As the author says,

*When there does not remain with you any action for your own sake, you have absolute certainty, and when there does not remain with you any being (of your own), your tawhīd will be complete.*

When there does not remain with you any action for your own sake — from which you have freed yourself —, you will have absolute certainty because of your being with God most high. And when there does not remain with you any being of your own — when you have passed away from everything but God —, then your *tawhīd* will be complete, inasmuch as at that moment there does not remain in you being of your own and you do not ascribe being to anything else either outwardly or inwardly. Being is only due to God most high, and therefore your *tawhīd* is complete, as by it you ascribe Being to nothing but God most high.

42 Should you meanwhile ascribe being to yourself, then the completeness of your *tawhīd* is frustrated, but if not, your *tawhīd* is complete, / just as the assumption of action of your own frustrates your absolute certainty with regard to God most high and the absence thereof brings about this certainty. Tradition says, “Whosoever comes to know God most high is tongue-tied”.

*Conviction is proper to the spiritual-minded and faith is proper to the secular man.*

The spiritual-minded, that is to say, the people of *ḥaqīqa*, viz. the heart and all the secrets contained in it, are the learned in the Essential Reality, to whom in all circumstances the essential realities of things are disclosed and who have absolute certainty with regard to God most high on account of their being free from the delusion of appearances. They never lose sight of the essential realities, which they see with their inward eye. Their hearts are able to discern these as underlying anything whatsoever, just as their eyes are able to take cognizance of the appearances of all things, the inward eye being concerned with

seperti bahwa mata meréka itu kuasa melihat akan segala rupa<sup>2</sup> tiap-tiap sesuatu; maka batin itu bagi batin dan lahir itu bagi/lahir. Maka barangsiapa menilik dengan batinnya kepada<sup>1</sup> tiap-tiap sesuatu, niscaya melihat ia akan batin tiap-tiap sesuatu, dan barangsiapa menilik dengan lahirnya kepada tiap-tiap sesuatu, niscaya melihat ia akan yang lahir tiap-tiap sesuatu. Dan segala orang yang ahl al-zahir itu, yaitu napsu dan jisim dan barang yang meliputi<sup>2</sup> keduanya atasnya daripada hijab dan ghafla daripada Haqq ta'ala, dan meréka itu<sup>3</sup> segala 'ulama' al-shari'a,<sup>4</sup> daripada tiada ma'rifat haqiqa, yang berdiri meréka itulah<sup>5</sup> dengan napsu meréka itu dalam tiap-tiap yang disuruh dan yang ditegah akan dia. Maka meréka itulah menilik kepada Allah ta'ala dengan dirinya<sup>8</sup> meréka itu dan 'aql meréka itu, maka tiada melihat meréka itu akan dia. Karena bahwasanya meréka itu menilik dengan lainnya, maka tiadalah menilik meréka itu melainkan lainnya. Dan adalah meréka itu serta iman pada yang ghaib tiada serta Allah ta'ala, seperti orang yang ahl al-batin serta yaqin pada Allah ta'ala dalam /

44 sekalian perkerjaannya.

Maka menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>. akan tiap-tiap daripada keduanya dalam kurangnya dan sempurnanya dalam martabatnya, maka katanya:  
*Fa-matā taḥarraka qalb ṣāḥib al-yaqīn li-ghair Allāh ta'ālā, naqaṣa yaqīnuhu; wa-matā lam yakhtir la-hu khāḥir, kamila yaqīnuhu,* Maka manakala bergerak hati orang yang yaqin itu bagi lain daripada Allah ta'ala, niscaya kurang yaqinnya pada Allah ta'ala dengan sebab Bergeraknya.<sup>1</sup> Maka murad daripada bergerak itu yaitu terbit<sup>2</sup> dibangsakannya<sup>3</sup> kepadanya dengan sekira-kira berkata ia dalam dirinya: Bergerak hatiku.<sup>4</sup> Daripada tiada ada gerak itu terbit<sup>5</sup> daripada Tuhannya dalam pandangannya,<sup>6</sup> maka dida'wanya bagi dirinya. Dan manakala tiada terlintas baginya khatir dalam sesuatu yang lain daripada memandang Haqq ta'ala dalam demikian sesuatu itu, niscaya sempurna yaqinnya pada Allah ta'ala pada ketika itu, karena hilang daripadanya memandang lainnya daripada mata hatinya. Maka lazimlah atas orang yang yaqin itu muraqaba atas senetiasa, yaitu /

45 memeliharakan sirr dengan menilik Haqq ta'ala serta tiap-tiap khatir. Dan diupamakan halnya dengan hal kucing dalam pengintainya bagi perburuannya: maka manakala cinder<sup>1</sup> pengintainya, niscaya cinder<sup>1</sup> kehendaknya.

*Wa-matā taḥarraka qalb ṣāḥib al-īmān bi-ghair al-amr al-ilāhī, naqaṣa īmānuhu; wa-matā taḥarraka bi'l-amr al-ilāhī, kamila īmānuhu,* Dan manakala bergerak<sup>2</sup> hati yang mempunyai iman pada Allah ta'ala, yaitu daripada orang yang ahl al-zahir, dengan bergerak batin atau

43 things inward, the outward eye with / things outward. He who sees with his inward eye will certainly view everything in its intrinsic aspect; he who sees with his outward eye will certainly view everything in its external aspect. The people of the external aspect, that is to say, of worldly designs and the flesh, of the veils and the inadvertence of God brought about by the first two, are the learned in the Law who from sheer ignorance of the essential realities eagerly comply with all the precepts and prohibitions of the Law. They look on God with their self and their own reason; therefore they do not see Him. Because they look on him by means of something else they see nothing but this. They have faith in the invisible but they are not with God most high, unlike those who are spiritual-minded and have absolute certainty with regard to Him, whatever they do. /

44 Giving in his text an exposition of the shortcomings and virtues of both groups the author says,

*When the heart of a man of certainty is roused on account of anything save God, his certainty with regard to God is deficient, but when nothing occurs to it his certainty is perfect.*

When the heart of a man of certainty is roused on account of anything save God, his certainty with regard to God is deficient on account of this. What is meant by roused is that he ascribes this arousal to himself inasmuch as he says to himself, "My heart is roused". As in his opinion this arousal did not originate from the Lord, he claims it for himself. When, however, with regard to anything whatever the only thought that crosses his mind is that he sees the Supreme Reality in it, then undoubtedly his certainty with regard to God is perfect, because his inner eye is free from the sight of anything but God. Permanent attention is incumbent on the man of certainty; that is to say that he has to shield / his soul by seeing the Supreme Reality in whatever may cross his mind. He is comparable to a cat lying in wait for its prey: when its attention flags, its purpose certainly is infirm.

45

*When the heart of a man who is possessed of faith is roused on account of anything but divine order, his faith is deficient, but when it is roused on account of divine order his faith is perfect.*

When the heart of a man who believes in God most high — that is to say a man belonging to the people of the external aspect — is roused by an inward or an outward incentive springing from self on behalf of anything not ordered by the Lord, the Only One, on Whom all things depend, then certainly his faith is deficient from the point of view that in his opinion the arousal of his heart springs from himself, not from

lahir yang terbit kepadanya (daripada) dirinya bagi lainnya<sup>3</sup> amr Tuhan<sup>4</sup> yang Esa, yang<sup>5</sup> dengandia berdiri tiap-tiap sesuatu, niscaya kurang imannya dengan i'tibar sekalian gerak yang bergerak dengandia hatinya dengan dirinya, tiada (de)ngan amr Allah ta'ala dalam sangkanya. Dan manakala bergerak hatinya dengan amr Tuhannya, tiada dengan dirinya dalam ilmunya, seperti yang yaitu<sup>6</sup> haqiqat pekerjaan demikian itu, dan jikalau tiada diketahui<sup>7</sup> sekalipun, niscaya sempurna  
46 imannya, karena telah hilang nisbat / sesuatu<sup>1</sup> daripada sekalian sesuatu<sup>2</sup> kepada lain daripada amr Allah ta'ala yang berdiri dengandia tiap-tiap sesuatu, atas yang dikehendaki imannya dengan demikian itu.

Dan ketahui oléhmumu bahwasanya orang yang yaqin itu, yaitu daripada orang yang ahl al-batin, tiada haraka baginya dalam mata hatinya, karena tiada wujud baginya kepadanya, tetapi wujud sekalian kepadanya<sup>3</sup> bagi Allah ta'ala dengan sendirinya atas bersalahan hadratnya Yang Mahatinggi. Dan<sup>4</sup> inilah, manakala bergerak hati yang mempunyai yaqin itu, niscaya kurang yaqinnya,<sup>5</sup> karena keadaannya didapat kepada dirinya dengan sebab harakatnya bagi dirinya; dan manakala tiada bergerak ia, maka yaqinnya sempurna. Dan baginya<sup>6</sup> orang yang mempunyai iman itu, yaitu daripada orang yang ahl al-zahir, maka baginya harakat dan baginya sukun, karena keadaannya mawjud kepada dirinya, dan tetapi harakatnya dan sukunnya dan wujudnya kepadanya dengan amr Allah ta'ala, tiada dengan dirinya. Dan kepadanya itu  
47 wujud / itu dua bahagai, suatu wujud Allah yang qa'im dengan dirinya; dan kedua wujud al-'alam, yang qa'im dengan amr Allah. Dan karena inilah, manakala bergerak hati yang mempunyai iman pada lain amr Tuhannya, niscaya kurang imannya, karena lain daripada memandangi berdiri (wujud pada amr Allah ta'ala dan karena sangkanya dirinya) harakatnya pada dirinya. Dan manakala bergerak ia pada amr Tuhan, niscaya sempurna<sup>1</sup> imannya, karena berlaku<sup>2</sup> atas yang dikehendaki maqamnya dalam berdiri sesuatu dengan amr Allah ta'ala. Maka menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>., akan berapalah<sup>3</sup> antara maqam al-yaqin dan maqam al-iman dengan katanya:

*Wa-ma<sup>c</sup>ṣiyat ahl al-yaqīn kufr, wa-ma<sup>c</sup>ṣiyat ahl al-īmān naqs,* Dan ma'siya segala orang yang ahl al-yaqin itu, yaitu yang memandangi meréka itu bahwasanya wujud sekaliannya<sup>4</sup> itu wujud Allah ta'ala pada hal berbahagai-bahagai dengan segala bahagai<sup>5</sup> hadratnya dalam mazhar segala tajalli,<sup>6</sup> dan tiadalah memandangi meréka itu akan wujud  
48 yang lain serta wujud Haqq ta'ala, maka / apabila ma'siyat meréka itu akan Allah ta'ala dengan sebab memandangi meréka itu akan lainnya dalam segala khatir meréka itu, kufr pada<sup>1</sup> Allah ta'ala meréka

divine order. Should he know, however, that the arousal of his heart springs from divine order, not from himself, such as is actually the case /  
 46 though he may not realize it (at that moment), then his faith is perfect, as (for him) there is no relation between any event whatever and anything but the divine order through which all things come to pass, as is postulated by his faith.

You should know that the man of certainty, *i.e.*, the man who belongs to the people of the intrinsic aspect, knows inwardly that no activity is his own, because he does not attribute being to himself but attributes all Being only to God most high, on account of His otherness. Therefore, when the heart of a man of certainty is roused, no doubt his certainty is deficient, because this arousal is thought to spring from his own activity, but when he is not roused his certainty is perfect. Those who have faith, *i.e.*, who belong to the people of the external aspect, know of activity and inactivity, because they attribute their occurrence to themselves. However, their activity and inactivity are theirs by divine order and do not spring from themselves.

47 As to them, / being is twofold: 1°. the Being of God, who is self-subsistent, and 2°. the being of the Universe, which exists by divine order. Because of this, when the heart of a man possessed of faith is roused on account of anything which is not divine order, no doubt his faith is deficient, as he does not see that being depends on divine order and fancies that his activity is his own. Should, however, he act by divine order, then no doubt his faith is perfect, because he acts according to what is required by his stage with respect to the happening of things through divine order.

The author explains the difference between the stage of certainty and that of faith by saying,

*The disobedience of the people of certainty is unbelief, and the disobedience of the people of faith is deficiency.*

When the people of certainty — that is to say, those who see that all being is God's Being, manifold according to His manifold presence in the display of His manifestations, and do not see any being beside  
 48 His Being — are disobedient / to God by looking upon something beside Him in whatever may cross their minds, they are guilty of unbelief, *i.e.*, they are secluded from Him by that which they rely upon. However, when the people of faith, *i.e.*, those who see that all being depends on divine order and is different from God's Being behind it, while they believe in this with a belief in the unseen, are disobedient to God, their faith is less firm but they are not guilty of unbelief and,

itu, ertinya tertutup ia bagi Haqq ta'ala atas barang yang yaitu atasnya. Dan ma'siyat segala orang yang ahl al-iman itu, yaitu yang memandang meréka itu bahwasanya wujud sekalian itu qa'im pada amr Allah ta'ala dan yaitu lain daripada wujud Allah ta'ala<sup>2</sup> itu<sup>3</sup> dibelakang demikian itu, pada hal percaya meréka itu padanya dengan percaya pada<sup>4</sup> yang ghaib, maka<sup>5</sup> apabila ma'siyat meréka itu akan Allah ta'ala, maka kurang dalam iman meréka itu dan tiada kufur kepada meréka itu, dan daripada itulah bahwasanya segala kebajikan orang yang abrar itu kejahatan segala orang yang muqarrabin.

Dan ketahui oléhmu bahwasanya khatir itu,<sup>6</sup> yaitu barang yang datang atas hati dengan iradat al-Rabb,<sup>7</sup> dan yaitu lima bahagai: pertama<sup>8</sup>: khatir rabbani namanya, yaitu ilmu iladuni, dan tiada ter-  
salah ia selama-lamanya; dan

- 49 kedua: khatir malaki; / dan  
ketiga: khatir 'aqli; dan  
keempat: khatir nafsani; dan  
kelima: khatir shaitani.

Maka khatir yang<sup>1</sup> rabbani itu yaitu datang daripada<sup>2</sup> hadrat al-rububiyya, dan daripada hadrat al-rahmaniyya, dan daripada hadrat al-ilahiyya. Dan perbedhaan daripadanya itu bahwasanya yang rabbani itu datang ia dengan jalal; dan yang<sup>3</sup> rahmani itu dengan jamal, dan yang<sup>4</sup> ilahi itu dengan<sup>5</sup> kamal. Dan yang awwal itu menghapuskan dan memfana'kan; dan yang<sup>6</sup> kedua itu menetapkan dan mengekalkan; dan yang ketiga itu membaiki<sup>7</sup> dan<sup>8</sup> menunjuki.<sup>9</sup> Dan hamba itu bersanggraha ia pada jalal itu dengan sabar; dan pada<sup>10</sup> jamal itu dengan sukur; dan pada<sup>10</sup> kamal itu dengan sakinat. Dan ketiga itu<sup>11</sup> pada ba[ha]gi segala orang yang 'arif; dan khatir malaki dan khatir 'aqli itu bagi segala orang yang mujahada; dan khatir nafsani dan khatir<sup>12</sup> shaitani itu bagi segala orang yang ghafla.

- 50 Dan khatir itu apabila / tiada boléh tetap dua kali, yaitu bernama wahm; dan apabila boléh tetap dua kali, yaitu bernama 'azm; dan apabila jadi ia terdahulu sedikit daripada berbuat, yaitu qasd; dan apabila serta awwal perbuatan, yaitu niyyat. Maka sungguh-sungguh oléhmu, hai saudaraku, dalam menyucikan lahirmu dan batinmu daripada najis segala yang menyalahi, supaya engkau masuk kepada sembahyangmu yang haqiqi dan<sup>1</sup> jadilah engkau<sup>2</sup> kepada orang yang ahl al-nihaya daripada segala orang yang muttaqin yang dikasihi meréka itu.

*Al-muttaqī mujtahid, wa 'l-muḥibb muttakil, wa 'l-ārif sākin, wa 'l-mawjūd mafqūd*, Bermula, orang yang takut bagi Allah ta'ala dalam tiap-tiap berbuat dan meninggalkan, ertinya memelihara daripada

on account of this, what is passable with regard to the pious is sinful with respect to those who are brought near.

Know that things coming at random into the mind, that is to say, anything occurring to the inward man by the will of the Lord, may be divided into five categories<sup>1</sup>:

- 1°. *khāṭir rabbānī*, viz. the knowledge from Our side (cf. Qur'ān 18: 65), which is never amiss;
- 49 2°. *khāṭir malakī* / (thoughts arising from angelic inspiration);
- 3°. *khāṭir °aqlī* (reasonable thoughts);
- 4°. *khāṭir nafsānī* (carnal thoughts);
- 5°. *khāṭir shaitānī* (diabolical thoughts).

The *khāṭir rabbānī* comes from *a.* the Sovereign Presence; *b.* the Beneficent Presence; *c.* the Divine Presence, the difference being that the first brings out God's Majesty, the second His Beauty, the third His Perfection. The first wipes out and does pass away; the second confirms and perpetuates; the third sets right and guides. The servant accepts the Majesty (Wrath) with patience, the Beauty (Mercy) with thankfulness, the Perfection with inner repose. The three of them fall to the lot of those who know (the gnostics). *Khāṭir malakī* and *khāṭir °aqlī* fall to the lot of those who exert themselves; *khāṭir shaitānī* fall to the lot of those who are remiss.

- 50 When the idea that crosses one's mind / does not repeat itself (is outweighed in probability), it is called fancy; when it does, it is called determination; when it just precedes action, it is called purpose; when it accompanies the beginning of execution, it is called intention. Therefore, oh my brother, purify yourself thoroughly, both inwardly and outwardly, from the impurity of all defilements, so that you may enter on your real worship and belong to the adepts among the pious, who are His beloved.

*The pious man exerts himself; the lover puts his trust in God; he who knows (the gnostic) is at rest; he who subsists in God is lost to everything else.*

He who fears God in everything he does or does not do — *i.e.*, refrains himself from doing by observing God's commandments and abstaining from all that is forbidden, with pure intention — perseveres in his fear night and day under all circumstances. But should he desist from it,

nya dengan berbuat barang yang disuruhkan padanya dan meninggalkan barang yang ditegahkan daripadanya, serta ikhlas dalam demikian itu, yaitu bersungguh-sungguh dalam takutnya pada malam dan siang atas tiap-tiap hal. Dan manakala meninggalkan ia akan bersungguh-sungguhnya dalam demikian itu, maka / tiadalah ia daripada orang yang takut, tetapi adalah ia daripada orang yang fasik pada ketika itu, jikalau dii'tiqadkannya yang ditakutinya itu sebenarnya, dan jikalau tiada demikian itu, maka yaitu kafir. Maka adalah turun daripada maqam ketakut itu ada kalanya kepada fasiq, adakalanya kepada kafir,<sup>1</sup> dan inilah maqam segala orang yang 'awwam; dan yang<sup>2</sup> mempunyai maqam ini, yaitu segala orang yang ahl al-ilm dan ahl al-amal.

Dan orang yang kasih bagi Allah ta'ala dalam keadaan kasihnya bagi tiap-tiap sesuatu karena tiap-tiap sesuatu itu binasa dalam tilik mata hatinya melainkan wajah al-Haqq ta'ala, maka kasihnya bagi<sup>3</sup> tiap-tiap sesuatu itu yaitu kasihnya bagi Haqq ta'ala (dalam sekalian hadiratnya yang lahir atas sekira-kira idraknya; yaitu berpegang ia atas Allah ta'ala)<sup>4</sup> dengan sebenar-benar tawakkul dalam sekalian pekerjaannya jang bangsa dunyawiyya dan ukhrawiyya, pada lahir dan pada<sup>5</sup> batin atas tiap-tiap hal. Karena bahwasanya kasih itu awal hal daripada segala ma'rifa dan akhir hal daripada segala hal ilm dan amal. Maka ilm dan amal itu jadi / mahabba, dan mahabba itu jadi ma'rifa; maka yang mempunyai ilm dan amal itu mujtahid, dan yang mempunyai mahabba itu meninggalkan ijhtihad karena berpegangan atas yang dikasihi yang berbuat barang kehendaknya.<sup>1</sup>

Dan orang yang 'arif pada Allah ta'ala itu diam, tiada harakat baginya daripada dirinya dalam batinnya dan dalam lahirnya. Dan sanya telah<sup>2</sup> hilanglah ijhtihadnya dengan sebab kasihnya [dan telah hilanglah ijhtihadnya dengan sebab kasihnya], dan telah hilang i'timadnya dengan sebab ma'rifatnya. Maka yaitu sukun dan<sup>3</sup> tiada mujtahid dan tiada i'timadnya, hingga jikalau meninggalkan sukunnya, maka kembali ia kepada maqam al-mahabba dan hilang<sup>4</sup> daripadanya hal ma'rifa. Yaitu,<sup>5</sup> yang kejadian kasihnya bagi Allah ta'ala, yaitu yang mempunyai martabat yang tiga, ilm dan amal dan mahabba, maka arif. Dan jikalau tiada ilm, niscaya tiada amal; dan jikalau tiada amal, niscaya tiada<sup>6</sup> mahabba; dan jikalau tiada<sup>7</sup> mahabba, niscaya tiada ma'rifa. Maka ilm / itu sarat amal, dan amal itu sarat mahabba; dan mahabba itu sarat ma'rifa. Maka murad dengan ilm (itu ilm) pada Allah ta'ala dan pada<sup>1</sup> segala hukumnya, dan murad dengan ma'rifa (itu ma'rifa) pada<sup>2</sup> Allah ta'ala. Maka beberapa daripada 'alim, tetapi tiada 'alim pada Allah ta'ala dan tiada<sup>3</sup> pada segala hukumnya; dan beberapa

51 then / he does not belong to the people who fear God but at the moment is one of the sinners, provided he really believes in the object of his fear; and if not, he is an unbeliever. Sometimes people fall from the station of fear to sin and sometimes to unbelief. This station (of fear) is the station of the common people, which comprises both those who are learned in religion and those who carry its precepts into effect.

Those who love God love everything, for to their inward vision everything is bound to perish but His countenance (Qor'ān 28: 88), so that their love of everything is love of the Supreme Reality in all its outward manifestations so far as they behold these. In anything they do, both in worldly and otherworldly affairs, outwardly as well as inwardly, they hold to God in true reliance, for love is the initial phase of mystical knowledge (*ma<sup>c</sup>rifa*) and the last phase of religious learning and practice. Religious learning and practice foster / love, and love fosters mystical knowledge. He who has knowledge of religion and carries its precepts into practice, is a man who exerts himself; he who has love, has done with exertion, because he holds to God, the object of his love, Who acts at His own discretion.

52 He who knows God (the gnostic) is inactive; neither inwardly nor outwardly does any action originate from him. On account of his love he has ceased from exertion and on account of his gnosis he has ceased from reliance (on God). He is inactive, not exerting himself nor putting his trust in God, so that, should he cease to be inactive, he returns to the station of love and is no longer in the state of gnosis. Those who have love of God, practise the three grades of knowledge, works and love, then gnosis. Without knowledge there cannot be works; without works there cannot be love; without love there cannot be gnosis. Know-  
53 ledge is / essential to works; works are essential to love; love is essential to gnosis. By knowledge is understood knowledge of God and all His commandments; by gnosis is understood mystical knowledge of God. Some people are learned but not learned in God nor in His commandments, and some people are learned in God and all His commandments but do not put these into practice or do this without sincerity, or without lasting sincerity. Therefore, they do not reach the goal; they have stopped at the station of love and so do not attain to gnosis.

He who subsists in God is lost to himself; his being is as it were non-being, so that he is free from activity and inactivity. When activity ceases to exist, inactivity ceases to exist, and the Being of the Supreme Reality indwells one's being. This is meant by the words: "Anyone who subsists in God is lost to himself"; this is the highest attainable union

daripada 'alim pada Allah ta'ala dan pada segala hukumnya<sup>4</sup> tiada diamalkan pada demikian itu, atau diamalkan tiada dengan ikhlas, atau dengan ikhlas tiada dengan kekal. Maka tiadalah sampai ia dengan sebab demikian itu; karena putus kepada maqam al-mahabba, maka tiadalah hasil ia atas ma'rifa.

54 Dan orang yang mawjud pada Allah ta'ala itu mafqud kepada dirinya, maka mawjudnya<sup>5</sup> itu bagai<sup>6</sup> tiadanya, maka tiadalah harakat baginya dan tiada sukun. Maka tatkala hilang daripadanya harakat, maka hilang daripadanya sukun, dan berdirilah wujud Haqq ta'ala menempati wujudnya.<sup>7</sup> Maka yaitulah yang mawjud yang mafqud, dan inilah kesudah-sudahan wusul kepada Allah ta'ala. / Dan manakala bergerak ia kepada tiadanya, niscaya kembali ia kepada maqam al-ma'rifa.

Dan menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>. akan segala hal orang yang ahl al-maqam yang empat itu, yaitu maqam al-taqwa dan maqam al-mahabba dan maqam al-ma'rifa dan maqam al-faqd, maka katanya:

*Lā sukūn li-muttaqīn, wa-lā ḥaraka li-muḥibb, wa-lā<sup>c</sup> azm li-<sup>c</sup>ārif, wa-lā wujūd li-mafqūd*, Tiada sukun pada lahir dan tiada pada batin bagi<sup>1</sup> yang takut daripada berharakat<sup>2</sup> karena takutnya, maka yaitulah orang yang mujtahid, pada hal senetiasa dalam<sup>3</sup> takutnya pada mengikut (segala) suruh dan menjauhi<sup>4</sup> segala tegah.

Dan tiada harakat bagi orang yang kasih, karena bahwasanya telah fana'lah ia daripada kehendaknya dengan kehendak<sup>5</sup> yang dikasihinya.

Dan tiada cita bagi orang yang 'arif, karena bahwasanya telah fana' ia daripada wujudnya dan iradatnya dengan wujud Allah ta'ala dan iradatnya.

55 Dan tiada / wujud bagi orang yang mafqud, ya'ni bagi orang yang telah ghaib wujudnya dari tiliknya<sup>1</sup> pada yang menjadikan dia, yaitu<sup>2</sup> Allah s.w.t. dengan sendirinya atas tiap-tiap hal.

Maka yang takut itu mashgul<sup>3</sup> ia dengan sukunnya kepada yang diketahuinya,<sup>4</sup> dan yang mawjud itu mashghul<sup>3</sup> ia dengan ketiadaannya dalam wujud yang didapatnya, dan Allah s.w.t. itu meliputi daripada belakang sekalian demikian itu.

Maka menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.<sup>f</sup>. dalam tafdil maqam al-mahabba atas maqam al-yaqin, maka katanya:

*Mā taḥṣulu al-maḥabba illā ba<sup>c</sup>da al-yaqīn, wa 'l-muḥibb al-ṣādiq (fī ḥubbihī) qad khalā qalbuhu<sup>c</sup> ammā siwāhu; wa-mā dāma<sup>c</sup> alaihi baqiyyat [al-]maḥabba li-siwāhu (fa-huwa) nāqiṣ al-maḥabba*, Tiada hasil itu melainkan kemudian daripada yaqin pada wujud dikasihi, karena betapa mengasihi akan sesuatu sebelum mengetahui dia? Dan

54 with God. / But if there is any activity on his part towards the annihilation of this state, he certainly will go back to the station of gnosis.

The author — may God be gracious to him — explains the situation of the people of these four stations, viz. the station of fear, the station of love, the station of gnosis and the station of being lost to oneself, by saying,

*Those who fear (God) do not know of inactivity; those who love (Him) do not know of activity; those who know (Him) do not know of purpose; those who are lost to themselves do not know of being.*

Those who fear (God) do not know of inactivity, neither outwardly nor inwardly, as fear is the cause of their activity. These are the people who exert themselves, as they live in constant fear while observing God's commandments and abstaining from what is forbidden. Those who love do not know of activity, as they have passed away from their wishes to the wishes of the Beloved. Those who know do not know of purpose, because in all that exists they see nothing but God, as they have passed away from their own being and will to the Being of God and His will. /  
55 Those who are lost to themselves do not know of being; they are those whose being has vanished owing to their looking upon the Creator, God the Only One, that is, under all circumstances.

He who fears (God) is fully occupied by relying on his perceptions; he who subsists in God is fully occupied by his experience of non-existence. Allah — praise be unto Him, the most Exalted — “from behind does encompass all things” (Qor’ān 85: 20).

Explaining the pre-eminence of the station of love above the station of certainty the author says,

*Certainty is an indispensable preliminary to love. The upright lover's heart is free from all but God; as long as a remnant of love of anything else remains, his love is deficient.*

In order to love one must be sure of the existence of the beloved, for how can one love something before knowing it? The upright lover's

56 yang<sup>5</sup> kasih sebenarnya<sup>6</sup> dalam mengasihi Allah itu sanya telah sunyilah hatinya /daripada barang yang lain daripada Haqq ta'ala. Karena bahwasanya haqiqat kasih itu memandang yang dikasihi, dan tiada hasil ia melainkan kemudian daripada fana' dan suci hati daripada barang yang lain daripadanya Allah<sup>1</sup> ta'ala; dan selagi [atasnya]<sup>2</sup> tinggal (atasnya) kasih bagi lainnya, dan jikalau sekejap mata sekalipun, maka yaitu kurang kasihnya pada ketika itu. Karena lagi didapat dalamnya kasih bagi lainnya yang dikasihinya, maka yaitu mei'tiqadkan<sup>3</sup> wujud bagi lain yang dikasihinya, dan tiada wujud bagi lain yang dikasihinya dalam haqiqatnya.

Dan ketahui (oléhmu) bahwa sanya yaqin itu yaitu i'tiqad putus bahwa tiada yang membaiki dalam wujud itu melainkan Allah ta'ala; dan barangsiapa telah tahqiqlah (pada yang) demikian itu, niscaya hasil(lah) baginya kasih dan berhentilah pada(nya)<sup>4</sup> pinta Tuhannya. Dan barangsiapa telah siddiq (pada) barang yang disana, niscaya sunyilah hatinya daripada<sup>5</sup> barang yang lain daripadanya. Dan barangsiapa lagi tinggal / atasnya<sup>1</sup> kasih bagi lainnya, maka<sup>2</sup> kurang kasihnya. Maka lazim<sup>3</sup> atasmu, hai saudaraku, jikalau ada engkau tama' dalam martabat ini, dengan keluar daripada sekalian yang memberi ladhhdhat dan fana'kan oléhmu<sup>4</sup> daripada dirimu; niscaya engkau peroléh pada yang terlebih tinggi daripada segala maqam.

Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup> :

57 *Wa-man taladhdhadha bi 'l-balā' fa-huwa mawjūd; wa-man taladhdhadha bi 'l-na<sup>c</sup>mā, fa-huwa mawjūd*, Dan barangsiapa berladhdhat dengan bala seperti bahwa didapat bagi bala<sup>5</sup> itu kepadanya suka, maka yaitu mawjud, karena pada ketika itu berdiri serta dirinya. Dan jikalau ada<sup>6</sup> ia telah fana' daripada dirinya, niscaya adalah ia berdiri dengan Haqq ta'ala, tiada dengan dirinya. Dan barangsiapa berladhdhat dan suka dengan segala ni'mat, maka yaitu mawjud serta dirinya pada ketika itu, sekira-kira didapat daripadanya barang yang menyukakan dengandia lainnya<sup>7</sup> daripada Allah ta'ala. Maka jikalau berladhdhat 58 ia pada ni'mat dengan Tuhannya, tiada dengan / dirinya, maka tiada ada ia mawjud kepada dirinya dan sempurnalah ia bagi Allah ta'ala.

*Fa-idhā afnāhu<sup>c</sup> an-hu, dhahaba al-taladhdhudh bi 'l-balā' wa 'l-na<sup>c</sup>mā'*, Maka apabila telah memfana'kan Haqq ta'ala akan dia daripada berladhdhat dengan kedua itu, niscaya hilanglah ladhhdhat dengan bala' dan segala ni'mat itu, maka kembalilah kedua itu kepada Tuhannya. Maka sungguh-sungguh oléhmu, hai saudara, dalam fana' dengan dia; dalamnya itu engkau peroléh pada maqam al-mahabba dan lahirilah bagimu segala ma'nanya.

56 heart is free / from all but God, as the essence of love is to look upon the beloved, which will only be attained after passing away and when the heart is free from anything but God. As long as there is a remnant still left, however momentary, of love of anything else, his love is deficient at that moment. As there is still found in him love of something else, he avows the being of that object of his love, whereas actually no being is due to it.

You should know that certainty is a firm conviction that God is the only agent in the Universe. When one avers this, no doubt love will be the result and one will stop asking the Lord. The heart of anyone who is upright in this matter will be free from other things, but he  
57 who still / has a remnant of love of other things is deficient in love. Should you, oh my brother, strive after this grade, then it is incumbent on you to have done with all that gives pleasure and to pass away from self; then surely you will reach the highest station. The author says,

*Anyone who takes pleasure in affliction still has being of his own; anyone who takes pleasure in favour still has being of his own.*

Anyone who takes pleasure in affliction, so as to be gratified with it, has being of his own, as at that moment he is still subsisting in self. But when he has passed away from self he certainly subsists in the Supreme Reality and is not subsisting in self. But anyone who takes pleasure in and rejoices at favour, at the moment still subsists in self, insofar as from these he infers a cause of pleasure except God. Should,  
58 however, he rejoice in the grace of God, not in / himself, then he does not exist for himself but entirely for God.

*When We have made him pass away from self, the pleasure in affliction and favour has vanished.*

When the Supreme Reality has made him pass away from having pleasure in both of these, his pleasure in affliction and favour certainly has vanished and both of these are referred to the Lord. Oh my brother! Try your utmost to pass away from them; then you will reach the station of love, and the full meaning of this will become apparent to you. The author says,

*The lover breathes wisdom and the beloved breathes power.*

Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>.:

*Al-muḥibb anfasuhu hikma, wa 'l-maḥbūb anfasuhu qudra*, Bermula, orang yang kasih yang sebenarnya<sup>1</sup> bagi Allah ta'ala itu,<sup>2</sup> yaitu yang telah lahir baginya kasihnya bagi tiap-tiap sesuatu dan jikalau bagi dirinya sekalipun, dan hilanglah daripadanya benci akan sesuatu, maka kembalilah<sup>3</sup> sesuatu itu kepada<sup>4</sup> kasih Haqq ta'ala bagi Haqq, maka yang kasih itu sekalian kalamnya hikma. Karena bahwasanya tiada memandang ia / melainkan yang dikasihi<sup>1</sup> dan tiada menengar ia melainkan yang dikasihi, maka tiada berkata ia melainkan hikma, karena bahwasanya hikma itu paham daripada Allah ta'ala. Dan yang dikasihi<sup>2</sup> itu karena keadaannya telah bertambah-tambah hampirnya bagi Tuhannya dengan bertambah-tambah kasihnya, baginya sekalian kalamnya itu kudrat berlakulah dalam sekalian akwan dengan tulung Tuhan yang sebenarnya.<sup>3</sup>

Maka lazim atasmu, hai saudaraku, dengan hémat yang tinggi, dan sungguh-sungguh oléhmumu dalam segala ibadat, dan jangan engkau terhenti serta ibadat, maka engkau peroléh pada maqam al-mahabba, yaitu martabat yang tinggi. Maka kata mu' allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>.:

*Al-<sup>c</sup>ibādāt lil-mu<sup>c</sup>āwadāt, wa 'l-maḥabba lil-qurubāt*, Bermula, segala ibadat itu bagi segala balas dalam akhirat dan lepas daripada api neraka, seperti firmanNya Yang Mahatinggi: Barangsiapa mendatangkan (kebajikan), maka baginya sepuluh seupama kebajikan itu. Dan mahabba itu bagi taqarrub kepada Allah ta'ala / dengan sidq dan ikhlas. Maka mahabba itu terlebih mulia daripada ibadat dengan sekira-kira adalah dihantarkan [bagi] ibadat itu bagi balas; dan dihantarkan mahabba itu bagi taqarrub; dan balas<sup>1</sup> itu berkehendak lain daripada Allah ta'ala, dan taqarrub itu berkehendak kepada Allah ta'ala.

Dan ketahui oléhmumu bahwasanya segala orang yang mu'min itu ada lima bahagai:

pertama: yang berkehendak ia bagi balas dunia dan akhirat; dan kedua: yang berkehendak ia<sup>2</sup> (akan) dunia semata-mata; dan ketiga: yang berkehendak ia akan akhirat semata-mata; dan keempat: yang berkehendak ia kepada<sup>3</sup> yang memiliki dalam keduanya; dan kelima: yang tiada baginya berkehendak.

Maka dua yang awal itu bagi segala orang yang 'awwam, dan jikalau berkurang-lebih sekalipun. Dan yang ketiga itu segala khawass meréka itu; dan yang keempat itu segala khawass al-khawass meréka itu, dan yaitu segala orang yang (kasih; dan yang kelima itu akhass al-khawass meréka itu, dan yaitu segala orang yang) 'arif pada Allah

59 The upright lover, viz. he whose love encompasses everything, even himself, and from whom has vanished hatred of anything whatever, as he refers everything to the love of the Supreme Reality for Himself, that lover's words are wisdom, as he does not see / anything but the Beloved and does not hear anything but (what is spoken by) Him, so that all his words are wisdom, wisdom being understanding imparted by God. And on account of the lover's drawing nearer to the Lord in proportion to the increase of his love, all his words are power operating in all that exists, with the assistance of the true Lord.

It is incumbent on you, oh my brother, to devote yourself carefully and completely to all acts of worship. Do not desist from these and you will reach the station of love, which is the highest grade. The author says,

*Acts of worship are performed for the sake of recompense; the final cause of love is intimacy.*

60 Acts of worship are performed with a view to heavenly reward and deliverance from hell, according to the word of the Lord, "He who brings a good deed shall have ten times as much" (Qor'ān 6:160). Love, however, aims at drawing near to God / in sincerity and purity of purpose. Love ranks higher than acts of worship insofar as the latter are offered for the sake of reward and love is offered for the sake of drawing near to God. Reward means that one strives after something other than God; trying to draw near to God means to strive after God.

Know that the believers are of five categories:

- 1°. Those who strive after a reward in this world and the next;
- 2°. Those who pursue worldly ends only;
- 3°. Those who pursue otherworldly ends only;
- 4°. Those who strive after the Lord of both worlds;
- 5°. Those who do not have any object in mind.

The first two categories comprise more or less the common people. The third comprises the select. The fourth comprises the select among the select. The fifth comprises the most select among the select, namely

- 61 ta'ala, yang fana' bi 'llah fi 'llah / lillah. Dan daripada disanalah firman Allah ta'ala dalam hadith qudsi: Qad ista<sup>c</sup>dadtu li-'ibādī al-ṣāliḥīn mā lā <sup>c</sup>ain ra'at wa-lā udhn sami<sup>c</sup>at wa-lā khaṭara <sup>c</sup>alā qalb al-bashar, Sesungguhnya telah kusenggarakan bagi segala hambaku yang saléh, dan meréka itulah orang yang 'arif pada Allah,<sup>1</sup> yang tiada mata melihat dan tiada telinga menengar dan tiada khatir atas hati manusia. Dan sekalian meréka itulah segala hamba bagi yang memberi ni'mat, tiada hamba bagi ni'mat,<sup>2</sup> dan meréka itulah serta makhluk pada badan meréka itu dan serta Haqq pada hati meréka itu. Tiadalah <sup>3</sup> lari meréka itu daripada mushahadatnya akan sekejap mata. Dan tersebut dalam hadith qudsi pula <sup>4</sup>: Lam mā arādūnī (lī), a<sup>c</sup>ṭaituhum mā lā <sup>c</sup>ain ra'at wa-lā udhn sami<sup>c</sup>at, Tatkala berkehendak sekalian orang yang 'arif itu akandaku karena aku, tiada karena diri meréka itu — dan aku terlebih tahu daripada meréka itu demikian itu —,
- 62 kuanugerahai meréka itu yang tiada mata melihat dan tiada telinga menengar.

Maka mengatakan mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>., kepada kaifiyya sampai orang yang 'abid kepada maqam orang mahabba<sup>1</sup> dengan katanya:

- Idhā afnāka <sup>c</sup>an hawāka bi-'l-ḥukm wa-<sup>c</sup>an irādatika bi-'l-<sup>c</sup>ilm, ṣirta <sup>c</sup>abdan ṣirfan, lā hawā la-ka wa-lā irāda,* Apabila telah difana'kan engkau daripada hawamu dengan hukum yang turun daripada <sup>2</sup> hadrat al-rububiyya kepada 'alam hissi al-'ubudiyya dengan mengikut segala suruh dan menjauhi segala tegah, dan daripada iradatmu dengan ilmu iladuni yang engkau dapat akandia dalam hatimu daripada tiada pikir dan tiada hapal, maka jadilah engkau hamba yang khalis bagi Allah pada hal merdahéka daripada barang yang lain daripadanya, tiada hawa bagimu dalam sesuatu, dan tiada iradat bagimu dalam lainnya; karena bahwasanya telah fana'lah engkau daripada dirimu, maka eng-
- 63 kau ketahui bahwasanya iradat itu hanyasanya / iradat Allah ta'ala.

*Fa-ḥīna'idhin yukshafu la-ka fa-taḍmahillu <sup>c</sup>an-ka al-<sup>c</sup>ubūdiyya fī 'l-waḥdaniyya, fa-yafnā al-<sup>c</sup>abd wa-yabqā al-Rabb <sup>c</sup>azza wa-jalla,* Maka pada ketika <sup>1</sup> jadilah engkau hamba baginya semata-mata, maka dibukakan Allah s.w.t. bagimu <sup>2</sup> dirimu yang ada meninding daripadamu dengan hawamu <sup>3</sup> dan iradat <sup>4</sup> bagi lain Allah ta'ala, maka hilanglah dinding itu daripadamu, dan <sup>5</sup> jadilah dirimu dinding daripadamu dengan sebab hawamu dan iradatmu bagi (lain) Haqq ta'ala. Maka hilang dinding yang kedua itu daripadamu pula, maka hapuslah daripadamu 'ubudiyya dalam sifa waḥdaniyya yang <sup>6</sup> bagi Allah ta'ala, maka fana'lah <sup>7</sup> hamba itu dalamnya dan kekallah Tuhan 'azza wa-

- 61 the gnostics who have passed away through God in God / for the sake of God. Hence the word of God in the *ḥadīth qudsī*, “I have provided for My devout servants that which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, and which has not crossed the mind of mankind”, *i.e.*, I have provided for My devout servants, the gnostics, that which no eye has seen, no ear has heard, and which has not crossed the mind of mankind. All of them are servants of Him who bestows grace, and not servants (for the sake) of grace. So far as their bodies are concerned they belong to creation, but so far as their souls are concerned they are with God. They do not hold themselves from contemplation even for a single moment. It says in another *ḥadīth qudsī*, “When they strive after Me, I give them that which no eye has seen and no ear has heard”. When the gnostics strive after Me for My sake, not for their own — which
- 62 I know better than they do themselves — I certainly / shall bestow upon them that which no eye has seen and no ear has heard.

The author explains in what way the servant may reach the station of the people of love by saying,

*When We have made you pass away from your desires by the provisions of the Law, from your will by knowledge, you have become a mere servant without desires or will.*

- When We have made you pass away from your desires by the provisions which have come down from the Sovereign Presence to this tangible world of servanthip, *i.e.*, by (your) observance of the commandments and (your) refraining from what is forbidden, and We have made you pass away from your own will by the knowledge from Our side which you find in your heart without reflection or study, then you are a mere servant of God, since you are free from anything else, devoid of all desires and not exercising volition directed towards anything save God. Having passed away from self you know that there
- 63 is no will / save the will of God.

*Then the screen will be removed and your servanthip will vanish into the Unity, so that the servant passes away and the Lord remains.*

At that moment, that is to say the moment you become entirely His servant, God reveals to you that it is your self that secludes you from Him by your desires and your will which is directed towards aims other than God. When these two screens have been removed, your servanthip passes away into God’s attribute of unity; the servant passes away into it and the Lord alone remains, and the servant will see Him through Him.

*The Law is altogether distress; knowledge is altogether cheerfulness; gnosis is altogether guidance.<sup>2</sup>*

jalla pada hal<sup>8</sup> sendirinya, maka memandanglah hamba itu akandia dengan dia.

- Al-shari<sup>c</sup>a kulluhā qabḍ, wa 'l-<sup>c</sup>ilm kulluhu bast, wa 'l-ma<sup>c</sup>rifa kulluhā dalāl*, Bermula, shari'a itu sekaliannya duka, karena bahwasanya ia hukum Allah / ta'ala atas<sup>1</sup> diri<sup>2</sup> sekalian orang yang mukallaf. Dan napsu itu, manakala masuk ia dibawah hukum lainnya, niscaya duka ia. Dan ilmu bangsa laduni itu, yaitu yang didapatnya akan menerima atas Tuhannya dengan jalan limpah yang ilham dalam segala ma'na<sup>3</sup> kitab Allah ta'ala dan sunnat rasulullah s.A.<sup>c</sup>w., sekalian<sup>4</sup> itu suka, karena bahwasanya ia daripada kashf dan mushahada; dan jadilah amal itu kepadanya ibadat tiada berat,<sup>5</sup> karena bahwasanya tiada melihat ia baginya wujud dalam amalnya, tetapi dilihatnya anugeraha daripada Allah ta'ala dan rahmat daripadanya. Maka suka ia bagi yang demikian itu. Dan ma'rifa pada Allah itu menunjukkan daripada segala pengenalan pada Tuhannya atas Tuhannya dengan sekira-kira tercarik hijab antaranya dan antara Tuhannya. Maka terbitlah daripadanya serta Tuhannya yang tiada terbit daripada hamba serta
- 65 Tuhannya<sup>6</sup> dan menanggungkan / Tuhannya daripadanya yang tiada menanggungkan akandia daripada lainnya.

*Wa-tariqatunā maḥabba, lā <sup>c</sup>amal; wa-fanā', lā baqā'. Idhā dakhalta fī 'l-<sup>c</sup>amal, kunta la-ka; wa-idhā dakhalta fī 'l-maḥabba, kunta la-hu, idh al-<sup>c</sup>ābid ra'ā lahu fī <sup>c</sup>ibādatihi, wa-'l-muḥibb<sup>1</sup> ra'ā li-maḥabbatihi*, Dan perjalanan kita, hay orang yang ahl al-haqiqa yang<sup>2</sup> muwahhid bagi Allah ta'ala dalam batin dan dalam lahir, kasih akan Allah ta'ala, tiada amal, karena bahwasanya kasih itu yaitu cenderung hati kepada memandang Tuhan,<sup>3</sup> ya'ni bahwasanya kita<sup>4</sup> senetiasa cenderung kepada Allah ta'ala daripada cenderung kepada<sup>5</sup> tiap-tiap sesuatu, dan ishtighal dalam ma'rifatnya daripada ma'rifat tiap-tiap sesuatu, dan tiada diketahui agama dan tiada<sup>6</sup> ta'at<sup>6</sup> dan<sup>6</sup> tiada i'tiqad<sup>7</sup> dan tiada sesuatu daripada segala bahagai ibadat lain daripada kasih bagi Allah ta'ala.

- 66 Dan adapun barang yang lahir / atas kita daripada yang dinamai akandia agama dan ta'at dan i'tiqad dan sembahyang dan puasa dan jakat dan hajj dan seupama demikian itu daripada segala bahagi ibadat, maka yaitu kepada kita karunia dan ni'mat daripada Allah ta'ala atas kita, dan tiada hawl pada kita dalam demikian itu dan<sup>1</sup> tiada quwwa melainkan dengandia, seperti firman Allah ta'ala: (W a- 'l l ā h u k h a l a q a k u m w a- m ā t a<sup>c</sup> m a l ū n a, ertinya: Allah ta'ala) jua menjadikan kamu dan barang perbuatan kamu. Maka sekalian amalnya<sup>2</sup> itu amalnya jikalau menilik ia kepada dirinya, dan amalnya amal

64 The Law is altogether distress because it comprises God's ordinances / which apply to all those who are fully amenable to them. When, however, self is subjected to outside control, this certainly will be a cause of distress, but knowledge from Our side, *i.e.*, the knowledge copiously imparted by the Lord, which inspires insight into the meaning of the Book of God and the traditions of the apostle of God, is altogether pleasure, as it springs from disclosure and contemplation. As to those possessed of this knowledge, the prescriptions of religion do not enjoin on them a burdensome practice, because in practising them they do not attribute being to themselves but look upon these prescriptions as a favour and a grace from God; therefore, they rejoice in them.

65 Mystical knowledge of God points away from all signs of the Lord to the Lord (Himself), so far as the veil between servant and Lord has been rent, so that there springs up between them a relationship such as never exists between servant and Lord, and the Lord tolerates / from the servant things He would never tolerate from others.

*Our way is love, not works, passing away, not eternal life. When you engage in works, you exist for yourself; when you engage in love, you exist for Him, since the worshipper performs the worship with a view to himself but the lover looks upon his love.*

Our way, oh man of deeper insight who both inwardly and outwardly art a true monotheist, is to love God, not works, because love is the tendency of the heart to look upon the Lord. That is to say, that we tend to God rather than to anything else and are eager to look upon the Supreme Reality rather than upon anything else, and are engaged in acquiring knowledge of Him rather than of anything else, while not knowing of any religion or devotion or creed or anything pertaining to worship save the love of God.

66 All outward requirements / such as religion and devotion and creed and daily worship and fasting and almsgiving and pilgrimage and so on, we consider so many graces and favours from God. There is in us neither ability nor power to satisfy these requirements unless from Him, as it says in the Qor'an (37:94), "God hath created you and that which ye make". So all works are man's works when he looks upon himself, but they are the works of the Lord when man does not look upon himself and has turned to the Lord. All people of love steadily turn to the Lord; the idea that any works be theirs does not enter their

Tuhannya jikalau tiada menilik ia kepada dirinya dan berhadap ia kepada Tuhannya.

67 Dan sekalian orang yang ahl al-mahabba itu senetiasa ia berhadap atas Tuhannya, maka tiada tasawwur bagi mereka itu wujud amalnya<sup>3</sup> atas tiap-tiap hal amal.<sup>4</sup> Maka tiadalah amal dalam jalan mereka itu, tetapi adalah amal itu dalam halnya<sup>5</sup> sekalian<sup>6</sup> orang yang ghafil / yang mahjub mereka itu daripada Allah ta'ala. Dan perjalanan kita pula<sup>1</sup> fana' pada sekalian daripada tiap-tiap sesuatu dalam memandangi Haqq ta'ala tiada<sup>2</sup> kekal,<sup>3</sup> serta sesuatu daripada sekalian sesuatu<sup>4</sup> tiada diri<sup>5</sup> dan tiada lainnya. Maka menyatakan mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>. akan yang awal dengan katanya: Apabila engkau masuk dalam amal, yaitu ibadat, maka adalah engkau bagi dirimu, karena engkau pada ketika itu mashghul dengan segala bahagian dirimu, tiada dengan<sup>6</sup> Tuhanmu. Dan apabila engkau masuk dalam mahabba bagi Allah ta'ala dan khalis engkau akandia, maka adalah engkau<sup>7</sup> bagi Allah ta'ala, tiada bagi dirimu; maka engkau sembah akandia karena<sup>8</sup> kasih padanya, supaya lahir sifat ketuhanannya dengan ibadat,<sup>9</sup> karena orang yang 'abid itu menilik ia bagi segala ibadatnya, dan orang yang kasih itu menilik ia bagi<sup>10</sup> yang dikasihinya, karena bahwasanya [ia] khudu' ia bagi kebesaran yang dikasihinya lagi pun bersunyi daripada<sup>11</sup> barang yang lain daripadanya. /

68 Dan orang yang 'arif itu diatas kedua itu, karena bahwasanya ia memelihara akan barang yang dipelihara kedua itu dan bertambah-tambah<sup>1</sup> ia dengan segala ilmu laduni [niat] (dan segala ma'arif ilahiyah) dan segala waridat<sup>2</sup> ruhaniyyah. Maka sungguh-sungguh oléhm, hai saudaraku, mudah-mudahan hasil bagimu maqam al-mahabba, maka diperlihatkan atasmu ma'rifa, maka engkau peroleh daripada wilayah yang amat besar martabat.

*Idhā<sup>c</sup> araftahu, kānat anfāsuka bi-hi, wa-ḥarakātuka la-hu; wa-idhā jahiltahu, kānat ḥarakātuka la-ka,*<sup>3</sup> Apabila telah engkau ketahui akan Allah ta'ala, seperti bahwa engkau kenal bahwasanya Ia melihat akan-dikau dan Ia jua yang berbuat, dan tiada engkau tilik kepada amalmu dan tiada engkau tuntutan baginya balas, maka adalah segala halmu<sup>4</sup> dengan dia, ertinya dengan hawlnya dan quwwatnya, tiada dengan hawlmu dan quwwatmu, dan segala harakatmu yang lahir dan (yang) batin, yang ikhtiyari dan yang idtirari, dalam kebajikan dan<sup>5</sup> kejahatan, 69 dibangsakan sekaliannya itu baginya s.w.t., / karena bahwasanya engkau berperangai<sup>1</sup> segala perangnya. Dan apabila jahil engkau akan dia<sup>2</sup> seperti bahwa<sup>3</sup> tiada ada engkau seperti demikian itu, maka adalah segala harakatmu bagimu, karena bahwasanya engkau memandang

67 the way of the heedless / who are secluded from God.

Our way is to pass away from everything, as in respect of the Supreme Reality nothing lasts and all things are not Him nor different from Him. The author explains the first by saying, "When you engage in works, *i.e.*, worship, you exist for yourself, as at that moment you are occupied completely with yourself, not with the Lord. But when you are engaged exclusively in love of God, you exist for God, not for yourself; you worship Him out of love, so that from your worship His attribute of Lordliness becomes apparent, because the servant looks upon his worship but the lover looks upon the object of his love, humbling himself to the majesty of the object of his love exclusively  
68 of all other thoughts". / The gnostic, however, ranks above both of these, as he attends to that which they attend to but in addition to that disposes of all knowledge from Our part, divine enlightenment and spiritual experiences. Therefore, oh my brother! try your utmost to attain the station of love. Then gnosis will dawn upon you and you will reach a very high grade of nearness to God.

*When you know Him, you speak and move through Him; when you do not know Him, your activity is your own.*

When you know God and among other things are conscious of the fact that He sees you and that it is He who acts, and you do not look upon your good works nor want to be rewarded for these, then in everything you are with Him, *i.e.*, animated by His might and power, not by yours, and all your actions, both inward and outward, voluntary  
69 and involuntary, good and bad, you ascribe to Him, / because your doings are all His. But when you do not know Him and are not conscious of all this, then all your actions are your own, because you fancy that they spring from you, as contrasted with the gnostics, who ascribe them only to God.

*The worshipper does not know of inactivity; the austere does not know of desire; the righteous does not know of reliance; the gnostic*

harakat itu terbit daripadamu, bersalahan dengan segala <sup>4</sup> orang yang 'arif, tiada memandang ia akan yang berbuat itu melainkan Allah s.w.t..

*Wa 'l-<sup>c</sup>ābid mā la-hu sukūn, wa 'l-zāhid mā la-hu raghba, wa 'l-ṣiddīq mā la-hu irtikān, wa 'l-<sup>c</sup>ārif mā la-hu ḥawl wa-lā quwwa (wa-lā ikhtiyār wa-lā irāda wa-lā ḥaraka) wa-lā sukūn; wa 'l-mawjūd mā la-hu wujūd,* Dan <sup>5</sup> orang yang 'abid itu, yaitu menghina(kan) dirinya <sup>6</sup> karena mengikut bagi suruh Tuhannya dan menjauhi <sup>7</sup> tegahnya pada lahirnya dan pada batin(nya), tiada baginya diam daripada haraka nafsaninya dalam ibadat Tuhannya. Karena bahwasanya manakala diam harakat dirinya daripada ibadat, maka keluarlah ia daripada keadaan ibadat,<sup>8</sup> maka adalah ia senetiasa dirinya <sup>9</sup> bergerak dalam ta'at Tuhannya.

70 Dan / orang yang zahid itu, yaitu yang telah berpaling daripada barang yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala daripada dunia dan akhirat dan daripada segala keduanya, tiada baginya cenderung dan kasih bagi sesuatu lain daripada Tuhannya.

Dan orang yang siddiq itu, yaitu orang yang banyak benarnya dalam segala qawlnya dan segala fi'lnya dan segala i'tiqadnya, tiada baginya i'timid dan tawakkul pada lahirnya dan batinnya dalam sekalian pekerjaannya atas lain daripada yang telah dibenarkan dalam ibadatnya,<sup>1</sup> yaitu Allah s.w.t.; (dan manakala i'timid ia atas lain daripada Allah ta'ala), maka keluarlah ia daripada maqam al-siddiq; maka tiadalah baginya i'timid atas sesuatu dan tiada atas dirinya, maka yaitu qa'im bi 'llah lillah.

71 Dan orang yang 'arif itu, yaitu yang tiada baginya hawl dan tiada quwwa atas sesuatu, dan tiada <sup>2</sup> ikhtiyar dan tiada irada baginya dalam satu pekerjaan daripada segala pekerjaan atas tiap-tiap hal, dan tiada sukun / pada batin dan (pada) lahirnya melainkan dengan keadaan tajalli Tuhannya atasnya.<sup>1</sup> Dan orang yang mawjud (pada dirinya dalam hadrat tajalli wujud) Haqq ta'ala, sekira-kira yaitu dalam maqam al-'arif, kemudian daripada ketiadaan dirinya, tiada baginya wujud serta dirinya karena padanya dengan istighraqnya pada Allah ta'ala.

*Idhā ista'nasta bi-hi, istawḥashta min-ka,* Apabila engkau jinak dengan Allah ta'ala seperti bahwa <sup>2</sup> engkau pandang akan dia meliputi pada tiap-tiap sesuatu pada <sup>3</sup> kejadian dan ilmu dan telah suci engkau daripada shirk yang khafi, niscaya liar engkau daripada lainnya, hingga daripadamu. Karena bahwasanya adalah engkau lihat bahwasanya demikian itu daripadamu, karena jinak dengan Allah ta'ala itu tiada hasil ia melainkan kemudian daripada <sup>4</sup> bercerai <sup>4</sup> daripada segala

*does not know of might, power, freedom of choice, will, activity and inactivity; he who subsists in God does not know of being.*

The worshipper, that is to say he who has to humiliate himself as he has to observe the commandments of the Lord and to refrain outwardly and inwardly from all that is forbidden, never rests from personal activity in his worship of the Lord, for if he does, he ceases to be a worshipper, so that he is steadily active in the service of the Lord. /

- 70 The austere, *i.e.*, he who has turned away from all but God, with regard to both this world and the next, has no inclination to or love of anything but God. The righteous, *i.e.*, he who is upright in all he says, does and professes, in whatever he does, outwardly or inwardly, does not rely on or trust in anyone but Him whom He professes in his worship, namely God, unto Whom be praise and He is exalted. Should, however, he rely on anything save God, then he has fallen from the station of the righteous. On the other hand, should he not rely on anything nor on himself, then he is subsisting in God for God. A gnostic is he who does not know of any might, power or choice and under no circumstances has a will of his own; who does not know of activity and inactivity /, either inwardly or outwardly, unless by God's manifestation in him. And he who is imparted being in the lofty manifestation of the Being of the Supreme Reality — that is to say, so far as he is at the station of the "knower" — is not restored to being of his own after the annihilation of his being, because being is his by immersion in God most high.

*When you grow intimate with Him, you grow impatient of yourself.*

When you grow intimate with God and see that He encompasses all creation and all knowledge, and when you are free from hidden polytheism, then no doubt you will be disgusted with all things other than He, even with yourself, because you see that these are of the same category, for intimacy with God only obtains after separation from everything else, inclusive of self. Therefore, occupation with self arouses

72 aghyar, dan dirimu itu aghyar. Maka karena demikian itu adalah ishtighal dengan diri itu daripada yang meliarkan engkau. Maka hendaklah / berpaling engkau, hay saudara, daripada dirimu pada sekalian dan berhadap engkau atas Tuhanmu, dan tegahkan oléhmumu segala kehendakmu yang rendah, dan sahkan oléhmumu akan niyyatmu, seperti yang (di)isaratkan mu'allif r.A.<sup>c</sup>. dengan katanya:

*Man ishtaghala bi-nā la-hu, a<sup>c</sup>maināhu; wa-man ishtaghala bi-nā la-nā, baṣṣarnāhu,* Barangsiapa ishtighal ia pada batinnya dan lahirnya pada segala ibadat kami supaya memberi manfa'a ia akan dirinya bangsa dunyawiyya atau bangsa ukhrawiyya, seperti bahwa adalah kehendaknya hampir kepada Allah ta'ala dan hasil atas segala darajat yang tinggi dan selamat daripada shirk yang khafi, maka sanya Kami butakan akan dia daripada melihat Kami dan memandang Kami dalam tiap-tiap sesuatu dengan sebab demikian kehendak yang hina kepada Kami. Dan apabila buta mata dalam dunia, maka dalam akhirat seperti 73 demikian itu. Firmannya Yang Mahatinggi: Dan barangsiapa / ada dalam dunia buta, maka yaitu dalam akhirat terlebih buta; dan barangsiapa ishtighal ia pada Kami dan telah berpaling ia daripada tiap-tiap barang yang lain daripada Kami, ertinya karena Kami, tiada karena dirinya, seperti tiada diqasdkannya akan sesuatu dalam ishtighalnya pada Kami lain daripada barang yang Kami datangkan akan dia, maka Kami jadikan akan dia melihat dan memandang tiada terdinding dalam mushahada tiap-tiap yang mahsus dan yang ma'qul. Maka pikirkan oléhmumu, hai saudaraku, dengan mata hatimu kepada perkataan ini; niscaya engkau lihatlah<sup>1</sup> hawamu dan terbuka bagimu daripada haqiqah; maka nyatalah bagimu pada ketika itu kepada kehendakmu, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup> :

*Wa-idhā zāla hawāka, yukshafu la-ka<sup>2</sup> (c<sup>an</sup>) bāb al-ḥaqīq, fa-tafnā irādatuka, fa-yukshafu la-ka<sup>c</sup> ani 'l-wahdāniyya, fa-tuḥaqqiqu anna-hu Huwa, lā anta,* Dan apabila telah hilanglah hawamu bangsa dunyawī, niscaya / terbuka bagimu jalan haqiqah yang bangsa rabbaniyya; maka 74 fana'lah iradatmu, maka dibukakan bagimu daripada sifat wahdaniyya, maka engkau lihatlah<sup>1</sup> sekalian mawjud itu bagi Allah ta'ala dengan nur yang ditaruhkan Allah (ta'ala) akan dia dalam hatimu.

Maka tahqiqlah bagi fana'mu daripada lain Allah ta'ala. Bahwasanya Allah ta'ala jua Ia yang mawjud sendirinya, tiada engkau, ertinya: engkau ma'dum dan tiada wujud bagimu serta Allah s.w.t., karena bahwasanya<sup>2</sup> jikalau telah engkau ketahui dirimu akan faqir<sup>3</sup> dan da'if dan lemah dan hina, maka engkau<sup>4</sup> ketahui akan Tuhanmu dengan kaya dan kuat dan kuasa dan mulia. Maka terbukalah bagimu

- 72 your distaste; so / turn away firmly from self, oh my brother, and turn to the Lord. Subdue your low appetites and be of good intention, as alluded to by the author when he says,

*We shall blind the man who occupies himself with Us for his own sake, but We shall grant vision to him who occupies himself with Us for Our sake.*

- Anyone who inwardly or outwardly exerts himself in worship with a view to profiting by it in this world or the next, as, for instance, in order to attain nearness to God and reach the highest stages and be free from hidden polytheism, We shall deprive that man of seeing Us and seeing Us in everything, because We regard such designs as contemptible. When he is blind in this world, he will be blind in the next,
- 73 as God says, "He who / is blind in this life will be (more) blind in the hereafter" (Qor'ān 17: 72). But to the man who occupies himself with Us and has turned away from all but Us for our sake, *i.e.*, on behalf of Us, not on behalf of himself, so that, for instance, he never has any designs but such as We impart to him, to that man We shall grant wisdom not impeded by any veil in his contemplation of all things sensible and intelligible. Ponder on these words, oh my brother! No doubt you will become aware of your passions and the higher reality will be unveiled to you, so that your appetites will be put in the right light. As the author says,

*When your passions have been subdued, the gate to the higher reality will be disclosed to your view; your will is made to pass away and His Uniqueness will be revealed to you, so that you realize that He is and you are not.*

- 74 When your worldly appetites have been subdued /, the way to the Lordly Reality will be opened to you. Your will passes away and the attribute of Uniqueness will be revealed to you, so that you will see that all Being is God's, by the light that He has cast into your heart.

Make sure that you have passed away from all but God. Being belongs to Him alone, not to you; that is to say, that you are a non-entity without any being aside from Him, for if you know yourself as poor, weak, powerless and contemptible, then you know the Lord as rich, strong, mighty and sublime. Then the gate of the higher reality will be opened to you; all your works will pass away into His works, all your attributes into His attributes, your essence into His Essence; your own will and choice and disposal will vanish and you will see that

bab al-haqiqa, maka fana'lah segala fi'lmumu dalam segala fi'lnya, dan segala sifatmu dalam segala sifatnya, dan dhatmu dalam dhatnya; maka fana'lah<sup>5</sup> iradatmu dan ikhtiyarmu dan tadbirmu, dan engkau pandanglah bahwasanya yang<sup>6</sup> murid dan mukhtar dan yang<sup>6</sup> mudabbir  
 75 itu esa, tiada lainnya, / dan bahwasanya Ia jua yang mutasarrif dalam segala ahwal,<sup>1</sup> tiada engkau.

Dan tahqiqlah engkau dengan haqiqat *L ā il ā h a ill ā 'll ā h*, maka adalah engkau taslim<sup>2</sup> kepadanya, seperti kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>:  
*In shallamta ilai-hi, qarrabaka bi-nazarihi; wa-in nāza<sup>c</sup>tahu ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, ab<sup>c</sup>adaka; in taqarrabta bi-hi, qarrabaka, wa-in taqarrabta bi-ka ilai-hi, ab<sup>c</sup>adaka*, Jikalau engkau serahkan kepadanya sekalian pekerjaanmu dan engkau tinggalkan tadbir dirimu pada hal i'timad kepadanya atas tiap-tiap hal, niscaya dihampirkan akandikau kepadanya dengan tiliknya<sup>3</sup> kepadamu dengan tilik rahmat (dan 'inayat). Dan jikalau membantah akandia, seperti bahwa tiada rila engkau pada segala qadanya dan taqdirnya, seperti bahwa engkau kata: Berbuat aku demikian supaya ada yang demikian, atau: Jikalau<sup>4</sup> aku berbuat demikian, niscaya tiada ada yang demikian, niscaya dijauhkan engkau daripadanya. Dan /  
 76 jikalau engkau hampirkan dengan dia kepadanya, seperti bahwa (tiada) engkau lihat bagimu wujud dan amal serta wujudnya dan amalnya, niscaya dihampirkan<sup>1</sup> akandikau kepadanya dengan ni'matnya dan fadlnya. Dan jikalau engkau hampirkan kepada Allah s.w.t. dengan sebab iradat dirimu bagi<sup>2</sup> demikian hampir itu seperti bahwa engkau lihat bagimu wujud dan<sup>3</sup> amal, niscaya dijauhkan akandikau, ya'ni didinding<sup>4</sup> engkau dan<sup>5</sup> dishughulkan<sup>6</sup> engkau dengan diri engkau.

*In ṭalabtahu la-ka, kallafaka; wa-in ṭalabtahu la-hu, dallalaka,*<sup>7</sup> Jikalau engkau menuntut akan Allah s.w.t. bagimu, ya'ni karena dirimu, seperti bahwa engkau qasdkan dalam tuntutanmu baginya hasil sesuatu daripada segala bahagian yang bangsa dunia atau yang<sup>8</sup> bangsa akhirat, niscaya diberati engkau bagi amal dan mashaqqa, karena bahwasanya barangsiapa menuntut balas, niscaya dituntut dengan amal. Dan jikalau  
 77 engkau menuntut akan Allah 'azza wa-jalla baginya /, ya'ni karenanya,<sup>1</sup> tiada karena dirimu, seperti bahwa engkau qasdkan dalam tuntutanmu baginya<sup>2</sup> menerima barang yang dijadikan<sup>3</sup> padamu daripada tuntutanmu baginya atas sekira-kira yang dikehendaknya pada demikian itu daripada melihatkan 'ubudiyatmu, niscaya ditunjukinya engkau, ya'ni dijadikannya engkau dalam maqam al-dalal atasnya dengan sebab terangkut hijab antaramu dan antaranya, yaitu dirimu, dengan semata-mata ni'matnya dan nugerahanya.

*Qurbuka (ilai-hi) khurūjuka<sup>c</sup> an-ka, wa-bu<sup>c</sup>duka (<sup>c</sup>an-hu) wuqū-*

75 there is only One who wills, choses and disposes /, and that it is He who acts as a free agent in the disposal of all affairs, not you.

Substantiate the real meaning of "There is no god but God" by committing yourself to Him. As the author says,

*When you commit yourself to Him, He will cast a benevolent eye on you, but when you contend with Him, He will keep you away. When you approach Him through Him, he receives you into His favour, but when you approach Him through yourself, He keeps you away.*

When you leave all your action to Him and give up disposal, while relying on Him in everything, no doubt He will bring you near to Him, looking on you with mercy and attention. But when you contend with Him, for instance by being dissatisfied with His decisions and disposals, e.g. by saying, "I act this way so as to obtain this result", or, "If I do (not) act this way, it will not happen", then certainly you will be removed  
76 from His presence. When /, however, you approach Him through Him, for instance by not claiming any being and activity aside from His, you certainly will be brought near to Him by His grace and mercy. But when you (want to) approach Him by your own will, as if being and activity were your own, you certainly will be removed from Him, that is to say will be secluded from Him and kept busy with your self.

*When you strive after Him for your own sake, He imposes tasks upon you, but when you strive after Him for His sake, He will guide you.<sup>2</sup>*

When you strive after God on your own behalf, i.e., for your own sake, as, for instance, when you strive after Him for worldly or other-worldly ends, He certainly will impose upon you works and hardships, since work will be required of anyone aspiring to a reward. But when  
77 you strive after God on His behalf /, i.e., for His sake, not for yours, as, for instance, when the purpose of your striving after Him is to accept anything He deems adequate in reward of your striving, so as to show your servanthship, then He certainly will instruct you, that is to say, impart to you the station of guidance toward Him by removing the screen between you and Him, self, that is, out of mere grace and favour.

*Nearness to Him means that you have renounced self; being separated from Him means self-assertion.*

Nearness to God means that you have renounced self and passed away from it, so far as God has made you see that you subsist through

*fuka ma<sup>c</sup>a-ka*, Hampirmu kepada Allah ta'ala itu keluarmu dengan fana'mu daripada dirimu dengan sekira-kira dijadikan Allah ta'ala padamu<sup>4</sup> melihat bahwasanya engkau qa'im dengan dia pada ijad dan amal dan i'tiqad; dan jauhmu daripada Allah ta'ala itu berdiri (serta diri)mu dengan tahqiq pada wujud diri serta wujud Tuhannya, dan ishtighal pada segala hal diri daripada af'al Allah ta'ala yang dibangsakan baginya.

78 *In ji'ta bi-lā anta, qabilaka; / wa-in ji'ta bi-ka, ḥajabaka*, Jikalau engkau datang kepada hadrat Allah ta'ala seperti bahwa engkau berhadap atas ishtighal pada Allah ta'ala dalam keadaan ishtighalmu pada tiap-tiap sesuatu, dan engkau berpaling daripada tiap-tiap sesuatu dengan tiada engkau, ya'ni dengan tiada dirimu, ya'itu harakat yang esa yang terbit daripada amr Allah ta'ala, niscaya menerima Ia akandikau; maka berhadap Ia atasmu dengan sekira-kira engkau berhadap atasnya dan engkau tinggalkan dirimu. Dan jikalau engkau datang kepada hadrat Allah ta'ala dengan dirimu, seperti bahwa engkau lihat bagimu wujud dan amal, niscaya didinding engkau daripada hadratnya dan daripada memandangi dia dalam tiap-tiap sesuatu. Maka tiada berhadap<sup>1</sup> Ia atasmu, karena bahwasanya engkau tiada meninggalkan diri engkau dan berhadaplah engkau atasnya dengan<sup>2</sup> dirimu itu, yaitu keadaan hijabmu yang meni(n)ding ia akandikau kepadanya.

79 *Al-<sup>c</sup>āmīl lā yakādu / yakhlūṣu min ru'yat <sup>c</sup>amalihi; fa-kun min qabīl al-minna, lā min qabīl al-<sup>c</sup>amal*, Bermula, orang yang mengerjakan amal bagi Allah ta'ala itu tiada hampir ikhlas ia daripada melihat amalnya, karena tuntutan balas atasnya. Maka jadikan oléhmumu daripada pihak ni'mat daripada Allah ta'ala dan nugerahanya atasmu, tiada daripada amal, supaya sejahtera engkau daripada melihat dia dan engkau pandang bahwasanya tiada yang fa'il dan tiada yang mawjud melainkan Allah s.w.t., maka adalah (engkau) setengah daripada segala orang yang 'arif. Karena bahwasanya engkau, *in <sup>c</sup>araftahu, sakanta; wa-in jahiltahu, taḥarrakta*, jikalau telah engkau kenal akan dia, niscaya diam engkau kepadamu<sup>1</sup> dalam segala harakatmu dan segala diammu; maka jikalau engkau berkata, maka berkata<sup>2</sup> engkau dengan dia; dan jikalau engkau menengar, maka menengar<sup>3</sup> engkau daripadanya. Dan demikianlah keadaanmu maka tiada lisan bagimu dan tiada udhn.<sup>4</sup> Dan karena inilah dikata / orang: Bermula, 'alamat orang yang 'arif itu bahwa adalah ia selesai daripada dunia dan akhirat. Dan jikalau engkau jahil<sup>1</sup> akan dia, seperti bahwa<sup>2</sup> tiada engkau kenal akan dia, niscaya berharakat engkau dengan sebab penglihatmu akan amalmu dan dengan sebab tuntutanmu balas atasnya. Maka ter-

Him with regard to origin, works and belief; separation from God means self-assertion, the affirmation of a being of your own aside from the Being of God and occupation with things pertaining to self instead of with the works of God, which (erroneously) are referred to self.

78 *If you come without self, He will receive you; / if you come with self, He secludes you from Him.*

If you come to God in such a way that whatever you occupy yourself with, your only concern is God, and devoid of self but acting on a stimulus springing from divine order you turn away from everything, then He certainly will receive you and turn to you so far as you have turned to Him and renounced self. But if you come to God with your self, in such a way that you still ascribe being and works to yourself, then you certainly will be secluded from Him and from seeing Him in all things. He will not turn to you because you did not renounce self but turned to Him with your self, which constitutes a screen between you and Him.

79 *He who performs pious acts can hardly / be free from looking on his acts; (therefore) you should belong to the people of grace, not to the people of pious acts.*

Those who perform pious acts for the sake of God can hardly be free from looking on their acts, since they aspire to a reward; therefore, see to it that you belong to the people who enjoy God's grace and favour, not to the people of the pious acts, so that you may be secure from looking on these and see that there is no agent and no Being save God. Then you will be one of the gnostics, because

*When you know Him, you are inactive, but when you do not know Him, you are astir.*

When you know Him, you certainly will be inactive in all your activities. When you speak, you speak through Him; when you hear, you hear through Him. If this is the case you have neither tongue nor ear, and this is why people / say, "The characteristic of a gnostic is that he has done with this world and the next". But when you do not know Him, you certainly will act with a view to your acts and out of hope of reward, which will seclude you from Him, so that you will fall into serious error.

*What is meant is that He is and you are not.*

That which God wants from you is that He alone be present in your created knowledge as He is present in His eternal knowledge, and that neither you nor anyone else have being aside from Him. The author says,

dindinglah engkau dengan dia daripadanya, maka jatuhlah engkau dalam sesat yang amat besar.

*Fa 'l-murād an yakūna Huwa ta<sup>c</sup>ālā, wa-lā takūna anta,* Maka murad Allah ta'ala daripadamu bahwa adalah Ia jua kepadamu dengan sendirinya mawjud dalam ilmunya yang hadith seperti yang yaitu mawjud dalam ilmunya yang qadim. Dan tiada ada engkau dan tiada lainmu pula mawjud sertanya s.w.t. dalam wujud. Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>1</sup>:

81 *Al-<sup>c</sup>awāmm a<sup>c</sup>māluhum muttahamāt; wa 'l-khawāṣṣ a<sup>c</sup>māluhum qurubāt; wa-khawāṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ a<sup>c</sup>māluhum darajāt,* Bermula,<sup>3</sup> segala orang yang / 'awamm daripada segala orang yang Islam itu, dan meréka itulah mawjud dalam sangka meréka itu serta Allah ta'ala, qa'im meréka itulah dengan diri meréka itu<sup>1</sup> dalam percaya pada Allah ta'ala dan pada yang didatangkan<sup>2</sup> segala rasulnya<sup>3</sup> 'alaihim al-salat wa 'l-salam; menjungjung meréka itu segala suruh Allah ta'ala dan menjauhi meréka itu daripada segala tegahnya. Sekalian amalnya<sup>4</sup> meréka itu tuhmat<sup>5</sup> dengan tuntutan meréka itu akan balasnya,<sup>6</sup> maka adalah amalnya<sup>7</sup> meréka itu (bercampur dengan segala bahagian napsu meréka itu), seperti segala orang yang mengambil upah: jikalau diberi meréka itu akan upah, maka dikerjakan meréka itu; dan jikalau tiada, maka tiada dikerjakan meréka itu.

Dan segala orang yang khawass itu, meréka itulah yang fana' meréka itu daripada segala bahagiannya<sup>8</sup> napsu [maka] meréka itu, (maka) segala amal meréka itu taqarrub, tiada menilik kepada amal dan tiada kepada balas, hanya kepada hampir jua kepada Allah ta'ala.

82 Dan segala orang yang khawass al-khawass / itu, meréka itulah yang 'arif pada Allah ta'ala, dan diri meréka itu dalam segala<sup>1</sup> tajallinya, dan qa'im meréka itu pada diri meréka itu dalam<sup>2</sup> iman, dan mengikut segala (suruh), dan menjauhi (segala) tegah, pada hal mezhahirkan daripada zuhurnya Allah s.w.t.. Segala<sup>3</sup> amal meréka itu (darajat naik meréka itu) dalamnya daripada satu maqam kepada<sup>4</sup> satu maqam; maka tiadalah memandang meréka itu akan amal dan tiada taqarrub, tetapi telah memfana'kan Allah akan meréka itu daripada meréka itu dan mengekalkan akan meréka itu baginya karena mendatangkan segala haqqnya.

Maka kata mu'allif, r.A.<sup>c</sup>:

*Kulla-mā ijtanabta hawāka, qawiya imānuka; wa-kulla-mā ijtanabta dhātaka, qawiya tawhīduka,* Manakala engkau jauhi, hai salik, hawamu, ya'ni cenderung kepada tiap-tiap barang yang lain daripada Allah ta'ala, daripada adat atau ibadat atau ma'rifa atau shuhud, niscaya

*The pious acts of the common people are suspect; those of the select are (acts of) nearness, those of the select among the select are a gradual ascent.*

- 81 The common believers /, who fancy that they have being aside from God, subsist in self while believing in God and in the messages of His apostles. They observe His commandments and refrain from that which is forbidden. All their pious acts arouse suspicion, as they aspire to a reward in return for them, and so their acts, not being free from interested motives, are comparable to the work of labourers who work when they are paid for it but otherwise do not.

- The select have passed away from selfishness, so that every act of theirs means drawing near to God. They do not look on their works nor do they look forward to a reward, but only to nearness to God.
- 82 The select among the select / know God and their self is part of His manifestation. They abide with it in faith and observe all commandments and refrain from all that is forbidden, while showing forth God's manifestation. Their works are steps by which they rise from station to station; therefore they do not look on their works nor on drawing near to God: He has already made them pass away from themselves and endowed them with everlasting life for Him, because they have complied with all His claims. The author says,

*Whenever you turn away from your appetites, your faith will be strengthened, and whenever you turn away from self, your profession of His Uniqueness will gain vigour.*

Whenever, oh traveller on the mystic path, you turn away from your appetites, *i.e.*, your inclination to things other than God, even from custom, worship, mystical knowledge and vision, your faith in God

- 83 kuatlah imanmu pada Allah s.w.t.; karena tiada engkau dapat / kepada yang engkau cenderung akan dia, maka tambahlah tasdiqmu padanya. Dan manakala engkau jauhi akan dirimu yang ia hijabmu kepada Allah ta'ala, niscaya kuatlah tawhidmu bagi Allah s.w.t. dengan tawhid<sup>1</sup> yang dhawqi, yang kashfi, yang tiada sertanya shirk jali dan tiada shirk khafi, hingga sempurnalah kenyataan keesaan Yang Mahatinggi bagimu.

Dan sanya<sup>2</sup> telah terdahulu bahwasanya tawhid itu atas tiga bagi,<sup>3</sup> yaitu tawhid pada<sup>4</sup> af'al, dan tawhid pada sifat, dan tawhid pada dhat. Dan yang pertama itu tawhid segala orang yang 'awamm; dan yang kedua itu tawhid segala orang yang khawass; dan ketiga itu tawhid segala orang yang khawass al-khawass.

- Al-khalq hijāb, wa-anta hijāb; wa 'l-Ḥaqq ta'ālā laisa bi-mahjūb, wa-Huwa muhtajib 'an-ka bi-ka,* Bermula, segala makhluk itu hijab bagimu, hay<sup>5</sup> hamba, daripada memandangi dirimu, (dan dirimu) itu hijab bagimu<sup>6</sup> daripada / memandangi<sup>1</sup> Haqq ta'ala. Maka engkau pada ketika itu mahjub daripada Haqq ta'ala dengan dua martabat daripada hijab: satu martabat dirimu, dan satu martabat<sup>2</sup> lainmu. Maka dirimu hijabmu daripada memandangi Haqq ta'ala, dan lainmu hijab daripada memandangi dirimu. Dan Haqq ta'ala itu tiada mahjub daripadamu, karena tiada yang kuasa meninding<sup>3</sup> dia, dan Haqq ta'ala terdinding daripadamu dengan dirimu, karena tilikmu kepada wujudmu dan amalmu.

- Wa-anta mahjūb 'an-ka bi-hi; fa-infaṣil anta 'an-ka, tashhad. Wa 'l-salām.* Dan engkau mahjub daripadamu dengan Haqq ta'ala, karena bahwasanya engkau itu, apabila engkau nazar kepada wujudnya Haqq ta'ala, niscaya didinding engkau dengandia daripadamu. Maka ceraikan oléhmumu, hai mahjub daripada Tuhannya dengan dirinya dan daripada dirinya dengan lainnya daripadamu, ertinya daripada dirimu yang meninding ia akandikau daripada / Tuhanmu kemudian daripada engkau ceraikan daripada lainmu yang meninding ia akandikau daripada dirimu; maka engkau pandang akan Tuhanmu s.w.t. yang<sup>1</sup> tiada ghaib selama-lamanya, yaitu hadir, nazir da'iman sarmadan, dan sejahteralah atasmu pada ketika itu daripada tiap-tiap yang diketakuti dalam dunia dan (dalam) akhirat, dengan anugeraha Allah dan ni'matnya.

Wa 'l-ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-'ālamīn.

- 83 certainly will be strengthened. Because you do not acquire / that which you are inclined to, your faith in Him grows, and every time you retire from the self which secludes you from God, your profession of His Uniqueness will gain vigour, a deeply enjoyed profession of a revelational character, without manifest or hidden polytheism, till God's Uniqueness is perfectly clear to you.

As stated previously, *tawhīd* is of three categories: of the acts, of the attributes and of the Essence. The first is the *tawhīd* of the common people; the second that of the select; the third that of the select among the select.

*The created world is a screen, and you are a screen. The Supreme Reality is not hidden, but He is invisible to you on account of your self.*

- 84 All creation, oh servant, is a screen which prevents you from seeing your self, and your self prevents / you from seeing the Supreme Reality. So you are secluded from the Supreme Reality by a twofold screen, your self and the other things (the outer world). Self prevents you from seeing the Supreme Reality; the outer world prevents you from seeing self. But the Supreme Reality is not invisible to your sight, as nothing is able to conceal Him, but He is invisible to you on account of your self, because you look on your own being and works.

*You are secluded from Him by it, so free yourself from self and you will see Him.*

- 85 You are secluded from the Supreme Reality, for when you look on His Being, your self is a screen between you and Him. Oh you who are secluded from the Lord by self and from self by the outer world! Free yourself from self which secludes you from / the Lord after you have freed yourself from all other things which seclude you from self. Then you will see the Lord who is never hidden, who is present and looking on permanently and forever, and be secure from whatever you fear in this world and the world to come, by God's grace and favour. And praise be unto the Lord, the Lord of the worlds.

Intahā al-risāla al-mukhtaṣara bilughat al-Jāwī. Wa-arjū Allāh an tanfa<sup>ʿ</sup>a <sup>ʿ</sup>alā sā'ir al-mubtadī.

Telah selesailah risala yang mukhtasar dengan bahasa Jawi, dan kuharap akan Allah ta'ala bahwa memberi manfa'at atas sekalian orang yang mubtadi. Dan adalah yang menterjemahkan dia Kemas Fakhruddin yang mustawtin dalam negeri Palembang dar al-salam. Maka katanya: Hai salikin saudaraku yang 'arif! Jika engkau<sup>2</sup> lihat akan kesalahannya,<sup>3</sup> 86 maka hendaklah / diperbaiki<sup>1</sup> oléhmü kecelaaannya, karena manusia itu berkenderaan atas<sup>2</sup> bebal; tetapi<sup>3</sup> adalah seperti yang dikata setengah orang: Dan jikalau engkau tilik kepadanya dengan kerilaan, maka adalah 'aibnya itu sedikit<sup>4</sup> dan jikalau engkau tilik dengan tiada kerilaan, maka adalah 'aibnya banyak<sup>5</sup>; dan tilik orang yang mulia itu pada sekalian 'aib itu buta, dan telinganya pada sekalian kejahatan itu<sup>6</sup> tuli.<sup>7</sup> Dan demikian peri hal segala orang yang telah<sup>7</sup> sempurna halnya.

#### I n t a h a

Tammat al-risala ini jua adanya; tersurat didalam kantor Seketari kepada tiga hari bulan Dhu 'l-Qa'da pada hari Jum'at tahun 1238.

86 Here ends the Malay version of the succinct tract. I pray God that it may prove useful to all beginners. The author is Kemas Fakhruddin, living in Palembang, the abode of peace, and he says, "Oh my brethren, travellers on the mystic path who know God! Should you notice any mistakes, then / correct them, as man is apt to make mistakes. But it is as said by someone, "If you look on it with pleasure, the defects are few in number, but if you do not, the defects are many". But the eyes of a magnanimous person are blind to defects and his ears are deaf to evil. This is the case with all good people".

#### Finis

End of the treatise. Copied at the General Secretariat (of the Netherlands Indies Government), on Friday the 3rd of the month Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1238.

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

- 1 *Mekka*, Vol. II, pp. 322-'23; *Adviezen*, Vol. II, pp. 1599-'60. A reference to the same practice by Vredenburg in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* Vol. 118 (1962), p. 139. Snouck Hurgronje further observed that for a consideration one could even get a written document attesting the change of name — a source of income of the Shāfi'ī *mufī* and some Meccan families.
- 2 Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Vol. II, p. 292, nt. 3.
- 3 Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.*, p. 114.
- 4 Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 432.
- 5 *Handlist Arabic MSS. Leiden*, p. 48: three MSS. registered as *Bayān al-sirr* with interlinear Javanese translation.
- 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 80 (*Faḥ al-Rahmān*); p. 319, cod. or. 7031 (2); Van den Berg, *Cat. Cod. Arab. Batavia*, p. 95, no. 108; Van Ronkel *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.*, p. 101, no. 176; pp.114-'15, nos. 204-206.
- 7 Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, no. 207, with interlinear Bugi translation; dated 1889. *Handlist Leiden*, p. 319, 5 copies, registered under *Risālat at-tawḥīd*, with interlinear Malay translation; Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 432: MS. V.d.W. 9, with interlinear Malay translation.
- 8 Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Vol. II, p. 99; Suppl. II, p. 117. *Faḥ al-Rahmān* means 'The Help of the Compassionate'. Book titles beginning with *Faḥ* followed by a word indicating God are fairly common. They do not reveal anything about the content of the book. So, for instance, *Faḥ al-Wahhāb* ('The Help of the Bountiful'), *Faḥ al-Mu'īn* ('The Help of the Helper') and *Faḥ al-Qarīb* ('The Help of the Near One') are titles of well-known Shafi'ite books on Islamic Law.
- 9 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 333; S. II, p. 461.
- 10 Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 345; S. II, p. 471, no. 112. On this author see *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. I, p. 60 (W.A.S. Khalidi), and Heribert Busse, 'Abd al-Ganī an-Nābulusī Reisen im Libanon (1100/1689-1112/1700), in *Der Islam*, Vol. 44 (1968). Long quotations from his *dīwān* (e.g. his *Tā'iyya* and *Hamziyya*) preceded by a short note on his life and works in Aḥmad Khairī, *Izālat al-shubuhāt 'an qawl al-ustādh, "Kunnā ḥurūfan 'āliyyāt"*, Cairo 1370, pp. 205-220. See also D. et M.-Th. Urvoy, Les thèmes chrétiens chez Ibn Sab'īn, in *Studia Islamica*, XLIV (1976), pp. 102 sqq., where he is called "le plus célèbre mystique sunnite du XVIIe siècle".
- 11 Not mentioned in Pigeaud's description of the MS. *Lit. of Java*, Vol. II, 453.
- 12 In the metres: Ḍandānggula, 25 stanzas; Asmaradana, 33st.; Sinom, 18st.
- 13 Pp. 16-35 of the MS. listed under the title of 'Shattariya Tracts' and beginning with the *Kitab Daka*.
- 14 Cf. the notes to the text printed below.
- 15 *Bagi* is the regular translation of the Arabic preposition *li*, which in book-titles is equivalent to 'by'; *bagi ta'lif* . . . = (lit.) 'by composition of'; 'composed by'.
- 16 Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 431-'32.
- 17 H. H. Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. en Sund. Hss. Leiden*, p. 266; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, p. 283, no. 728.
- 18 Transliterated from the printed edition, Cairo 1317/1899, the Arabic of the MSS. from Indonesia being too corrupt for reproduction.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER I

- 1 ed. Cairo 1330/1911, pp. 183-185.
- 2 A characterization of Shaṭṭanawfī's 'biography' of ʿAbd al -Qādir has been given by Walther Braune in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. I, p. 70. See also Margoliouth in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907; Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *De Mirakelen van AbdoelKadir Djaelani*, Bandung 1938, pp. 18 sqq.
- 3 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 133; S. II, p. 164.
- 4 See the recent edition of the *Tālī*, entitled: *Ibn aṣ-Ṣuqāʿī, Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-aʿyān (Un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke)*. Edition et traduction par Jacqueline Sublet. Institut français de Damas, 1974, text p. 74; tr. pp. 96-97.
- 5 *Nūr ad-Dīn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569 H./1118-1174)*, 3 vols, Damas, 1967.
- 6 Of course neither the mausoleum nor the mosque named after Raslān are mentioned in the description of Damascus in the beginning of Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176) voluminous 'History of Damascus' (*Taʾriḫ Madīnat Dimashq*), composed in 529/1135. However, the mosque of ʿUmair, mentioned by Ibn ʿAsākir, is identified by Elisséeff (*La Description de Damas d'Ibn ʿAsākir*, Damascus 1959, p. 115, note 6) with the mosque known nowadays by the name of Maqām Shaikh Raslān.
- 7 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 46; S. II, p. 45; *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 215.
- 8 Dr. Yūsuf al-ʿUshr, *Fihris makhtūṭāt Dār al-kutub al-Zāhiriyya*, Vol. I, p. 285, no. 15.
- 9 ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *Imām al-sālikīn wa-shaikh al-mujāhidīn al-Shaikh Arslān al-Dimashqī, 461-541*, pp. 136-139.
- 10 Gibb, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London, 1932, pp. 36-39.
- 11 *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 195, 200; *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. III, p. 86 (Sauvaget); *E.d. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 563-ʿ64 (Zettersteén); A. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, Vol. II, pp. 91-92; 139.
- 12 M. A. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London, 1907, p. 32, the Jewish colony at Qalʿat Jaʿbar being said to number 2.000 souls.
- 13 Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. I, p. 151.
- 14 Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. II, pp. 295-ʿ96; Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- 15 ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 101, makes mention of a tribe named al-Jaʿābira at Ḥamā, whose ancestors were perhaps fugitives from Qalʿat Jaʿbar. He does not mention when these took up their residence at Ḥamā.
- 16 Gibb. *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 17 *E.d. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 899.
- 18 Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. II, p. 416 sqq.
- 19 *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 200; F. Gabrieli, *The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades*, p. 102 in: *Historians of the Middle East*, Oxford Un. Press, 1962.
- 20 *ibidem*.
- 21 A. von Kremer, *Mittelsyrien und Damascus*, Vienna, 1853, p. 156; H. Sauvage, *La Description de Damas*, in: *Journal Asiatique*, 1895, p. 404.
- 22 So, for instance, in Ibn al-Suqāʿī, *Tālī*, ed. Jacqueline Sublet, p. 97.
- 23 As it does not behove pious people to accept gifts from grand folk and worldly potentates, who will inevitably have acquired their riches by unlawful means and oppression, they have to exercise the utmost scrupulousness when being offered presents by them, or even when profiting by facilities provided by the secular arm. This scrupulousness is called *waraʿ*. Examples of *waraʿ* are given, for instance, by al-Ghazālī in his *Iḥyāʾ* (Book 14, *K. al-ḥalāl wa*

- '*l-harām*) and by al-Qushairī; see R. Hartmann, *al-Ḳuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, Berlin, 1914, pp. 40-1.
- 24 In another version of the story Raslān is offered a purse of gold for the building of a mosque by direction of another *ṣūfī*, Abū Bayān by name, who used to gather his pupils at a gate of the mosque other than that where Raslān used to sit with his followers. On behalf of Abū Bayān, who survived Raslān for about ten years, Nūr al-Dīn had a *ribāṭ* built in the vicinity of the Bāb Sharqī; see Elisséeff, *Description*, p. 106 note and p. 107 note 1; *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. III, p. 769.
- 25 'Stone Street'; so called after the stone on which Abraham smashed the idols of his father (Qor'ān 21 : 58), which allegedly was on view here.
- 26 In fact Khālid's headquarters were elsewhere; see *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 279.
- 27 Elisséeff, *Description*, p. 148; *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. I, p. 260.
- 28 *Description*, p. 148, note 4: . . . "fait aujourd'hui partie de l'ensemble des oratoires du cimetière de Cheikh Raslan".
- 29 *Lammā uhtudira sa'aluhu an yūsiya ilā waladihi al-mukannā bi-hi, fa-qāla, "c'Āmir kharāb wa-Raslān c'āmir", i.e., 'When he was on the point of dying people asked him to appoint as his successor the son named in his kunya (his teknonymous name Abū c'Āmir, 'father of c'Āmir'), but he answered, "c'Āmir is a desolate tract, whereas Raslān is a flourishing region" (on c'āmir, see Dozy, Suppl. aux dictionnaires arabes, Vol. II, p. 172).*
- 30 Another well-known legendary biography of c'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, the main source of Carra de Vaux's article on him in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.
- 31 This story has been related previously by Von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 156 and is referred to by Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Vol. II, p. 292.
- 32 Cf. the biblical story of the loaves and fishes (John, ch. 6 : 5-14); Shaṭṭanawfī, *Bahja*, p. 103; Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
- 33 A similar story is told of c'Abd al-Qādir (Shaṭṭanawfī, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45; Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 101). Two blasted date palms that had been dead for a period of four years started budding again when c'Abd al-Qādir performed his ritual prayer at their feet.
- 34 Benedikt Reinert, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik*, Berlin, 1968, pp. 164-'65 gives a number of examples of the intrepidity of saints when encountering lions. See also Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 180; Russell Jones, *Nuru 'd-din ar-Raniri, Bustanu's-Salatin Bab IV Fasal I*, ed. Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, 1974, p. 47; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Chicago 1912, pp. 270-272; R. Hartmann, *al-Ḳuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, Berlin 1914, p. 160.
- 35 c'Abd al-Qādir killed two robber-chiefs whose bands had waylaid a caravan by flinging his slippers into the air, with the same effect: see Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 112-'13; Shaṭṭanawfī, p. 66.
- 36 '*Masjid al rammāhīn*'; see Elisséeff, in *Arabica*, Vol. III, 1, p. 71, no. 31; *Description*, p. 89, note 2; p. 90, no. 30. Cf. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, p. 270: "When we find mosques frequently called after the names of professions, we learn from the sources reporting these facts that the reference is *topographical*, designating the mosque as situated in a street or bazaar having the name of that profession".
- 37 c'Izzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
- 38 Shaṭṭanawfī, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
- 39 'Friend of God' (*khalīl Allāh*) is a surname of the prophet Ibrāhīm; see Qor'ān 4 : 125.
- 40 Mount Qāsiyūn is a hill 500 m. high, a spur of the Anti Lebanon range to

- the north of Damascus. Ibn ʿAsākir devotes many pages of his Description of Damascus to its holiness. Several biblical persons are said to have sojourned here: Cain and Abel; Abraham; Lot; Moses; Job; Jesus. According to a tradition going back to Ibn ʿAbbās Abraham was born in the village of Berzé at the foot of the mountain. Any one performing a ritual prayer of four *rakʿa* here, obtains full remission of his sins, and a prayer said here is always heard.
- 41 ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 153-ʿ54.
- 42 *loc. cit.*, p. 147.
- 43 The same miracle is said to have occurred at the burial of Dhū ʿl-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/861) and the Somali saint Abū Bakr Zailaʾ (d. 1659); see Goldziher, *Globus*, Vol. LXXXIII (1902), pp. 302-ʿ4 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, Vol. IV, pp. 403-ʿ6).
- 44 A. von Kremer, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
- 45 ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
- 46 Drewes and Poerbatjaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 149 note; cf. also Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, Book II: 1131-1170, the story of the blind falcon landing among the owls.
- 47 ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *op. cit.*, p. 138, according to the *Tarjama* by al-Dhahabī.
- 48 Cf. Qorʿān 16 : 1: *Atā amru ʿllāhi fa-lā tastaʿjilūhu*, 'the affair of Allah has come, seek not to hasten it'.
- 49 pp. 87-101.
- 50 On the development of the *ribāʿ* see *E.d. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 1242-ʿ45 (G. Marçais).
- 51 *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Vol. III, pp. 767-ʿ68.
- 52 A detailed note on this scholar on pp. 103-ʿ5; see also George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (1939), p. 158.
- 53a *Islam in Modern History* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 117-ʿ8.
- 53b Writing on 'The Sanctity of Jerusalem and Palestine', S. D. Goitein observes, "The Koran itself calls Palestine the *Holy Land*, when it lets Moses say to the Children of Israel: "My people, enter the Holy Land, which God has destined for you" (Qorʿān 5 : 21). "The term is quite common in ancient Muslim literature, although it was dropped later on and replaced by Shaʿm (Shām), a term comprising Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria . . . Palestine was holy, because it was the homeland of prophecy and God's revelation. "I heard," one of Muhammad's companions is credited as saying, "that nowhere a messenger was sent by God except in Shaʿm, and when he was not from Shaʿm, he was at least carried there in a nightly apparition (like Muhammad or Ezekiel)." (*Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, pp. 143-ʿ44.) The author refers to traditions of this tenor.
- 54 Literally: 'quintuplication'; a poem in which 4 new hemistichs are added to each hemistich of an older poem in order to develop or modify its content.
- 55 *Verzeichnis Arab. Hss. Berlin*, nos. 8494, 36a; 7700, 4\*.
- 56 *Op. cit.*, p. 80; no source mentioned. Metre: *basīf*.
- 57 *Op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 58 *Op. cit.*, p. 146: Eine Art tatgewordener Monotheismus, der als zentralstes Gebot des praktischen *tawakkuls* gelten darf und tatsächlich alle dessen charakteristischen Ausprägungen in sich einbegreift.
- 59 *Ihyāʾ*, Book 37, Ch. II, § 1, towards the end.
- 60 *Op. cit.*, Book 37, Ch. II, § 2: *Qalla mā yanfakku fiʿl min afʿālihi wa-ʿibāda min ʿibādātihi ʿan ḥuṣūṣ wa-aghṛād ʿājila; fa-qad kharaja ʿamaluhu ʿan ḥadd al-ikhhlāṣ wa-taṭarraqa ilaihi al-shirk.*
- 61 Cf. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* 2, p. 42; *E.d. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 410.
- 62 A. J. Arberry, *The Mawāqif and Mukhātabāt of Muh. ʿAbdī ʿl-Jabbār al-*

- Niffari* (G.M.S., N.S. IX, 1935), Mawqif 4: . . . *man ra'āni wa-ra'āhu . . . a-laisa fihi shirk lā tuḥassu bihi?* 'Whoever sees Me and himself . . . is not there in him unobserved polytheism?'
- 63 *Kitāb al-Luma*<sup>c</sup>, ed. R. A. Nicholson (G. M. S., Vol. 22, 1914), p. 83.
- 64 *Qūt al-qulūb*, Vol. III, p. 19.
- 65 *Kitāb al-riyāda wa-adab al-nafs*, ed. A. J. Arberry and <sup>c</sup>Ali H. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Qadir, Misr, 1366/1947, p. 138: *wa-lākinnahu raibat al-qalb wa-ḍtirābuhu wa-taghayyuruhu ka-'l-shirk wa-laisa bi-'l-shirk . . .*
- 66 *Qūt al-qulūb*, loc. cit.
- 67 Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, thesis Leiden 1933, p. 158; Syed Muh. Naguib al-Attas, *The Mysticism of Hamzah Fansuri*, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, p. 277.
- 68 Abu Nu<sup>c</sup>aim, *Ḥilya* (Cairo, 1351-1357), Vol. 10 pp. 256-'57, quoted by Reinert, *op. cit.*, pp. 21; 55-56.
- 69 See Walther Braune, *Die Futūḥ al-ḡaib des 'Abd al-Qādir* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients herausgegeben von C. H. Becker und R. Strothmann, VIII, 1933), and, in particular, the instructive article by Jacqueline Chabbi, *'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilāni personnage historique*, in *Studia Islamica*, XXXVIII (1973), pp. 75-106.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1 Al-Mahāmili was a pupil of the famous Shāfi'ī jurist al-Isfarā'īni (d.A.H. 406/1016) of Baghdād. Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, vol. I: 181, S.I.: 307; George Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqil et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste*, Damas 1963, pp. 194, 200-201.
- 2 Van Ronkel, *op. cit.* nos. 438-445; further, as regards *Manhaj*, *Faḥ al-Wahhāb* and the commentaries on these works by others, nos. 403-406; 408-412.
- 3 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 90, S. II: 106.
- 4 First edition (1328/1910), pp. 86-174.
- 5 See Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān*, thesis Jakarta 1961, p. 131; Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Batavia*, pp. 373, 374, 378, 380, 432; *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, pp. 117, 118.
- 6 Author of *Naḡm al-'iqyān fī a-ḡyān al-a-ḡyān*; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 143, S. II: 197. His autobiography in E. M. Sertain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1975.
- 7 Author of *Al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi*<sup>c</sup> *li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi*<sup>c</sup>; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 34 no. 9; S. II: 31. A compendium of this is *al-Badr al-ṭāli*<sup>c</sup> *min al-ḍaw' al-lāmi*<sup>c</sup> by Ibn 'Abd al-Salām al-Manūfi; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 295; *Handlist Leiden*, p. 59.
- 8 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 144; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, Vol. II: 267, note 3. On al-Suyūṭī's opinion of the *Ḍaw'*, see *G.A.L.*, S. II: 31.
- 9 Author of *Badā'ic al-zuhūr fī waqā'ic al-duhūr*, a history of Egypt up to 928/1522; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 295, S. II: 405.
- 10 Author of *Lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār*; *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 338 no. 43, S. II: 466; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, Vol. II: 290; Schacht, *E.d.I.*, Vol. IV: 342-344.
- 11 *G.A.L.*, Vol. II: 191, S. II: 254 no. 10.
- 12 *Ibidem*, Vol. II: 141, IV Fiqh, 9, a versified version of al-Qazwīni's (d. A.H. 665/1266) *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr*.
- 13 *Ibidem*, Vol. I: 359.
- 14 Cf. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, Vol. II: 187, note 5.
- 15 *Qiyām* (upright posture) is the second of the 18 pillars (*arkān*) of the *ṣalāt*

- and is essential to the *farḍ-salāts*, barring physical inability. It is not essential to supererogatory *rakʿas*; however, when performed with *qiyām* their heavenly reward will be higher, again barring physical inability. See al-Bājūrī, *Ḥāshiyā*, Book II (*K. al-ṣalāt*), 3rd *Faṣl* (*fi arkān al-ṣalāt*).
- 16 Namely Saladin, who in 1173 made the building into a *waqf*. Originally intended for a dwelling-place for *ṣūfis* from abroad, it soon became the centre of Cairene *ṣūfism*. See C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Vol. I: 194 (= *E.d.I.*, Vol. II: 121).
- 17 The question whether the institution of *waqf* dates back to the time of the Prophet is discussed by W. Heffening, *E.d.I.*, Vol. IV: 1188.
- 18 *Rawḍ al-tālib fi 'l-fiqh* by al-Muqrī' (d.A.H. 837/1433); it is an extract from al-Ghazālī's *K. al-wasiṭ* and was commented upon by the author.
- 19 *Al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaqāʾiq ghawāmiḍ al-tanzil*, amply treated by Goldziher in his *Die Richtingen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, and characterized by him as typical of Muʿtazilī exegesis of the Qorʿān. On the appreciation of this work by orthodox scholars, see *op. cit.*, pp. 118-19.
- 20 See above, note 12.
- 21 On Shaikh ʿAlī al-Nabatīti (d.A.H. 917/1508) see al-Shaʿrānī, *Lawāqih* (ed. of A.H. 1299/1881), Vol. II: 171-72. He lived in Nabatit in the district of Khānqāt al-Suryāqussiyā, was blind, and had an odour of sanctity about him. His advice was much sought after. Al-Shaʿrānī says that he used to meet him in the *madrasa* of Zakariyyāʾ al-Anṣārī when he was on a visit in Cairo. A *Manāqib* of Shaikh ʿAlī al-N. was composed by his pupil ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Turābī (*Lawāqih*, Vol. II: 202).
- 22 *G.A.L.*, S. II: 150, no. 15a; *Lawāqih*, Vol. II: 120-121.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER III

- 1 Qorʿān 47: 19.
- 2 Qorʿān 37: 96.
- 3 Part of a well-known tradition found in Bukhārī's *Saḥīḥ* (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, Vol. IV: 231).
- 4 Qorʿān 57: 4.
- 5 Qorʿān 7: 172.
- 6 Qorʿān 2: 31.
- 7 Rabīʿa al-Raqī; see *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Būlāq 1300, Vol. II: 354; Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Vol. IV: 1502, 2nd column.
- 8 Qorʿān 11: 107; 85: 16.
- 9 Qorʿān 6: 122. The words quoted here are followed by: *wa-jaʿalnā la-hu nūran yamshī bi-hī fi 'l-nās ka-man mathaluhu fi 'l-ḡulumāti laisa bi-khḥarijin min-hā?* ('Is one who was dead and whom We have brought to life) and appointed for him a light to walk by among the people, like one who is to be compared to (a man) in darknesses out of which he never emerges?' (Bell's translation)
- 10 A well-known tradition; Cf. R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairis Darstellung des Šūftums*, pp. 148-154; *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II: 916 (where *ʿilm al-ikhtilāj* is erroneously translated: divination by means of palm-trees (palmomancy); it means: the interpretation of the palpitations of the various limbs (Jav. *kēdut*).
- 11 Qorʿān 65: 2.
- 12 Qorʿān 65: 4.
- 13 Qorʿān 2: 282.
- 14 Cf. Qorʿān 41: 54.
- 15 Qorʿān 29: 69.

- 16 Qor'ān 6: 160.  
 17 Qor'ān, *passim*.  
 18 Qor'ān 76: 30.  
 19 Qor'ān 13: 16; 39: 62.  
 20 Qor'ān 37: 96.  
 21 Thaḥlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Cairo, 1929), p. 51: Qiṣṣat Ibrāhīm wa-Namrūd, al-bāb al-thāni.  
 22 A well-known tradition, quoted, for instance, by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, *Qūt al-qulūb* II: 56.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

- 1 Arabic *ḥamal jāriya*, 'a continuous good work', is another word for *waqf*, 'pious foundation'; *kang lumaku* is a literal translation of *jāriya*.  
 2 Mutilated text of the opening line of Raslān's *Risāla: Wa-ḥlam anna kullaka shirk khafi*, 'Know that you are entirely polytheism'.  
 3 *Dasadriya* (Skr. *daśendriya*, 'the ten senses') indicates the five complementary organs (ear; skin; eye; tongue; nose) of the five senses; see Goris, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie*, thesis Leiden 1926, pp. 66; 67 nt. 1.  
 4 Arabic *man ḥarafa nafsahu fa-qad ḥarafa Rabbahu*, 'He who knows himself, knows his Lord'.  
 5 Another quotation from the *Risāla*; Arabic: *wa-mā yabīnu la-ka tawhīduka illā idhā kharajta ḥan-ka*, 'Your *tawhīd* will not be clear to you unless you have given up self'.  
 6 Paraphrase of Arabic *Yā asīr al-shahawāt wa 'l-ḥibādāt! Yā asīr al-maqāmāt wa 'l-mukāshafāt! Anta maghrūr; anta mushtaghīl bi-ka; aina al-ishṭighāl bi-hi ḥan-ka?*, 'Oh captive of desires and devotions! Oh captive of (the striving after) mystic stations and revelations! You are deluded; you are occupied with yourself, but where is your occupation with Him, not with self?'  
 7 Cf. my *The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Bibl. Indon. 4, 1969), pp. 82-85 and 92-95.  
 8 Quotation from the *Risāla: wa 'l-yaqīn khurūjuka ḥan-ka*, '(to have) a firm conviction means to have given up self'.  
 9 Another quotation from the *Risāla: wa-idhā qawīya yaqīnuka, nuqilta min maqām ilā maqām*, 'When your conviction has grown firm, you move from station to station'.  
 10 Cf. *Admonitions*, pp. 82-83.  
 11 Arabic *ka 'l-maḥdūm*; cf. *Admonitions*, pp. 84-85.  
 12 Qor'ān 8: 17; *mēmanah* = Arabic *ramā*.  
 13 One syllable short.  
 14 Qor'ān 41: 54, *Innahu bi-kulli shai'in muḥīṭun*.  
 15 MS. *sampuning mangkana sa den-sami, den-sami wruhing ajal kamulan*.  
 16 MS. *ḥajatiyaning*; about *kajatin*, cf. *Admonitions*, p. 31, nt. 3.  
 17 3 syllables short.  
 18 Qor'ān 28: 88: *kull shai' hālik*.  
 19 Arabic: *Mā ra'aitu shai'an illā ra'aitu Allāha fi-hi*; one of Ḥalī's aphorisms often quoted in Javanese mystical writings; Cf. my *Drie Javaansche Goeroes*, thesis Leiden 1925, p. 100 nt. 2.  
 20 This is not the saying of a scholar but a quotation from the Qor'ān (17: 72): *Wa-man kāna fi ḥādhihi aḥmā fa-huwa fi 'l-ākhirati aḥmā*.

- 21 Read *salihah*.
- 22 Stanzas 10-12 are a paraphrase of Arabic *Ahl al-bāṭin maʿa al-yaqīn wa-ahl al-ḡāhir maʿa al-īmān; ʃa-matā taḥarraka qalb ʃāḥib al-yaqīn li-ḡhair Allāh, naqaṣa yaqīnuhu, wa-matā lam yakḥḥir la-hu khāṣir, kamila yaqīnuhu. Wa-matā taḥarraka qalb ʃāḥib al-īmān bi-ḡhair al-amr, naqaṣa imānuhu, wa-matā taḥarraka bi 'l-amr al-ilāhī, kamila imānuhu.* (From the *Risāla*.)
- 23 *ikrah* (Arabic *ikrāh*, compulsion; urge), incentive.
- 24 The last line of stanza 17 and stanza 18 are a paraphrase of the well-known *ḥadīth qudsī* circulated by Ibrāhīm b.Adham on the authority of John the Baptist; see *Admonitions*, p. 24.
- 25 3 syllables short; *kiyanat* = Arabic *khiyāna*, perfidy. This is an allusion to the Covenant (*Mīthāq*) between God and mankind, referred to in Qorʿān 7: 172.
- 26 *ji(n)dik*, Arabic *zindīq*, dualist; heretic; line 4: 2 syllables short.
- 27 *kalbune* = *klēbune*.
- 28 *sumuwa* or *sumunḡah*, Arabic *sumʿa*, good repute.
- 29 *jahi*, Arabic *jāh*, dignity, honour.
- 30 *paḡal* = *apēḡal*, Arabic *aḡ-āl*, acts.
- 31 The last three lines of this stanza are corrupt.
- 32 One syllable too many.
- 33 Two syllables short; read: *tan wuwuh kawruhing Yang*.
- 34 One line short.
- 35 *majaji*, Arabic *majāzī*, metaphorical.
- 36 *mukayad*, Arabic *muqayyad*, limited.
- 37 *karijiyat*, Arabic *khārijiyya*, pertaining to the exterior.
- 38 *akyan sabūt(ah)*, Arabic *aʿyān thābita*, latent essences; *subut*, Arab. *thubūt*, latency.
- 39 One line short.
- 40 *akyan karij(ah)*, Arabic *aʿyān khārija*, exterior essences.
- 41 *takyunat*, Arabic *taʿayyunāt*, differentiations.
- 42 One line short.
- 43 *da'im*, *da'imat*, Arabic *dā'im(a)*, continuous.
- 44 Arabic *al-insān sirri wa-ana sirruhu*, 'Man is my secret and I am his secret'.
- 45 *su'un datiyah*, Arabic *shu'un dhātiyya*, 'predispositions of the Essence'; *asya*, Arabic *ashyā'*, 'things' = the created world.
- 46 *rabani*, Arabic *rabbānī*, 'lordly'.
- 47 Two syllables short.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

- 1 *ʿIbādah*, *ʿubūdiyyah* and *ʿubūdah* denote the three stages of the relationship between man and God: outward worship and observance of the Law; complete submissiveness in full recognition of God's absolute sovereignty (*rubūbiyyah*); absolute concentration on God leading to intuitive vision. These three stages are often combined with *ʿilm al-yaqīn*, *ʿain al-yaqīn* and *ḡaqq al-yaqīn* (Qorʿānic terms; see ch. 102: 5, 7; 56: 95), which words in Ṣūfī terminology denote the three stages of certitude, viz. that acquired by argumentation; by divine revelation, and by vision and mystical experience. Cf. Richard Hartmann, *Al-Ḳuschairis Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, Berlin 1914, p. 73.
- 2 Reference to Qorʿān 7: 160 (quoted previously).
- 3 The only attribute mentioned is life, because of its priority among the

- attributes (*ṣifāt*); all other attributes depend on it. Cf. J. Doorenbos, *De Geschriften van Hamzah Pansoeri*, Leiden 1933, p. 129: *Adapun maka ḥayy didahulukan daripada sekalian sifat ya'ni seperti seorang orang jika tiada ḥayy, mati hukumnya. Apabila mati hukumnya, ḥalimḥupun tiada akan dia, muridḥpun tiada akan dia, qudratḥpun tiada akan dia*, etc., 'Life ranks first among the attributes; if a person is not alive, he is dead, and if he is dead, neither knowledge nor will nor might etc. can be predicated of him' etc.
- 4 Cf. *Kitāb al-Luma*<sup>c</sup>, ed. R. A. Nicholson (G.M.S., Vol. XXII), p. 134 (Arabic): *Ashraf kalima fī 'l-tawḥīd qawl Abī Bakr: "Subḥān man lam yaj'al lil-khalq ḥarīqan ilā ma'rifatiḥi illā 'l-ʿajz ʿan ma'rifatiḥi"*, 'The most notable utterance with regard to *tawḥīd* are the words of Abū Bakr, "Praise be unto Him who has made man's incapacity of knowing Him the only way to know Him". This dictum is also quoted by Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī in his *Ḥujjat al-siddīq*; see Voorhoeve, *Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī*, Leiden 1955, second text, p. 17.
- 5 This division of man's mental structure into *nafs*, *qalb* and *sirr* is one of the divisions made by al-Qushairī; see R. Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 77 note.

### NOTES TO CHAPTER VI, TEXT

*Variae lectiones* of Cod. or. Leiden 7329, Suppl. Cat. Van Ronkel no. 728.

MS.

- p. 1 1. *om.*;
- p. 2 1. *om.*; 2. *daripada*; 3. *serta*;
- p. 3 1. *add.* yakni nyata; 2. *add.* yakni sembuni; 3. MS. *om.* ya'ni—dirinya; 4. *om.* segala hakikatnya; 5. *om.*; 6. dan martabat orang yang kamil itu; 7. *om.*; 8. ujud; 9. *om.*; 10. *om.*;
- p. 4 1. *add.* yaitu; 2. *om.*; 3. bahwa syarat; 4. satu; 5. sebenar-benarnya; 6. *igrār*; 7. lisannya; 8. *add.* *lā mawjūd illā Allāh*, tiada yang ada melainkan Allah;
- p. 5 1. dikenal; 2. sebenar-benarnya; 3. peganglah;
- p. 6 1. *om.* mudabbir — yang; 2. *om.*; 3. *add.* tiada; cod. 1712 *adds.*: tiada tinggal baginya athar tiada;
- p. 7 1. dengan; 2. *add.* dengan; 3. atharnya; 4. yaqīn; 5. *om.*;
- p. 8 1. *taṣḍīq*; 2. *om.*;
- p. 9 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. *add.* baginya;
- p. 10 1. MS. sipat; cod. 7329: *mukāshafa*; 2. diperdaya; 3. hormat; 4. daripada; 5. *raghbat*; 6. *add.* ia; 7. MS. tiadakah; cod. 7329; tiadalah;
- p. 11 1. dipenuhi; 2. *add.* dan segala ibadat dan segala *maqām*; 3. *add.* ia; 4. bahagian-bahagian; 5. engkau kehendaki; 6. sudah; 7. *add.* yaitu;
- p. 12 1. *om.*; 2. adalah; 3. dengan ia; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.* maka minta tulung;
- p. 13 1. MS. apabila; 2. MS. apabila; cod. 7329, 2 x inilah; 3. *om.*; 4. menjauhkan;
- p. 14 1. *om.*; 2. bagimu itu; 3. *om.* maka—bagimu;
- p. 15 1. padamu; 2. *om.*; 3. diri; 4. *ta'thīr*; 5. MS. *om.*; 6. *om.*; 7. MS. after hawanya: mengikut bagi barang dikasihi; cod. 7329: mengikut barang yang datang daripadaku dengandia barang yang kasih;
- p. 16 1. *om.*; 2. tetap-tetap; 3. MS. alif-s-r-alif-nya; cod. 7329: sertanya;
- p. 18 1. *mutalāzīm*; 2. *om.* yakni — berisi; 3. *om.*; 4. kulitnya;
- p. 19 1. *om.*; 2. akandia; 3. *khitāb*; 4. ilmumu;
- p. 20 1. MS. *om.*; 2. MS. *om.*; 3. MS. dirinya; 4. MS. *om.*; 5. tuntut; 6. *om.*;

## MS.

- p. 21 1. sesungguhnya; 2. sebenar-benarnya; 3. MS. tuntutan; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*;
- p. 22 1. kamu; 2. wujudnya; 3. *add.* dengan;
- p. 23 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. dan; 4. *om.*: dengan jam<sup>c</sup>; 5. didalam; 6. MS. *om.* yaitu — *faḍl*;
- p. 24 1. *om.* dan kudratnya;
- p. 25 1. *om.* al-*cināya* dan ahl; 2. *om.*; 3. dikenal; 4. *om.*; 5. *add.* harap; 6. *ḥaqīqat*;
- p. 26 1. *ḥaqīqatlah*; 2. saudara; 3. MS. bersenggaranya? cod. 7329: bersigeyarnya; 4. pada; 5. *om.* ta<sup>c</sup>ālā dan;
- p. 27 1. *add.* dengan; 2. *om.*; 3. maka; 4. *om.*; 5. berdirinya; 6. *add.* bangsa; 7. menilik;
- p. 28 1. ? MS. bahagiannya; cod. 7329: bahagian; 2. *om.*; 3. *insān*; 4. dikaruniai.
- p. 29 1. -mu; 2. MS. akan; cod. 7329: dengan; 3. daripada; 4. *insān*;
- p. 30 1. karam; 2. susah; 3. berat; 4. *kashf*; 5. -lah; 6. Kujadikan;
- p. 31 1. *om.*; 2. amal; 3. *om.*; 4. *om.*;
- p. 32 1. *add.* adalah; 2. *riḍā* daripadanya; 3. *om.* dia dan menetapkan; 4. *ghaibuhum*;
- p. 33 1. dan; 2. wujudmu; 3. *om.*; 4. serta;
- p. 34 1. *om.*; 2. sebab; 3. bahwa; 4. MS. *om.* (....); 5. kurang;
- p. 35 1. kata; atau dikata ia = Arab. *wa-qīla*, according to others; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. *om.*; 5. *add.* tiada; 6. sekalian;
- p. 36 1. tiadalah; 2. *om.*; 3. MS. memandai; 4. pendengarnya; 5. lain; 6. *om.*; 7. *om.*; 8. dari; 9. *om.*;
- p. 37 1. menyebutkan; 2. amal; 3. *add.* itu; 4. MS. *al-dīn*; 5. MS. d-n-i; 6. *add.* segala;
- p. 38 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. *om.*; 5. MS. padamu;
- p. 39 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *add.* pada; 4. *om.*; 5. dan; 6. bahwasanya; 7. *fanā*; 8. *om.*; 9. *taṣawwurkannya*;
- p. 40 1. mengibaratkannya; 2. diperhamba; 3. *om.*; 4. tuntutan; 5. Jilani; 6. MS. betapa; 7. engkau; 8. hati;
- p. 41 1. yaqinmu; 2. *om.*; 3. *tawḥīd*; 4. *tawḥīd*; 5. *om.*; 6. *tawḥīd*;
- p. 42 1. *ḥarakatmu*; 2. *om.*;
- p. 43 1. maka; 2. melimputi; MS. meluputi; 3. itulah; 4. 'ulamā' shari'at; 5. itu; 6. diri;
- p. 44 1. bergerak itu; 2. *om.* maka — terbit; *add.* yaitu; 3. dibangsakan; 4. hingga; 5. *add.* ia; 6. MS. pandangan;
- p. 45 1. cidera; 2. berkehendak; 3. lain; 4. Tuhannya; 5. *om.*; 6. *add.* dalam; 7. diketahuinya;
- p. 46 1. suatu; MS. *add.* kepadanya; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. karena; 5. yaqin; 6. *om.*;
- p. 47 1. sempurnalah; 2. lakunya; 3. both MSS.: berpaling; 4. sekalian 5. *om.*; 6. *tajallī-nya*;
- p. 48 1. kepada; 2. *add.* dan wujud Allah; 3. *add.* yaitu; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. MS. *khāfir rabbānī* namanya; 7. MS. al-rabbī (!); 8. *om.*;
- p. 49 1. *om.*; 2. dari; 3. *om.*; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*; 7. membaikkan; 8. *add.* yang; 9. menunjuk; 10. *om.*; 11. *om.*; 12. *om.*;
- p. 50 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*;
- p. 51 1. *om.* Maka — kafir; 2. *om.*; 3. maka; 4. the words between brackets not in MS. 1712; 5. *om.*;
- p. 52 1. dikehendakinya; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. hilanglah hal; 5. itu; 6. *add.* ilmu; 7. *om.*;

## MS.

- p. 53 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. *om.* dan beberapa — hukumnya; 5. *mawjūd*; 6. *om.*; 7. *om.*;
- p. 54 1. *om.*; 2. *ḥaraka*; 3. didalam; 4. mendjauhkan; 5. kehendaknya;
- p. 55 1. satilikan; 2. *om.*; 3. *shughūl*; 4. ketahuinya; 5. *om.*; 6. sebenar-benarnya;
- p. 56 1. *om.*; 2. atas; 3. mengi<sup>c</sup>*tiqādkan*; 4. *om.*; 5. pada;
- p. 57 1. atas; 2. *add.* yaitu; 3. lazimkan oléhm<sup>u</sup>; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.* seperti—bala; 6. *om.*; 7. lain;
- p. 58 1. sebenar-benar; 2. *om.* itu; 3. *add.* akan; 4. *om.*;
- p. 59 1. dikasihnya; 2. kasih; 3. sebenar-benarnya;
- p. 60 1. jalis; 2. *om.*; 3. akan;
- p. 61 1. *om.* pada Allah; *add. fa-wa'llāhu ta'ālā*; 2. *om.* bagi ni'mat; 3. tiada; 4. *om.*;
- p. 62 1. *muhībb*; 2. dari;
- p. 63 1. *add.* itu; 2. *add.* daripada; 3. MS. *add.* dengan hawamu; 4. iradatmu; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*; 7. nyatalah; 8. *om.*;
- p. 64 1. itu; 2. diberi; 3. *add.* dengan; 4. sekaliannya; 5. *add.* dalamnya; MS. buat (bot?); 6. *om.* yang — Tuhannya;
- p. 65 1. *maḥabba*; 2. *om.*; 3. Tuhannya; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.* Allah — kepada; 6. *om.*; 7. i<sup>c</sup>*tiqādkan*;
- p. 66 1. *om.*; 2. amal; 3. amal selama-lamanya; 4. *om.*; 5. jalan; 6. *add.* meréka itu;
- p. 67 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *add.* pula; 4. *om.* daripada sekalian sesuatu; 5. dirinya; 6. *om.* segala — dengan; 7. *om.*; 8. *om.*; 9. ibadatmu; 10. *om.*; 11. *add.* yang;
- p. 68 1. bertambah; 2. MS. *wārādat*; 3. *add. bi-hi*; 4. kalimamu; 5. *add.* dalam;
- p. 69 1. *add.* dengan; 2. *add.* Allah ta<sup>c</sup>ala; 3. bahwasanya; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. diri; 7. *add.* bagi; 8. <sup>c</sup>*ābid*; 9. diri;
- p. 70 1. ibadat; 2. *om.*;
- p. 71 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *om.*; 4. cerai;
- p. 73 1. lihat; 2. *add. an*;
- p. 74 1. lihat; 2. bahwa; 3. *ḥaqīr*; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*;
- p. 75 1. hal; 2. *salīm*; 3. tilikan; 4. *add.* tiada;
- p. 76 1. hampirkan; 2. maka; 3. *om.*; 4. *add.* yang; 5. *om.*; 6. *shughūlkan*; 7. *dallaka*; 8. *om.*;
- p. 77 1. *add. lillāh*; 2. *add.* atas sekira-kira; 3. dijadikannya; 4. daripadamu;
- p. 78 1. berhadaplah; 2. MSS. maka;
- p. 79 1. kepadanya; 2. *om.* maka berkata; 3. *om.* maka menengar; 4. MSS. *athar*;
- p. 80 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. *add.* dari;
- p. 81 1. *om.* -lah dengan diri meréka itu; 2. datangkan; 3. rasul; 4. amal; 5. *muttahaḥ*; 6. balas atasnya, dan; 7. amal; 8. bahagian;
- p. 82 1. *om.*; 2. dan; 3. *om.*; 4. pada;
- p. 83 1. *om.*; 2. bahwasanya; 3. bahagi; 4. *om.*; 5. *om.*; 6. *om.*;
- p. 84 1. *om.*; 2. *om.* dirimu — martabat;; 3. MS. membanding;
- p. 85 1. *om.*; 2. *om.*; 3. kesalahan;
- p. 86 1. perbaiki; 2. MS. dengan; 3. *add.* tuntutnya; 4. banjak; 5. *om.* dan jikalau — banyak; 6. MS. itulah; 7. MS. *om.*; 8. *om.*;

## NOTES TO CHAPTER VI, TRANSLATION

- 1 What Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī puts forward here in connection with the word *khāṭir* ('a thought coming suddenly to the mind') as it occurs in the quotation from the mystical poetry of ʿUmar b. al-Fārīḍ (d. 632/1235), belongs to the ʿilm *al-qulūb* ('the science of the hearts'), which arose in the ninth century and is associated especially with the name of the saintly Baghdād theologian, Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857). This psychotherapeutic doctrine, though rejected for centuries by the Hanbalites as a noxious innovation, has greatly influenced many religious thinkers, as, for instance, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī. See Marg. Smith, "The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1936, pp. 65-78; Josef van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Hārith al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961, pp. 29-30.

Al-Muḥāsibī's principal work is *Kitāb al-riʿāya li-huqūq Allāh* ('The Book of the observance of God's rights'). Discussing the works of the heart (*aʿmāl al-qalb*), from which spring the 'works of the limbs' (*aʿmāl al-jawāriḥ*), the author distinguishes the *khawāṭir* according to their origin into those which spring from the *nafs* ('self', the 'ego' in a pejorative sense), the ʿaql ('intellect') and the devil, or 'the enemy', as Satan is often referred to after the Qurʾānic expression, *ʿaduww mubīn*, 'a manifest enemy'. Both the *nafs* and the ʿaql, understood as 'discernment' (*tamyīz*), loom large in al-Muḥāsibī's psychology; see Van Ess, *op. cit.*, Pts. B I, II, III.

Similar ideas and classifications are to be found, for instance, in the *Kitāb al-Ṣidq* by al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899), edited by A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1937, §§ 4-5, and in the writings of al-Junaid (d. 298/910); see the last *Risāla* printed in Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junaid*, Gibb Mem. Series, N.S., Vol. XXII, 1962, pp. 58-62 Arabic; translation pp. 178-183.

In his *Asrār al-insān* Nūr al-dīn al-Rānīrī (first half of the 17th century), an author who has drawn on many sources, has borrowed Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's classification of the *khawāṭir*, leaving out the *khāṭir* ʿaqli, however, and adding some explanation of his own; see Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān*, thesis Jakarta 1961, p. 131, fol. 56a. But following a few lines in which he refers to al-Qushairī's (d. 465/1074) classification (without mentioning his name, but see R. Hartmann, *Al-Kuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, Berlin 1914, pp. 80-81), he states that others distinguish two more categories, viz. *khāṭir ʿaqli* and *kh. yaqīnī*. This is a reference to the sixfold classification found in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's (d. 386/996) *Qūt al-qulūb* ('Food for the hearts'); see the Cairo edition of 1310/1893, Vol. I, pp. 114-115, where the *khawāṭir* are distinguished into *kh. al-nafs* and *kh. al-ʿaduww*, both censurable; *kh. al-rūḥ* and *kh. al-malak*, both laudable; and *kh. al-ʿaql* and *kh. al-yaqīn*. Just like al-Muḥāsibī, Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī says that the ʿaql is an instrument (*maṭiyya*) for good or evil. That is to say, the ʿaql functions as the determining agent between man's *khawāṭir* and his actions, for without a deliberate choice between good and evil there could be no question of reward and punishment.

Al-Rānīrī's explanation concurs with this, and so does the previously quoted statement (fol. 56a), which is ascribed to a certain ʿAbdallah al-Samarqandī but in point of fact is a somewhat free rendering of a passage in the 11th *bayān* of the 21st Book of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ* (Cairo 1334 (1915), Vol. III, p. 23). Says al-Ghazālī:

*Mabdaʾ al-afʿāl al-khawāṭir; thumma al-khāṭir yuḥarriku ʾl-raghba, wa ʾl-raghba tuḥarriku ʾl-ʿazm, wa ʾl-ʿazm yuḥarriku ʾl-niyya, wa ʾl-niyya tuḥar-*

*riku 'l-a<sup>c</sup>dā'. Wa 'l-khawāṭir al-muḥarrika lil-raghba tanqasimu ilā mā yad<sup>c</sup>ū ilā 'l-sharr, a<sup>c</sup>nī ilā mā yaḍurru fī 'l-<sup>c</sup>āqiba, wa-ilā mā yad<sup>c</sup>ū ilā 'l-khair, a<sup>c</sup>nī ilā mā yanfa<sup>c</sup>u fī dār al-ākhirā.*

'Actions originate from ideas bestirring themselves in the mind. The idea provokes desire; desire purpose; purpose intention; and the intention puts the limbs in action. The ideas provoking desire are divided into those which instigate to do evil, *i.e.*, are eventually harmful, and those which are conducive to good, *i.e.*, benefit one in the hereafter.'

The Malay rendering runs as follows:

*Niat dan 'azm dan iradat sekaliannya kemudian daripada khatir. (Khatir) itulah menggerakkan kegemaran, dan kegemaran itu menggerakkan 'azm, dan 'azm itu menggerakkan segala anggota. Adakalanya ia menggerakkan kepada kebajikan dengan nugraha Haqq ta'ala, dan adakalanya ia menggerakkan kepada kejahatan dengan qahr Allah ta'ala.*

Later on al-Ghazālī dealt with the same subject in his *Minhāj al-<sup>c</sup>ābidīn*, a devotional book characterized by M. Asin Palacios as the most systematic resumé of his ethico-mystical doctrine. A lengthy analysis of this work, by Asin Palacios, can be found in the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, Vol. IV (1923) under the title "Une Introduction musulmane à la vie spirituelle". In the third chapter of the *Minhāj al-<sup>c</sup>ābidīn*, in the section devoted to the third obstacle on the road to perfection, namely the devil, the four kinds of *khawāṭir* enumerated by al-Rānirī are mentioned. Here the *khawāṭir rabbāniyya* are distinguished into those conducive to good and those conducive to evil (the latter coming by way of trial), in accordance with the doctrine of *kasb*, 'acquisition', on account of which the acts created by God are imputed to man.

A circumstantial discussion of al-Ghazālī's analysis of the process of growth of *khawāṭir* into deliberate action has been given by J. Obermann, *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazālīs* (1921), pp. 157 sqq. Obermann points out that al-Ghazālī, though retaining the terms *malakī* and *shaiṭānī*, interprets them in an anthropological sense. The angel denotes man's disposition to do good, the acquisition of knowledge and the unveiling of the truth; the devil (*shaiṭān*) denotes man's disposition to do the opposite, a tendency which must be prevailed against in moral conduct. And that, al-Ghazālī adds, is an end to all speculation on the *shaiṭān*, whether he be an ethereal body (*jism laṭīf*) or no body at all, and if so, how he could enter into man. One should put up a stout resistance to 'the enemy' rather than busy oneself with such idle queries (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1334/1915, Vol. III, p. 25).

Ibn <sup>c</sup>Arabī has also paid attention to the directions for spiritual life and even wrote a separate booklet on this subject, which is entitled *Kitāb al-amr al-muḥkam* but is also known under several other names (see Osman Yahia, *Histoire et Classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn <sup>c</sup>Arabī*, Damascus 1964, Vol. I, pp. 154-156). As is the case in our text, he distinguishes between *khawāṭir rabbāniyya* and *khawāṭir malakiyya* on the one hand, and *khawāṭir naṣāniyya* and *khawāṭir shaiṭāniyya* on the other (*Der Islam*, Vol. 24 (1937), p. 19, note 1).

As becomes apparent from our text, the further classification of the *khawāṭir rabbāniyya* is linked to the aspects of *jalāl* and *jamāl*, in which the One Essence presents itself to human minds in the *opposita* of this phenomenal world. Under the head of *jalāl*, the terrible attributes of God, comes all that is bad; under that of *jamāl* comes beauty, all that is good. In the

writings of Hamzah Fansuri one comes across this idea frequently. For example on p. 197 of Doorenbos' edition (thesis Leiden 1933), it says:

*Kenyataan semesta sekalian alam ini dibawah jalal dan jamal jua, ya'ni segala yang baik daripada jamal, segala yang jahat daripada jalal; segala islam daripada jamal, segala kafir daripada jalal; sorga daripada jamal, neraka daripada jalal; ampun daripada jamal, murka daripada jalal.*

Under the head of *jalāl* come God's aspects of *qahhār*, *muḍill* and *mudhill*: 'the Almighty; He who sends astray; and He who abases' (see Qor'ān 12: 39; 2: 26; 3: 26). Under the head of *jamāl* come His aspects of *laṭīf*, *hādī* and *mu'izz*: 'the Gentle or the Subtle One; He who guides; and He who exalts' (Qor'ān 16: 103; 2: 26; 3: 26). Thus it is said of a Muslim that *Islam hukumnya, tempat jamal dan latif dan mu'izz diperolehnya*, whereas *barangsiapa munkir daripada sekalian itu, tempat jalal dan qahhar dan mudhill, ya'ni kehinaan, diperolehnya* (*op. cit.* p. 200).

These two aspects are thought to be alluded to in the well-known tradition, *Qalb al-mu'min baina uṣbu'ain min aṣābi' al-Rahmān* ('The heart of the Muslim is between two fingers of the Merciful') and in Qor'ān 38: 75, where God says, "Yā Iblis! Mā mana'aka an tasjuda li-mā khalaqtuhu bi-yadayya?" ('Oh Iblis! What prevented thee doing obeisance to what I created with My hands?'). The two fingers are said to allude to *jalāl* and *jamāl*, while the left hand would allude to *jalāl* (evil) and the right hand to *jamāl* (good). Hamzah Fansuri hints at these *opposita* in his verses, where he says,

*Laut akbar tiada bersisi, jalal dan jamal disana-sini / menyelam dia jangan kekiri, tahu-tahu membawa diri / sungguhpun sekalian disana jadi, pada ombak qahhar jangan kau-radi.*

Furthermore (*op. cit.* pp. 52-53, with corrections from MS. Bat. Gen. Mal. 83):

*Engkaulah ombak yang mahabercaya, jalal dan jamal padamu ada / jika fi'ilmu jamal, adalah laba, serta Muhammad bersama-sama / jika ombak jalal padamu jadi, tempatnya, bapai, hanyalah api / didalam jahannam sanalah baqi, akan fi'ilmu laut tiada radi.*

How man, and especially a mystic, should react to *khawāṭir*, is an issue on which opinions range from unqualified ignoring to paying full attention. Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā (d. 618/1221), the well-known author of the *al-Uṣūl al-ashara* ('The ten principles'), a widely read guide for novices which was even studied in Java (see *Handlist Leiden*, p. 305), includes the ignoring of *khawāṭir* among the ten rules (*shurūṭ*) for novices; see Fritz Meier's note on the *Risāla ilā al-hā'im*, in *Der Islam*, Vol. 24 (1937), pp. 19-23.

On the contrary, the Persian poet Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) holds the view that they must be paid close attention. In Book 5 of his *Mathnawī*, lines 3676-3708, he deals with this subject under the following head: "Comparing the daily thoughts that come into the heart with the new guests who from the beginning of the day alight in the house and behave with arrogance and ill-temper towards the master of the house; and concerning the merit of treating the guest with kindness and of suffering his haughty airs patiently" (R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī*, Vol. VI, p. 220).

In the 4th Book of the *Mathnawī* there is still another comparison. Here (lines 1314-1318) the poet compares the *khawāṭir* to plants which reveal the quality of the soil from which they sprout. Likewise, thoughts reveal the secrets of the heart and therefore should be duly investigated. Commenting

on these lines Nicholson observes (*op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 158): "In Rūmī's view every thought that occurs to the mystic is a Divine message (*al-khawātiru rusulu 'l-Ḥaqq, fa 'stajib lahá*), calling for profound meditation and dutiful response. Whether it be a sign of Mercy (*Jamál*) or Wrath (*Jalál*), it points the way to that self-knowledge which is knowledge of God (*man 'arafa nafsahu fa-qad 'arafa Rabbahu*)". However, anyone clinging to the oppositions of this phenomenal world will make no headway on the road to perfection through self-knowledge. As Rūmī says (*Mathnawí*, Book I: 498), "Until you pass beyond (the difference of) poison and sugar, how will you catch a scent of unity and oneness?"

- 2 Apart from minor discrepancies, the text of the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* used by Kemas Fakhruddin in composing his Malay adaptation of its commentary, is identical with that contained in the Arabic text printed in Chapter III, and it would seem that his copy of the *Faḥ al-Raḥmān* cannot have been much different either. The only difference is that the Malay author has handled his material freely. He has, for instance, left out passages that are of no interest to his readers, such as the philological remarks on the word *shattāna*, 'what a difference'. In the main, however, it appears that his adaptation faithfully reflects the contents of Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary.

All the same, there are a few passages which Kemas Fakhruddin chose to interpret in a different way, *viz.*, *wa 'l-ma'rifa kulluhā dalāl*, and *in ṭalabtahu la-hu, dallalaka*. *Dalāl* and its synonym *tadallul* denote coquettish boldness accompanied by feigned opposition; *dallala* means 'to embolden (to this behaviour)', 'to permit *dalāl*'. So the behaviour of the mystic who has attained *ma'rifa* is compared to the coquettish behaviour of a woman toward her husband (*ka-tadallul al-mar'a 'alā zawjihā*), and out of sheer benevolence and favour God tolerates the boldness of words and deeds (*al-inbisāt fī 'l-aqwāl wa 'l-af'āl*) a mystic occasionally permits himself to use at the station of *dalāl*. Misinterpreting *dalāl* as 'guidance' (Arabic *dalāla*) the Malay editor, however, says, "The 'knowledge' of God points away from all signs of the Lord to the Lord (Himself), so far as the veil between servant and Lord has been rent, so that there springs up between them a relationship such as never exists between servant and Lord, and the Lord tolerates from the servant things He would never tolerate from others" (fol. 64/65). It is clear that in this rendering the final consecutive clause is not accounted for in the preceding part of the sentence.

Likewise, misinterpreting *dallala* as equivalent to *dalla* (to guide), he translated *dallalaka* by "niscaya ditunjukinya engkau, ya'ni dijadikannya engkau dalam maqam al-dalal atasnya", 'He certainly will instruct you, that is to say, impart to you the station of guidance toward Him'. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, however, confines himself to referring to his previous explanation of *dalāl* by saying, "*Ja'alaka min ahl al-dalāl bi-mahḍ jūdihi wa-ifḍālihi, ka-mā marra bayānuhu*", 'Out of sheer benevolence and grace He makes you one of the people of *dalāl*, as explained above'. It is clear that in this opinion these passages refer to those special cases in which speaking to God in a manner which surely surpasses the limit permitted to ordinary men, is not altogether prohibited but permitted to a certain degree. To quote H. Ritter's admirable paper on "Muslim mystics' strife with God": "It is permitted to the friends of God, who are on especially intimate terms with Him. Their intimacy with God is so well-founded and secure that it cannot be disturbed by occasional audacities, such as reproaches and lovers' disputes, which sometimes occur between lovers but do not disturb their friendly relations" (*Oriens*, Vol. 5 (1952), no. 1, p. 7).

## LIST OF ARABIC WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

### A

- abrār*, pl. of *barr*, *bārr*, pious.  
*adab*, breeding, good conduct, decency; rule of conduct.  
 — *al-ḥaqīqa*, the footing of Reality.  
 — *al-maʿiyya*, the footing of being with Him.  
 — *al-sharīʿa*, the footing of the Law.  
 — *al-ṭarīqa*, the footing of the Way.  
*afʿāl*, pl. of *fiʿl*, deed, action.  
*agḥyār*, pl. of *ghair*, other, other things or persons.  
*ahl*, people.  
 — *al-ʿamal*, the people of the “works”.  
 — *al-bāṭin*, the people of inwardness, esoteric people.  
 — *al-ḥaqīqa*, the people of the Reality.  
 — *al-ʿilm*, the people of ‘knowledge’.  
 — *al-īmān*, the people of faith.  
 — *al-janna*, people destined for paradise.  
 — *al-kamāl*, the people of perfection.  
 — *al-maqām*, the people of the stations.  
 — *al-mujāhada*, the people of exertion.  
 — *al-nār*, people destined for hell.  
 — *al-nihāya*, the people who have attained the ultimate goal.  
 — *al-ṣūf*, the mystics.  
 — *al-sunna wa’l-jamāʿa*, people of the tradition (of the Prophet) and the community (the so-called ‘orthodox’ Muslims).  
 — *al-ṭarīq*, the people of the Path.  
 — *al-ṭarīqa*, the people of the second stage, between *sharīʿa* and *ḥaqīqa*.  
 — *al-tafrīd*, the people of isolation.  
 — *al-yaqīn*, the people of certainty.  
 — *al-ḡāhir*, exoteric people.  
*aḥwāl*, pl. of *ḥāl*, state.  
*akḥaṣṣ al-khawāṣṣ*, the most select of the select.  
*ākhīr*, last.  
*ākhīra*, the other world.  
*akmal al-ʿubūda*, perfect submission.  
*akmal al-yaqīn*, perfect certainty.

- akwān*, pl. of *kawn*, being; entity.  
*Allāh subḥānahu wa-taʿālā*, Allah, Him be praise and He is exalted.  
*Allāh taʿālā*, Allah most high.  
*amr*, order, command.  
*anwāʿ*, pl. of *nawʿ*, kind (subst.).  
*anwār al-tawḥīd*, the lights of *tawḥīd*.  
*arwāḥ*, pl. of *rūḥ*, spirit.  
*asbāb*, pl. of *sabab*, cause, means.  
*aṣl*, origin.  
*aṣliyya*, original; pure.  
*asrār*, pl. of *sirr*, secret.  
*athar*, trace.  
*awwal*, first.  
*azaliyya*, eternity.

### ʿA

- ʿābid*, servant.  
*ʿāda*, custom.  
*ʿadam*, non-existence.  
*ʿādīl*, just (adj.).  
*ʿaib*, blemish.  
*ʿain*, concrete entity.  
*ʿain al-yaqīn*, firm knowledge pertaining to the spiritual world.  
*ʿalāhim al-ṣalāt wa ’l-salām*, blessing and peace be unto them.  
*ʿālam*, world.  
*ʿālam ḥissī al-ʿubūdiyya*, the tangible world of servanthip.  
*ʿalāma*, mark.  
*ʿālim*, knowing, learned.  
*ʿālim al-ghaib wa ’l-shahāda*, knowing the invisible and the visible.  
*ʿamal*, (pious) work.  
*ʿaql*, intellect; reason.  
*ʿārif*, ‘knower’, gnostic; — *bi-’llāh*, he who ‘knows’ God; gnostic.  
*ʿawāmm*, pl. of *ʿāmm*, common; the common people.  
*ʿazm*, resolution; determination.  
*ʿāzza wa-jalla*, He is powerful and exalted.

## B

*bāb al-ḥaqīqa*, the gate of ḥaqīqa.  
*balā'*, affliction.  
*baqā'*, duration.  
*baraka*, blessing; beneficent influence.  
*bashariyya*, (fem.) human.  
*bāḥīn*, interior.  
*bid'ca*, innovation; heresy.  
*bidāya*, beginning.  
*bi-jāh sayyid al-mursalīn wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma'in*, for the sake of the Lord of the Apostles, his family and his companions, all of them.  
*bismi 'llāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, in the name of Allah, the merciful, the compassionate.

## D

*dā'im*, permanent.  
*dā'iman*, permanently.  
*dalal*, coquetry.  
*dār al-salām*, the abode of peace.  
*daraja*, grade.  
*da'wā*, assertion, claim.  
*Dimishqī*, originating from or living in Damascus.  
*dunyā*, world.  
*dunyawī*, pertaining to this world.  
*dunyawīyya*, fem. of *dunyawī*.

## D

*ḍa'if*, feeble.

## DH

*dhāt*, essence; person; entity.  
*dhawqī*, pertaining to *dhawq*, mystical experience.  
*Dhū 'l-qa'da*, name of the 11th month of the Muslim year.

## F

*faḍl*, favour.  
*fahm*, understanding.  
*fā'ida*, profit, benefit.  
*fā'il*, doing.  
*fanā'*, extinction.  
*fanā' bi 'llāh fi 'llāh lillāh*, extinction in God, through God, for God.  
*faqīr*, poor.

*far'c*, part.  
*farḍ*, duty.  
*farq*, separation.  
*fāsiq*, sinner.  
*Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān*, the Help of the Merciful.  
*fi 'l-dārāin*, in both worlds.  
*fikr*, thought.  
*fi'cl*, action, deed.  
*firmān*, order.

## GH

*ghāfil*, unheedful.  
*ghafla*, unheedfulness.  
*ghaib*, the invisible.  
*ghalaba*, victory; here: the dominant feature.

## H

*hawā*, desire; passion.  
*himma*, resolution, determination.  
*Huwa*, He.

## H

*ḥadd*, limit; definition.  
*ḥādīr*, present.  
*ḥādīth*, new; created.  
*ḥadīth*, tradition.  
*ḥadīth qudsī*, a word of God not found in the Qor'ān.  
*ḥaḍra*, presence.  
*al-ḥaḍra al-ilāhiyya*, the divine presence.  
 — *al-rabbāniyya*, the lordly presence.  
 — *al-raḥmāniyya*, the presence of the Compassionate.  
 — *al-rubūbiyya*, the seigniorial presence.  
*ḥaḍrat tajalli wujud Haqq ta'ālā*, the exalted manifestation of the Supreme Reality.  
*ḥajj*, pilgrimage.  
*ḥāl*, state.  
 — *al-jam'c*, state of union.  
 — *al-farq*, state of separation.  
 — *ḥukm*, state of being under the Law.  
*ḥaqīqa*, reality.  
*ḥaqīqī*, pertaining to reality; real.  
*ḥaqq*; pada hak..., Arabic *fi ḥaqq*, with respect to...  
*ḥaqq al-<sup>c</sup>ibāda*, title to worship.

- *al-rubūbiyya*, lordly right.  
 — (*taʿālā*), the (Supreme) Reality.  
 — *al-ʿubūdīyya*, title to (man's) servitude.  
 — *al-yaqīn*, firm knowledge pertaining to the Supreme Reality.  
*ḥaraka*, motion.  
*ḥaraka nafsāniyya*, selfish impulse.  
*ḥarf*, letter; sound.  
*ḥāsil*, result.  
*ḥawl*, might.  
*ḥifẓ*, preservation, protection; memorizing.  
*ḥijāb*, veil, screen.  
*ḥikma*, wisdom.  
*ḥubb al-dunyā*, love of this world.  
*ḥujja*, argument; proof.  
*ḥukm*, judgment; sentence; definition.  
*ḥurma*, respect.

## I

- idrāk*, observation.  
*iḏṭirāri*, involuntary.  
*ijād*, creation.  
*ijtihād*, exertion.  
*ikhḷāṣ*, pure devotion, purity.  
*ikhṭiyār*, choice; will.  
*ikhṭiyāri*, voluntary.  
*ilāhī*, divine.  
*ilhām*, inspiration.  
*imān*, faith.  
*imtithāl*, obedience; observance.  
*inkishāf*, revelation.  
*intahā*, it is finished.  
*iqrār*, assurance; acknowledgment.  
*iqtiṣār*, abridgement.  
*irāda*, will.  
*irādat Allāh taʿālā*, the will of God most high.  
*irādat al-Rabb*, the will of the Lord.  
*ishāra*, indication.  
*ishrāq*, radiation; blaze.  
*ishtighāl*, exertion.  
*islām*, Islam.  
*istidlāl*, argumentation.  
*istighrāq*, immersion.  
*istiqāma*, straightness; uprightness.  
*iʿtibār*, regard; consideration.  
*iʿtimād*, reliance.  
*iʿtiqād*, tenet.  
*ittiṣāl*, junction, union.

## C I

- ʿibāda*, worship.  
*ʿibādāt*, ritual obligations.  
*ʿibāra*, explanation; phrase, expression.  
*ʿilm*, knowledge, science; — *uṣūl al-dīn*, dogmatics; — *al-tawḥīd*, id.  
*ʿilm al-yaqīn*, firm knowledge, acquired by reasoning.  
*ʿināya*, care.

## J

- jāhil*, ignorant; heathen.  
*jalāl*, majesty.  
*jalī*, clear, evident.  
*jamʿ*, union.  
*jamāl*, beauty.  
*Jāwī*, Malay; Indonesian.  
*jiha*, direction, side.  
*jism*, body.  
*jumʿa*, Friday.  
*jusmāni*, bodily.

## K

- kāfir*, unbeliever.  
*kaiḥiyya*, way, manner.  
*kāʿināt*, all things being.  
*kalām*, speech.  
*kalima*, word.  
*ka-mā qāla Allāh taʿālā*, "Fa-*clam annahu lā ilāha illā ʿllāh*" (Qorʿān 47:19), As Allah has said, 'Know that there is no God but Allah'.  
*kamāl*, perfection.  
*kāmīl*, perfect.  
*kasb*, acquisition, appropriation (in particular man's — of acts, which makes him responsible for them).  
*kasbī*, pertaining to *kasb*.  
*kashf al-naḥs*; — *al-qalb*; — *al-sirr*, cognition by means of the intellect, the heart and the innermost self.  
*kifāya*, sufficiency.  
*kūtāb*, book.  
*kufr*, unbelief.  
*kuntu samʿahu alladhī yasmaʿu bihi*, I am his hearing by which he hears.

## KH

- khabar*, information, news.  
*khafī*, hidden.

*khāliṣ*, pure.  
*Khamrat al-Khān*, Wine of the Tavern (booktitle).  
*khāriyya*, (pertaining to) the exterior.  
*khātima*, final word; epilogue.  
*khātir*, idea that crosses the mind.  
 — *caqlī*, reasonable thought.  
 — *malakī*, angel-inspired idea.  
 — *nafsānī*, selfish thought.  
 — *rabbānī*, God-inspired idea.  
 — *shaitānī*, devil-inspired idea.  
*khawāṣṣ*, pl. of *khāṣṣ*, select.  
 — *al-khawāṣṣ*, the select among the select.  
*khawf*, fear.  
*khidma*, service.  
*khiṭāb*, address.  
*khudūc*, submission, humility.

## L

*Lā fācila illā 'llāh*, there is no agent but God.  
*Lā ḥāḍira wa-lā mashhūda illā 'llāh*, there is no one present nor seen but God.  
*Lā ḥayya illā 'llāh*, there is no one living but God.  
*Lā maḥlūba wa-lā maqṣūda illā 'llāh*, nothing is pursued nor striven after but God.  
*Lā mawjūda illā 'llāh*, only God is.  
*Lā ilāha illā 'llāh*, there is no God but God.  
*ladhdha*, delight.  
*ladunni*, lit.: near Me; *cilm ladunni*, knowledge 'from my part'.  
*lacnat Allāh calaihim ajmacin*, God's curse on them all.  
*lāzim*, necessary, incumbent.  
*līsān*, tongue.

## M

*mā siwā Allāh*, what is not God.  
*macārif*, pl. of *macāriḥa*, knowledge.  
 — *ilāhiyya*, sciences pertaining to God.  
 — *rabbāniyya*, sciences pertaining to the Lord.  
*maḍarra*, damage, harm.  
*macdūm*, non-existent.  
*mafqud*, absent, missing.

*maḥabba*, love.  
*maḥbūb*, beloved.  
*maḥḍ*, purity.  
*māhiyyāt mumkināt*, possible quiddities.  
*maḥjūb*, veiled, screened.  
*maḥmūda*, praiseworthy.  
*maḥsūs*, sensible, perceptible by the senses.  
*makān*, place.  
*makhlūq*, created, creature.  
*malakī*, angelic.  
*maclūm*, known.  
*macnā*, meaning.  
 — *al-jamc*, the meaning of Unity.  
*macnawi*, ideal; figurative.  
*manfaa*, benefit.  
*manqūl*, transmitted.  
*maqām*, place; station; plur. *maqāmāt*.  
 — *ahl al-bidāya*, the station of the beginners.  
 — *ahl al-iḥsān*, the station of those who act as if they see God (*al-iḥsān an ta'buda 'llāh ka-annaka tarāhu*).  
 — *ahl al-cināya*, the station of those who enjoy favour.  
 — *ahl al-nihāya*, the station of the adepts.  
 — *ahl al-tawakkul*, the station of those who trust in God.  
 — *al-cārif*, the station of the 'knower' (gnostic).  
 — *al-dalāl*, the station of coquettish behaviour (see Ch. VI, note 2).  
 — *al-fanā'*, the station of extinction.  
 — *al-ḥaqd*, the station of privation.  
 — *al-farq*, the station of separation.  
 — *al-cibāda*, the station of ritual worship.  
 — *al-imān*, the station of faith.  
 — *al-iḥsān*, the station of right conduct.  
 — *al-kashf*, the station of revelation.  
 — *al-khawāṣṣ*, the station of the elect.  
 — *al-maḥabba*, the station of love.  
 — *al-macriḥa*, the station of gnosis.  
 — *al-minna*, the station of favour.  
 — *al-mucāyana*, the station of seeing face to face.  
 — *al-mujāhada*, the station of exertion.  
 — *al-mushāhada*, the station of contemplation.  
 — *al-ṣiddiq*, the station of the righteous.  
 — *al-taqwā*, the station of the fear of God.

— *al-tawakkul*, the station of trust in God.  
 — *al-tawhīd*, the station of unity.  
 — *al-cubūdiyya*, the station of servitude.  
 — *al-yaqīn*, the station of certainty.  
*maqšūd*, aim, end.  
*ma<sup>c</sup>qūl*, intelligible.  
*ma<sup>c</sup>rifa*, knowledge, gnosis.  
*martaba*, grade.  
*ma<sup>c</sup>rūf*, known; proper.  
*mashaqqa*, hardship; distress.  
*mashghūl*, fully occupied.  
*ma<sup>c</sup>ṣiya*, disobedience.  
*mawjūd*, existing, being.  
*maẓhar*, theatre.  
*mu<sup>c</sup>allif*, teacher.  
*mu<sup>c</sup>āmalāt*, transactions.  
*mu<sup>c</sup>āyana*, seeing face to face.  
*mubāh*, permissible; indifferent.  
*mubāshara*, direct (bodily) contact.  
*mubtadi*, beginner.  
*mudabbir*, disposer, disposing.  
*mudāwama*, continuation.  
*muhtāj*, in want of.  
*mujāhada*, exertion.  
*mujtahid*, he who exerts himself.  
*mukallaḥ*, accountable, responsible.  
*mukāshafa*, revelation.  
*mukawwin*, creator.  
*mukhtār*, chosen.  
*mukhtaṣar*, succinct.  
*mulāzim*, attendant; inseparable.  
*mu<sup>c</sup>min*, believer.  
*munāsaba*, conformity.  
*muqarrabīn*, those who are brought near.  
*murād*, purpose, meaning.  
*murāqaba*, observation; control.  
*murīd*, willing, intending; pupil.  
*mushāhada*, contemplation.  
*musharrafa*, revered; noble.  
*mushtarik*, polytheist.  
*mustawḥin*, resident.  
*muṭahhara*, pure.  
*muṭaṣarrif*, governing, ruling.  
*mutawassiṭ*, middlemost.  
*muttaqī*, fearful, godfearing.  
*muttaqīn*, pl. of *muttaqī*.  
*muwaḥḥid*, professing *tawhīd*.

## N

*nabī*, prophet.  
*nādir*, rare.

*nafs*, self.  
*al-nafs al-bashariyya*, the human self.  
*nafy*, negation.  
*najis*, unclean, impure.  
*naṣūh*, sincere.  
*natija*, result.  
*naẓar*, view; speculation.  
*nāẓir*, beholding.  
*nihāya*, end.  
*nikāh*, marriage.  
*nī<sup>c</sup>ma*, blessing, boon.  
*nisba*, relationship.  
*niyya*, intent (subst.).  
*nūr*, light.  
*nūr al-<sup>c</sup>azama al-rabbāniyya*, the splendour of the Lordly majesty.  
*nūrānī*, luminous, resplendent.

## Q

*qabūl*, acceptance.  
*qaḍā'*, decree.  
*qaddasa Allāh sirrahu al-<sup>c</sup>azīz*, may God sanctify his lofty secret.  
*qadīm*, eternal.  
*qadr, qadar*, divine decree.  
*qā'im*, standing.  
*qā'im bi 'llāh, lillāh*, subsisting in God unto God.  
*qalb*, heart.  
*qaṣd*, intention, purpose.  
*qawl*, word, saying.  
*qiyām*, standing, standing posture.  
*qudra*, power.  
*quwwa*, strength.

## R

*rabb*, lord; — *al-<sup>c</sup>arṣ al-<sup>c</sup>azīm*, the lord of the sublime throne.  
*rabbānī*, lordly.  
*rabbāniyya*, id. (fem.).  
*raḍīya 'llāhu <sup>c</sup>an-hu*, may God be pleased with him.  
*rāghib*, desirous.  
*raḥma*, mercy; *raḥmat Allāh <sup>c</sup>alaihīmā*, May God bestow mercy on both of them.  
*rahmānī*, divine.  
*rajā'*, hope.  
*rak<sup>c</sup>a*, bow; series of motions as part of the ritual prayer.

*rasūl*, messenger.  
*rasūlu 'llāh*, messenger of God.  
*riḍā*, pleasure.  
*risāla*, missive, epistle.  
*rūḥānī*, spiritual.  
*rujūc*, return.  
*rusūm al-nafs*, traces of self.

## S

*sā'a*, hour; time.  
*sabab*, cause.  
*sakīna*, the presence of God.  
*salāmat al-qalb*, soundness of heart.  
*sālik*, traveller (on the mystic path).  
*sālikīn*, pl. of *sālik*.  
*sarmadan*, eternally.  
*sirr*, secret (subst.); the innermost heart.  
 — *al-ilāhiyya*, the secret of divinity.  
*sirri*, pertaining to the *sirr*; innermost.  
*Subḥān Rabb al-'izza 'ammā yaṣifūna*,  
*wa 'l-salām 'alā al-mursalīn*, *wa-'l-*  
*ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-'ālamīn*, *wa-ṣal-*  
*lā Allāhu 'alā sayyidinā Muḥammad*  
*wa-ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajma'in*. *Wa-'l-*  
*ḥamdu lillāh Rabb al-'ālamīn*. The  
 Exalted Lord is superior to anything  
 one attributes to Him. Greetings to  
 the Apostles, and praise be unto God  
 the Lord of the Universe ! God bless  
 our Lord Muhammad, his family and  
 his Companions, one and all ! And  
 praise be unto God, the Lord of the  
 Universe !  
*sukūn*, inactivity.  
*sunna*, custom.

## Ş

*ṣabr*, patience.  
*ṣaḥḥ*, valid, correct, exact; real.  
*ṣāliḥ*, honest; pious.  
*ṣallā 'llāhu 'alāihi wa-sallama*, God  
 bless him and grant him peace.  
*ṣiddīq*, upright, trustworthy.  
*ṣiddīqīn*, pl. of *ṣiddīq*.  
*ṣidq*, veracity.  
*ṣifa*, attribute.  
*ṣifāt bashariyya*, human attributes.  
 — *al-waḥdāniyya*, the attributes of one-  
 ness.  
*ṣiḥḥa*, soundness.  
*ṣūfi*, mystic.

## SH

*shahāda*, testimony; profession of faith;  
 the visible world.  
*shahwa*, lust.  
*shaiḥh*, old man; elder, venerable man.  
*shar<sup>c</sup>*, sacred Law.  
 — *ma<sup>c</sup>-nawī*, figurative Law.  
*sharḥ*, commentary.  
*shari'a*, sacred Law.  
*shar<sup>c</sup>i*, pertaining to the Law.  
*shart*, condition.  
*shirk*, polytheism.  
*shughl*, work, engagement; occupation.  
*shuhadā'*, pl. of *shāhid*, martyr.  
*shuhūd*, witnessing.  
*shukr*, thanks.

## T

*ta'alluq*, dependence; reference.  
*tadārus*, alternate recital (of the Qor'an).  
*tafḍīl*, preference; superiority.  
*taḥqīq*, verification; investigation.  
*taḥqīr*, contempt.  
*tajallī*, manifestation; (*al-*)*tajallī al-ilāhī*,  
 the divine manifestation.  
*ta'lif*, composition, compilation.  
*tammāt*, it is finished.  
*taqarrub*, approach; rapprochement.  
*taqdīr*, decree.  
*tarjama*, translation; interpretation.  
*tartīb*, arrangement, regulation.  
*taṣarruf*, government.  
*taṣawwur*, imagination.  
*taṣdiq*, confirmation; acknowledgement.  
*taslīm*, surrender.  
*tawādu<sup>c</sup>*, humility.  
*tawakkul*, trust in God.  
*tawḥīd*, profession of unity and unique-  
 ness; — *dhātī*, — *ṣifātī*, — *af'ālī*,  
 the profession of God as the creator  
 of one's existence, life and deeds.  
*tuhma*, suspicion.

## T

*tā<sup>c</sup>a*, obedience.  
*ṭabī'a*, nature.  
*ṭama<sup>c</sup>*, cupidity.  
*ṭariq*, way.  
*ṭariqa*, id.; 2nd grade of spiritual devel-  
 opment, between *shari'a* and *ḥaqīqa*.

## TH

*thābit*, standing firm; latent.

## U

*udhn*, ear.

*ukhrawiyya*, pertaining to the hereafter.

## ◌U

◌*ubūda*, submissiveness.

◌*ubūdiyya*, servitude; absolute concentration on God.

◌*ulamā'* *al-ḥaqīqa*, the divines initiated into Reality.

◌*ulamā'* *al-sharī'a*, the divines who restrict themselves to the Law.

## W

*wahbī*, acquired by divine grant.

*waḥdāniyyat Allāh*, God's oneness.

*waḥdat al-wujūd*, Unity of being.

*wahm*, fancy, illusion.

— *al-rusūm*, the delusion of appearances.

*wahmī*, illusory.

*wajh*, face.

*walī*, friend (of God); saint; *walī quṭb*, saint of the highest rank.

*wa-llāhu a'lam*, God knows best.

*wa-qad 'alima kullu unāsin mashrabahum* (Qor'an 7:160), 'All the people already knew their drinking places'.

*waqār*, reverence, respect.

*waqt*, time.

*wara'*, scrupulousness.

*wāridāt rūḥāniyya*, spiritual acquisitions.

*wārith*, heir.

*wāsiṭ*, middlemost.

*wilāya*, sanctity.

*wujūd*, being.

*wujūd al-ʿālam*, the being of the world.

*wuṣūl*, arrival.

## Y

*yā Rabb al-ʿālamīn*, Oh Lord of the worlds!

*ya'nī*, that is to say.

*yaqīn*, certain, firm.

## Z

*zāhid*, austere; ascetic.

*zakāt*, alms tax.

*zamān*, time.

*zuhd*, austerity; asceticism.

## Ẓ

*ẓāhir*, exterior.

*ẓuhūr*, appearance.

## APPENDIX

### PALEMBANG MANUSCRIPTS AND AUTHORS

#### *Introduction*

In the existing surveys of Malay literature little or no attention is paid to the provenance of the manuscripts from which, in the last resort, we derive our knowledge of Malay literature. With regard to manuscript collections that have passed *in toto* into the possession of libraries, such as, for instance, the V. d. Wall collection in Jakarta and the Klinkert and Van Ophuysen collections in Leiden, we have something to go by: we do know the period during which, and the area where, the manuscripts were collected; always excepting, of course, such manuscripts as the collector had copied from MSS. in other collections of different origin. In such cases one can form at least some idea about the literary and other works extant at a certain date in a certain area. The situation is different with other collections such as, for instance, the collections of Malay MSS. made by Brandes and Snouck Hurgronje, since these were acquired from various places. For these collections, and for manuscripts acquired by the libraries separately or in small lots from time to time, we are obliged to examine the manuscripts themselves to elicit such information as we can concerning their date and place of origin. This may be supplemented by data recorded by the libraries at the time of acquisition of the manuscripts — often very scanty.

It is many years since Professor Van Ronkel gave his opinion (as a cataloguer of manuscripts) that the provenance of manuscripts was not really very relevant (see *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), p. 181). Whatever justification he may have had for his view, it is not one which could now be endorsed without reservation; an investigation into the origin of manuscripts can be surprisingly productive. It will be seen from the notes which follow that through such an inquiry I have been able to draw up a list of writers working in Palembang in the latter part of the 18th century and of their work insofar as these are available in manuscript form; also a list of Islamic works which once belonged to the Palembang kraton library, from which the manuscripts were dispersed, ending up in many hands, as a consequence of the looting of the library in 1812 and subsequently.

The term 'Palembang manuscripts' here refers to two categories:

- a. manuscripts which are known or thought to contain works written by Palembang authors;

- b. manuscripts containing works written by other than Palembang authors but known to have been the property of people of Palembang.

## I

## MANUSCRIPTS ORIGINATING FROM PALEMBANG

1. *Manuscripts in British libraries*

## a. Malay manuscripts

Two works by Shihabuddin:

*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Mal. 48*, a Malay translation of an Arabic commentary on al-Laḡānī's *Jawharat al-tawhīd*, dated A.H. 1163/A.D. 1750.<sup>1</sup>  
*MS. S.O.A.S. 12247 (Marsden)*, a *Risalah* copied by Encik Zainuddin in A.H. 1198/A.D. 1783.<sup>2</sup>

Two works by Kēmas Fakhruddin:

*MS. S.O.A.S. 11505 (Marsden)*, a Malay translation of a part of the *Mukhtaṣar Futūḥ al-Sha'm*, dated A.H. 1183/A.D. 1769.<sup>3</sup>  
*MS. Bodleian no. 4*, a Malay translation of the *Tuḥfat al-zaman*,<sup>4</sup> dated A.H. 1175/A.D. 1761, registered in *Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 305 under the title "Book of Geomancy". Dr. Voorhoeve informs me that both MSS. are written by the same hand and could well be autographs.

## b. Javanese manuscripts

*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 19*, *Dewa Mēṅḍo*, dated A.H. 1191/A.D. 1777(?); apparently a translation of the Malay Hikayat Dewa Mandu, a popular story from Malay romantic literature (see Van Ronkel, *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 517-18 and *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 99-104).  
*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 28*, *wayang purwa* stories (microfilm Leiden A 19/2).

According to a note in the MS. this was once the property of the crown-prince, a son of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, who succeeded to the throne in 1804 as Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 29*, *Wayang gēḍog*.

*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 30*, *Rama kawi*.

*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 31*, a collection containing about ten chiefly moralistic texts of varying length and copied by various persons.

*MS. R.A.S. Raffles Java 41*, *Rēpen bramara* and *Misa Cangkrama*, and also a Malay text on astrology.

According to a note in MS. S.O.A.S. 11505 this MS. was taken away from Palembang on April 28 1812, most probably as war booty from the kraton on the occasion of the British expedition led by Colonel Gillespie. It is not unlikely that the other manuscripts were acquired in the same way or bought from looting soldiers.<sup>5</sup>

2. *The MSS. B.G.Mal. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12 in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta (the former Batavia Society)*

These MSS. were forwarded to the Batavia Society from Palembang in 1866 by an associate member, J. S. G. Gramberg, together with a number of other MSS., which, as the donor observed, "constitute the usual reading-matter of the Palembang townsman. I could not say for certain whether all these MSS. originate from Palembang, but I am certain that some of them do".<sup>6</sup>

The MSS. originating from Palembang are those mentioned above, namely:

*B.G. Mal. 5, Hikayat Martalaya*, described in Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 74-75.

In the historical novel *Palembang* (1878), in which Gramberg describes in romanticised form the events of the year 1811, the author attributes the authorship of the *Hikayat Martalaya* to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. He makes the prince's secretary say the following, "This hikayat is already in great demand in the town, and I have even been requested to have copies made for some people in Malacca" (p. 142). In all likelihood Gramberg was reproducing here what he had been told in Palembang, where he lived for some years.

As far as I can ascertain this MS. is a unique specimen, but unfortunately it is incomplete. The generous admixture of Javanese words in the language of the text could be an indication of its Palembang origin. As in the case of the *Sha'ir Sinyor Kosta* (or *Kista*), also called *Shair Silambari* and *Shair Sinyor Gilang*, it remains uncertain whether the authorship is really to be ascribed to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

*B.G. Mal. 6, Hikayat Raja Budak* (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 130).

The author of this hikayat is unknown. A text of this name was published in 1866 by Lange & Co. in Batavia, but according to Van Ronkel the recension of the MS. is much shorter and more prosaically worded than that of the printed edition. The MS. of the same name in the V. d. Wall collection is more detailed; it contains, *inter alia*, the story of the theft of a precious jewel from a sealed bag which after the theft is sewn up again very skilfully by a tailor. This story, also found in the *Hikayat Pekar Mèdi*, is apparently very widespread; in his *A Pilgrim in Arabia* (London, 1946, p. 68) H. St. John Philby narrates that he heard it in Medina in 1931, so that possibly it stems from the Arabian Nights.

*B.G. Mal. 7, Sha'ir Kumbang.*

An incomplete text, dated A.H. 1282/A.D. 1865; the end is missing. The Leiden MS. of this poem (Oph. 91) is dated April 4, 1859. The author is unknown. The poem sings of the conversations between a bumble-bee and a *melati*-flower. Both MSS. of this work in the V. d. Wall collection are also incomplete (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 351).

*B.G. Mal. 8, Sha'ir Nuri.*

A similar poem, singing of the love of a *nuri* for a *cempaka* flower. In the MS. Sultan Badruddin is mentioned as the author (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 353). See also below, B.G. Mal. 10 B, and *Archipel* 11 (1976), pp. 57-70.

*B.G. Mal. 9, Sha'ir Patut delapan.*

An incomplete copy, according to Van Ronkel containing a religious poem of a didactic tenor. Pangeran Panembahan Bupati, a brother of the dethroned Sultan of Palembang (see below § IV sub VII) is mentioned as its author (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 357).

*B.G. Mal. 10.*

A. *Sha'ir Kembang air mawar*, also by Pangeran Panembahan Bupati. It deals with a bird's love for a rose.

B. Another version of the *Sha'ir Nuri*, dated A.H. 1275/A.D. 1858. Cod. or. Leiden 5641, corresponding with it in part, is dated A.H. 1255/A.D. 1839 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, p. 92, no. 212).

*B.G. Mal. 12, Shair Prang Ménténg (= Muntinghe); ibidem, p. 347.*

This *sha'ir* derives its name from H. W. Muntinghe, who was sent to Palembang in 1818 with instructions to curtail the authority of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin and to reduce his territory; to reinstate Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, at least partially, and to establish direct rule in the remaining parts of the realm of Palembang. The *sha'ir*, written in A.H. 1235/A.D. 1819 by an unknown author, deals with one episode in this struggle for power, namely the heroic defence of the Palembang kraton against the troops and ships of the Netherlands-Indies government under the command of Colonel Bakker, who was assisted by Raja Akil, a member of the royal family of Siak, and a certain Raja Mansur. The attack was repelled and Muntinghe had to retire to Bangka. This event, described here in glowing terms, apparently impressed the local people deeply at the time, as did the failure of the next expedition under the command of Wolterbeek which was launched in the same year 1819. It is said to have given rise to the expression *Pelabur habis, Palembang tak alah* (*Peribahasa*,<sup>3</sup> ed. Balai Pustaka no. 1504, p. 38, no. 219).

*B.G. Mal. 22, Pantun Sultan Badruddin.*

This MS., acquired by the Batavia Society in the same year as the preceding ones,<sup>7</sup> must be added to this list since its Palembang origin is beyond doubt (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 356).

3. *The former kraton MSS. presented to the Batavia Society by Ki Agus Hajji Abdalmalik, khatib imam of Palembang*<sup>8</sup>

These Arabic MSS., four in number, are described in Van Ronkel's *Suppl. Cat. Arabic MSS. Bat. Soc.* under the numbers 55, 106, 157 and 296.

*B.G. CLX*, an incomplete copy of Baiḍāwī's well-known Commentary on the Qor'ān (*Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*), running from Ch. 39: 21 to the end.

*B.G. CLXI*, *Idrāk al-ḥaqīqa fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa*, by ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī. As will be apparent from the title, this work, written in 1640, contains a survey of the traditions mentioned in the widely read *al-Ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya*, a collection of sermons and homilies by Muḥammad b. Pīr ʿAlī al-Birgawī (or al-Birgilī), a strictly orthodox Turkish preacher and scholar of great renown, who died in 1572. (See Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. II, p. 441, 15; S. II, p. 656 c.)

*B.G. CLXII*, ʿ*Umdat al-murīd li-Jawharat al-tawḥīd*, being an incomplete copy of al-Laḡānī's own commentary on his *Jawharat al-tawḥīd*. The MS. is dated A.H. 1060/A.D. 1650, thus only a few years after the death of the author, who died in A.H. 1041/A.D. 1631. (Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 316; S. II, p. 436.)

*B.G. CLXIII*, *Kitāb al-adhkār lil-Nawawī wa-ḥilyat al-abrār*, as the work is named in the MS.. It is the work registered in Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, S. I, p. 685 sub XIX. Al-Nawawī (d. A.H. 676/A.D. 1278) is an author who is widely known in Indonesia and the Malay countries for his *Minḥāj al-ṭālibīn* and his *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn*, being a work on Islamic Law and a collection of 40 traditions intended for edification respectively. The *Kitāb al-adhkār* gives directions for devotional practice and conduct in conformity with the *sunna* of the Prophet.

#### 4. Four Javanese MSS. acquired by the Batavia Society in 1876 and 1886

*C.S. 104*, *Jayalēngkara wulang*.<sup>9</sup>

This MS., numbering 106 pp. in fine Palembang-Javanese writing, was once the property of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin (1774-1803), as is stated in the MS. It has been discussed by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in *Indonesische Handschriften* (Bandung, 1950), pp. 17-25,<sup>10</sup> where one will find a summary of its contents and also a review of the outdated metres used in this poem. According to Javanese belief it was composed by a Pangeran Pēkik of Surabaya (C. F. Winter, *Jav. Zamenspraken*, Vol. I, p. 351). It must have been very popular, as there are numerous, sometimes fragmentary, copies in the MS. collections. (See Vreede, *Cat. Jav. Hss. Leiden*, pp. 277-280; Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, Vol. I, p. 230; De Graaf and Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java*, Verh. Kon. Inst. 69 (1974), pp. 164-166.)

*B.G. Jav. 185*, a Panji story.

As appears from the *Notulen* ('Minutes') of the Batavia Society for

June 1886, this MS., also originating from the Palembang kraton, was acquired from a Dutch Commissioner in Palembang in exchange for a transliterated copy of same. It has been discussed at some length by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in his *Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken* (Bibl. Jav. 9, Bandung, 1940), pp. 156-215. From this publication we learn that the MS. once belonged to a Palembang princess; further, that in Saka 1723 (= A.D. 1801) it was copied from an earlier original by order of Pangeran Adi Menggala (brother of Mahmud Badruddin; later to become Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin). Dr. Poerbatjaraka is of the opinion that the language of this MS. is completely East Javanese, and that this text is the most perfect specimen of all the Panji stories known to him.

*B.G. Jav. 182 and 187*, parts of the story of *Amir Hamzah* (Jav. *Menak*).

These MSS. were received from the same Dutch Commissioner in Palembang in the same way as the preceding MS. Both the language and the script are Palembang Javanese, and according to Dr. Poerbatjaraka they are of great importance from a lexicological point of view (*Jaarboek Kon. Bat. Gen.*, I (1933), p. 328).

In his description of the *Menak* MSS. in the library of the (former) Batavia Society (*Menak*, Bandung 1940, pp. 36-38) Dr. Poerbatjaraka commented on MS. 182 as follows: "The Javanese language of this work is very attractive and also from a poetical point of view this work is of a rather high standard. The story begins with the siege of Selan (= *Menak Kartasura*, Canto 29, st. 4) and ends with Umarmaya sneaking into the bivouac of Jobin (*ibidem*, Canto 41, st. 61)".

Furthermore, on MS. 187: "It seems to me that both the script and the spelling of this MS. are older than those of MS. 182, but the MS. clearly represents a more recent version, which is apparent from the additions. Moreover, five cantos (34-38) are clearly recognizable as being intercalated between cantos 42 and 43 of the preceding MS. Apart from this the two MSS. are almost identical".

##### 5. *The MSS. belonging to the collection of Palembang kraton MSS. shipped to Batavia in 1822*

In answer to a request for information, in 1880 the Secretary of the district of Palembang informed the Board of Directors of the Batavia Society that on June 13th, 1822 the Commissioner of Palembang, J. I. van Sevenhoven, had shipped to the Dutch Resident of Batavia "55 very finely written, neatly bound and well-conditioned Malay and Arabic MSS., among which some very rare ones, and certified as once in the possession of the former Sultan of Palembang Mahmud Badruddin", with the request that they be handed over to the Department of Native Affairs, where they were to constitute a handsome collection of native books and being objects of exceptional rarity would add lustre to the library.<sup>11</sup>

Reading this we shall have little difficulty in agreeing with A. L. V. L. van der Linden<sup>12</sup> that the Commissioner referred to in the Hikayat Palembang (cod. or. Leiden 2276 (c), p. 73) as having in vain hunted for the Sultan's treasures<sup>13</sup> and ransacked the houses of many notables, was the Commissioner J. I. van Sevenhoven. At all events, his treasure-hunt resulted in the confiscation of 55 kraton MSS. These were, however, only part of the Sultan's library, as is apparent from the fact that in 1875 four more MSS., only Arabic ones this time, turned up (see above, section 3).

Now the Department of Native Affairs, the destination of the MSS., was a special section of the General Secretariat of the Netherlands-Indies Government,<sup>14</sup> which at the time still had its seat in Batavia. Accordingly the Board of Directors of the Batavia Society applied to the General Secretariat (meanwhile removed to Buitenzorg, present-day Bogor), and indeed was given a parcel of MSS. The succinct report on this consignment made by L. W. C. van den Berg,<sup>15</sup> is disappointing in so far as only five unmistakably Palembang MSS. are mentioned in it. These are:

*B.G. Mal. 117, Kitāb al-fawā'id*, containing 100 *fā'idahs* (useful observations) dealing with the excellence of various chapters of the Qor'ān, formulas and eulogies spoken when performing the ritual prayer (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 389-'90).

*B.G. Mal. 118, al-Rānīrī's Širāṭ al-mustaqīm*, copied in A.H. 1167/A.D. 1753 (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-'76).

*B.G. Mal. 119, Jawāhir al-<sup>c</sup>ulūm fī kashf al-ma<sup>c</sup>lūm* by the same author (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 404).

*B.G. Mal. 120, Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar*, by Kemas Fakhruddin (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 436).

*B.G. Mal. 121, Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>ajā'ib* by Muḥammad b. al-marḥūm Aḥmad al-Palimbānī (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 447).

All these manuscripts stem from the library of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, as does the following Arabic MS.:

*B.G. CCVI, al-Durr al-manẓūm fī bayān al-sirr al-maktūm*, a *qaṣīda* ascribed to al-Ghazālī. This MS. was once the property of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, the father of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. Therefore, the owner was not, as stated by Van Ronkel on the authority of Van den Berg,<sup>16</sup> a son of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin who was dethroned in 1818, but of an earlier prince of the same name, who died in 1776 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arabic MSS. Bat. Soc.*, p. 495, no. 856).<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, *MS. B.G. Mal. 75, Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-<sup>c</sup>azīm*, of which MS. V.d.W. 24 is a copy, will have belonged to the Palembang

MSS. of the General Secretariat, as in 1850-'51 it was registered by Van der Tuuk in his list of the MSS. of this office (see below). As it bears a lower number than the MSS. acquired in 1880, it must have been acquired at some time between 1866 and 1880.

This MS. will be dealt with later in the discussion of the writings of Kemas Fakhruddin.

From what has been seen it must be concluded that by 1880 next to nothing was left of the 55 MSS. which were forwarded to Batavia in 1822. It looks very much as if "the indifference and empty amateurism" which, as Van der Tuuk wrote in 1849, had united to reduce the well-stocked library of the Batavia Society to poverty,<sup>18</sup> had also played havoc with the MSS. of the General Secretariat and would continue doing so to some degree in the years between 1850 and 1880.

In 1850-'51, during his stay in Batavia before setting out for his sojourn in the Batak country, Van der Tuuk had occasion to pore over the MSS. in this city. At that time many of the Palembang MSS. had already disappeared, although those extant were considerably more in number than the minute quantity subsequently transferred to the Batavia Society in 1880.<sup>19</sup> It appears from his notes preserved in the Leiden University library, cod. or. 3300 and 3301 that, apart from MS. B.G. Mal. 75 mentioned above, no fewer than 12 MSS. can be added to the 5 registered in Van den Berg's report. Copies of 6 of 7 of these (nos. 4 (?); 5; 10; 24; 34; 39; 44 of the enumeration below) are perhaps extant in the V.d.W. collection in Jakarta.

These 12 MSS. are:

*Gen. Secr. 4.* This MS. contained two texts:

A. A Malay translation of Ibn 'Atā' Allāh's *Kitāb al-ḥikam*, once the property of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin (1757-1774, when he abdicated and became Susuhunan). It could well be that one of the four copies of the same text in the V.d.W. collection was copied from this MS. (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 430-'31).<sup>20</sup>

B. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, being a commentary on the *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd* by Raslān al-Dimashqī.

*Gen. Secr. 5.* A Malay translation of *al-Durr al-naẓīm*, written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Suhail al-Jawzī b. al-Khashshāb (d. A.H. 650/A.D. 1252); see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. I, p. 414, no. 19; S.I., p. 913). Van Ronkel's description of V.d.W. 35 in the Batavia catalogue (p. 370) should be read as follows: The works on which the author has drawn are: Abū Bakr Muḥ. b. Aḥmad al-Ghassānī, *al-Barq al-lāmi*<sup>c</sup> *wa 'l-ghaiṭh al-hāmi*<sup>c</sup> *fī faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, *Khawāṣṣ al-āyāt wa-fawātiḥ al-Qur'ān*, adding a few magic quadrates borrowed from al-Būnī.

This MS. once belonged to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

*Gen. Secr. 7.* A Malay translation of the well-known creed by al-Sanūsī, also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

*Gen. Secr. 9.* A Malay translation of al-Jazarī's (d. A.H. 833/A.D. 1429) <sup>°</sup>*Uddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn*, being an abridgement of his *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 203, no. 19; S. II, p. 277); also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

*Gen. Secr. 10.* A Malay translation of al-Biṣṭāmī's (d. A.H. 858/A.D. 1454) *Shams al-āfāq fī °ilm al-ḥurūf wa °l-awfāq* (see Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 232; S. II, p. 324). A synopsis of its contents will be found in Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 428-29; also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

*Gen. Secr. 13* contained three short tracts by AbdurRauf, also stemming from Sultan Mahmud Badruddin:

A. *Daqā'iq al-ḥurūf*. This text was published by Dr. A. H. Johns in *J.R.A.S.*, April 1955, pp. 55-73, from cod. or. Leiden 7643 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden* no. 332).

B. *Aghmaḍ al-masā'il* (also contained in the, also lost, MS. Gen. Secr. 18); a text not known from elsewhere.

C. *Kifāyat al-muḥtājīn (ilā sulūk maslak kamāl al-ṭālibīn)*. A synopsis of the contents of this tract is to be found in D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraef van Singkel*, thesis Leiden 1909, pp. 39-42.

For further information on the works of AbdurRauf see Dr. P. Voorhoeve, *Bajan Tadjalli, Gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdurrauf van Singkel*, in *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952); the three tracts mentioned above are nos. 15, 12 and 11 of Voorhoeve's list.

*Gen. Secr. 17*, the second part of °Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī's *Sair al-sālikīn*, which work was completed by the author in Ṭā'if in A.H. 1195, and copied in Mecca in A.H. 1197/A.D. 1782. It is uncertain whether this MS. is of Palembang provenance; no further information about it is available.

*Gen. Secr. 23. Surat Bintang*, once in the possession of Pangeran Ratu ibn Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, *i.e.*, the Sultan to be Mahmud Badruddin. At the end is a note dated A.H. 1224/A.D. 1809.

*Gen. Secr. 24.* Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Asrār al-insān*, once in the possession of Pangeran Arya Muhammad Zainuddin, son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

In a Malay MS. in the possession of the Kon. Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam, described, edited and translated by Woelders (*thesis*, pp. 59; 116-155; 279-320), mention is made of a Pangeran Wirakrama, later on named Pangeran Purba(negara) and also called Muhammad Zainuddin. In the Index to the Malay texts edited in this thesis, *s.v.* Pangeran Wirakrama (p. 484), however, this noble is listed

as a nephew of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin, so that the identity of these two persons is not beyond doubt. See also below sub 9,2.

The *Asrār al-insān* was published in 1961 in Jakarta by Miss Tudjimah, working from MS. V.d.W. 40, which, according to Dr. Voorhoeve, is a "rather bad" MS.; possibly this is a copy of the Gen. Secr. MS. in question. On p. 16 of her edition one will find a list of the other MSS. of this text. See also Dr. Voorhoeve's review of Miss Tudjimah's book in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 117 (1961), pp. 483-485, and his *Supplement op de lijst der geschriften van Raniri*, *ibidem*, pp. 481-'82.

*Gen. Secr. 34*, a copy of AbdurRauf's *Umdat al-muhtājīn* (MS. Q of the list given in *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), p. 112, sub 10). There is little doubt that this is a copy of a Ms. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The fact is that MS. Bibl. Nat. Mal.-pol. 104 stems from the library of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin; see Dr. Voorhoeve's recent description of the Paris collection in *Archipel* 6 (1973). To all appearances it must have belonged to the collection forwarded to Batavia in 1822, and the MSS. V.d.W. 41 (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 426, no. DCCX) and cod. or. Leiden 1930 (*Cat. H. H. Juynboll*, p. 270) undoubtedly are also copies of it, be it directly or through the intermediary of our copy as described by Van der Tuuk.

*Gen. Secr. 39*. Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's *Durrat al-farā'id bi-sharḥ al-<sup>c</sup>aqā'id*, a MS. once in the possession of Pangeran Jayakrama, a younger son of Pangeran Ratu (= crown-prince, i.e., the Sultan to be Ahmad Najm-uddin, brother of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin; see Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 481). The sources of this work by al-Rānīrī are mentioned in Van Ronkel's *Cat. Mal. MSS. Bat. Gen.*, p. 401.

*Gen. Secr. 44*. A Malay translation of *Sabūl al-hidāya wa 'l-rashād*, composed by the Terim sayyid Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan b. <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh al-Ḥaddād in explanation and in support of the *rātīb* of the Terim saint <sup>c</sup>Abdallāh b. <sup>c</sup>Alawī al-Ḥaddād, born in A.H. 1071/A.D. 1660. Possibly MS. V.d.W. 42 (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.* p. 428) is a copy of it; a copy of MS. V.d.W. 42 is the Leiden MS. S.H. 95 (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, p. 132, no. 313).

Another work in praise of Terim and its saints, written by the same author in 1789, is mentioned by Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. 5, p. 418; see also Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 816.

This Hadrami Saint and his *rātīb* were also well-known in Aceh, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, Vol. II, pp. 185; 190-'91; Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Atj.-Ned. Wdbk.*, s.v. *hadat*.

#### 6. *Shumūs al-anwār wa-kunūz al-asrār*

This is cod. or. Leiden 7283 (= S.H. 57), which in the Leiden *Suppl. Cat.* is mistakenly said to have been the property of a Sultan of Banjarmasin. Actually it is of Palembang origin, for in 1848 it was sold

in Batavia out of the estate of a son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, together with two other MSS. the names of which are given as *Fath al-ma<sup>c</sup>arif* and *Shams al-ma<sup>c</sup>arif* respectively. I cannot identify the first MS.; the second was perhaps a copy of al-Būnī's *Shams al-ma<sup>c</sup>arif*, a well-known work on the occult sciences. The *Shumūs al-anwār* is said to have been composed by the Moroccan scholar Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. A.H. 737/A.D. 1336). Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 95, mentions several editions and refers to H. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere*, p. 86, note 1, where the work is attributed to another author; rightly so, as Brockelmann remarks. Van Ronkel has stated that it deals with divination, incantations and charms.

### 7. Paris MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, Mal. pol. 30

This MS., mentioned in Voorhoeve's list in *Archipel* 6 (1973) as stemming from a certain Sulaiman b. Abdallah of Palembang, contains the *Sullam al-mustafidīn*, a Malay adaptation of al-Qushāshī's *Manzūma fī 'l-tawḥīd* with the commentary of his pupil Mawlā Ibrāhīm; see *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 409, no. DCLVIII: MS. B.G. Mal. no. 109. The authorship is attributed by some to AbdurRauf, as Dr. Voorhoeve observes in *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), p. 110, sub 5. In the Paris MS. no author is mentioned, nor is any mentioned in MS. B.G. Mal. 109. In Cabaton's catalogue of the Paris MSS. the authorship is ascribed to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī.

### 8. Hikayat Seribu Masa'il

MS. V.d.W. 85, on which Dr. Pijper's edition is based,<sup>21</sup> contains a copy of this *hikayat* made in A.H. 1273/A.D. 1856-'57 at the pasar of Bandung by a certain Ki Agus Muhammad Mizan, son of Ki Agus Hajji Imam Qamat, most probably a Palembang trader. Referring to De Clercq's treatise on Palembang Malay (*T.B.G.*, Vol. XXIII (1876), pp. 517-554) Dr. Pijper has remarked on the Palembang element in the language of this MS. giving a number of examples.<sup>22</sup> Dr. Pijper seems to ascribe this Palembang influence on the language of the text to the copyist, but the possibility that he just followed the original should not be ruled out.

### 9. Three classics of Malay literature

#### 1. MS. B.G. Mal. 136, Hikayat Seri Rama.

This MS., acquired by the Batavia Society in 1891, is a copy of a MS. from Palembang. In his catalogue Van Ronkel states that it is completely identical with the text that was published in 1843 by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga. R.V.E., however, is conspicuously silent about the origin of his text; neither does Gerth van Wijk, who contributed an article to the *T.B.G.* (Vol. XXXVI, 1891) on the various versions of

the Hikayat Seri Rama, mention its origin; nor for that matter does Zieseniss in his book on *Die Rama-Sage bei den Malaien* (Hamburg, 1928; English translation by P. W. Burch, Singapore 1963, published by Malaysian Sociological Research Institute Ltd under the title of *The Rama Saga in Malaysia*).

2. *Cod. or. Leiden 2283, Hikayat Cekelwanengpati.*

This MS. was treated at great length by Dr. W. H. Rassers in his *De Pandji-roman*, thesis Leiden 1922, pp. 55-98. It was once in the possession of Pangeran Purba, son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin (H. H. Juynboll, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, p. 67). See above sub Gen. Secr. 24.

3. *Sejarah Melayu.*

A "Palembang version of the Malay Annals", a copy of which is in the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam, is mentioned by Dr. R. Roolvink in *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 2 (1965), p. 130, and by Woelders, *thesis*, pp. 59-60.

10. *Palembang MSS. in the Overbeck collection in Jakarta*

No. 508, Two Palembang hikayats.

No. 514, Five volumes of Palembang wayang stories (*Hikayat Pendawa lima*).

In *Indonesische Handschriften* by Poerbatjaraka, Voorhoeve and Hooykaas, Bandung, 1950, p. 180, it is stated that detailed summaries of these MSS., made by Raihoel Anwar gelar Datoek Besar, are available in the Jakarta library.

11. *Two Palembang MSS. in the Leiden library,  
bought from Mr. Gramberg in 1880*

1. *Hikayat Palembang*, cod. or. Leiden 2276c; *Cat. Juynboll*, p. 251-'52; Woelders, *thesis*, pp. 49-50. Edited and translated by Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-115, 230-278.

From Woelders' discussion of this text (*op. cit.*, pp. 417-422) we quote the following conclusion: "A historically reliable description of a number of important episodes in Palembang history, in particular of the period 1818-1825. The description is only concerned with the more or less official events and ignores completely all particulars of a more personal character. Chronologically as well as logically the account is well-constructed; it has a formal introduction but it ends somewhat abruptly; at least, it does not conclude with a colophon. The style is coolly descriptive, sober and lacking in vividness, completely in keeping with the character of the story as a chronicle".

2. *Hikayat Mareskalek*, cod. or. Leiden 2276d, containing the story of Daendels and Janssens, followed (from p. 41 l. 13 onward) by an unfinished Palembang account of the years 1812-1819; Cat. Juynboll, p. 243. Recently the Palembang part of this MS. has been discussed, edited and translated by Woelders (*op. cit.*, pp. 52-54 and 426-430; 154-186; 347-384). Copyist (and possibly author of the Palembang part) was Kyai Rangga Satyanandita Ahmad, who began his work A.H. 1247/A.D. 1831-'32.

12. *Cod. or. Leiden 7653 a and c*

The first part of cod. or. 7653a contains local genealogy and various adat-regulations (29 *pasal*); *pasal* 30 (pp. 26-121) is an incomplete, episodic account of Palembang history from Raja Bungsu, son of Lebar Daun, to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin II.

Cod. or. 7653c is a copy of a chronicle of Palembang history from 1818-1825. It bears a strong resemblance to the description of the same period in MS. 2276c mentioned above under 11,1, and to a typescript preserved in the library of the Royal Institute for the Tropics in Amsterdam (sed. 902.556).

See Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

13. *MSS. dealing with Palembang in the possession of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden*

This collection numbers 13 items, all of them except two described by Van Ronkel in *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* Vol. 60 (1908) and *in toto* discussed circumstantially by Woelders in his *thesis*, pp. 30-44, to which the reader is referred for further information.

Three of them were composed in 1842 or a little later by Pangeran Temenggung Kartamenggala, at the behest of Lieut.-Col. A. H. W. Baron De Kock, acting Commissioner for the district of Palembang from 1842-1847, namely:

Mal. 196, *Carita Negeri Palembang*.

A translation of part of it is contained in Royal Inst. MS. 201\*. Summary of contents in Woelders, *thesis*, p. 33.

Mal. 201, *Carita daripada aturan Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang*.

A survey of Palembang history from the coming of Geding Sura to Palembang in 1561-'62 up to the arrival of Muntinghe in 1818. It enumerates 15 princes in all, the last of whom is Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, "now in Ternate".

Mal. 201a, *Hikayat Mahmud Badruddin*.

The final words are: Maka tetapla Sultan Achmat Nadjamoedin die kardjaan timpoe Gouvernement Olanda pegang India toean Menteng datang djadie kommissaris Palembang adanja.

MS. 414, *Sila-sila Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang.*

This MS. is anonymous and undated, but Woelders (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-37) has adduced convincing arguments in support of his view that it must have been composed by a former magistrate, Demang Muhiddin, most probably in 1861 or 1862. It was acquired by Mr. J. F. R. S. van den Bossche, Commissioner for Banka and dependencies from 1860-1862, who presented it to Mr. W. L. de Sturler († 1879), the author of a number of articles on Palembang. The last date given is 2 Rajab 1277/14 Jan. 1861, the day of the death of the exiled Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin who was banished to Ternate. The last pages deal with titles and court ceremonies. End: Habis segala pangkat itu sabab Koempeni suda memegang keradjaan Palembang. Summary of contents in Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

Mal. 527, *Two plano MSS. respectively containing 4 and 2 different genealogical trees*, partly with complementary notes and narrative texts. Copied Jan. 1869 by R. Mukhtar b. R. Ranga Astrawijaya Abdullah. For the contents see Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.

Mal. 531, *Carita Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang.*

This anonymous MS. contains the beginning of a story of the intestine quarrels in Palembang after the death of Sultan Mansur (1714), that is to say the struggle between Seri Taruna, the Sultan designate, and two of Mansur's sons.

Summary of contents in Woelders, *thesis*, pp. 37-38. A very poor Dutch translation of this text is to be found in Ms. H 184 of the Western MSS. in the Library of the Royal Institute (De Graaf, *Cat. hss. in Westerse talen etc.*, 's-Gravenhage, 1963, p. 97).

Mal. 537, *Malay text of the agreement of June 2nd 1722*, entered into by the Sultan of Palembang and the Dutch East India Company (V.O.C.).

Mal. 532, *id. of the agreement of Dec. 25th 1775.*

Though not of Palembang origin two other MSS. in the Royal Institute may be mentioned here as for the greater part dealing with Palembang history from the latter part of the 17th century onward, namely:

Mal. 586, a *History of Banka up till 1820*, composed by Tumungung Kertanagara and transliterated into Latin character in Banka on July 2nd 1861.

MS. 541 contains the same text in Arabic character, copied in Banka on Sept. 14th 1878. It was presented in Banka to F. S. A. de Clercq and offered by him to the Royal Institute after the completion of his article on the history of Banka published in *B.K.I.* VI: 1 (= Vol. 45; 1895).

See note 46 below and Woelders, *thesis* pp. 42-44; p. 440 note 39. Still another copy of the same text is cod. or. Leiden 2285 (Juynboll, *Cat.*, p. 254).

The two items acquired by the Royal Institute after the publication of van Ronkel's Catalogue are:

*Mal. 203a*, a type-script copy in Latin character of an elaborate genealogy of the Palembang nobility, composed in the thirties of this century by R. Muhammad Akib, a great-grandson of Pangeran Tumungung Kartamenggala mentioned above. A similar though not identical copy of this text is preserved in the Central Library of the Royal Tropical Institute in Amsterdam.

*Mal. 203b* is a photo-type copy of a genealogy of the royal house of Palembang in Arabic character, bearing the title of *Setambung dari Raja-raja di Palembang serta turun-temurunnya*, from Brawijaya VII of Majapait up to its descendants in the latter part of the 19th century. On both MSS. see Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

#### 14. Palembang genealogies contained in manuscripts in the Leiden University Library

1. Cod. or. 1914, dated Friday 4 Sawal 1265/Thursday 23 Aug. 1849. Copyist: Kiagus Zainuddin b. Demang Puspanandita Safiuddin b. Ngabehi Carik Sepusang (not registered in Juynboll's Catalogue nor in Van Ronkel's Suppl. Cat.).
2. Cod. or. 2304a, which is almost identical with 1914.
3. Cod. or. 7653 b and d. Very elaborate genealogies, containing about 1300-1400 names and continued up till the great-grandchildren of the last two Sultans.
4. Cod. or. 8245, containing 4 of the 6 genealogical trees of MS. K.I.T.L.V. Mal. no. 527 and a chronological survey of 15 Palembang Sultans and the periods of their reign, comparable to the lists given in MSS. 1914 and 2304a.  
See Woelders, *thesis* pp. 44-48.

#### 15. *Undang-undang Palembang (Javanese)*

This Javanese manuscript, now in the Leiden University Library (Berg coll. no. 146), stems from a descendant of a grand-vizir of the Palembang court who lived about 1800. It has been described by Dr. Pigeaud in his *Literature of Java*, Vol. II, pp. 784-'85, and a facsimile reproduction of a page from this MS. is found in Vol. III of that work, Plate 38, and discussed, transliterated and translated on pp. 75-76 of the same volume. The designation 'undang-undang' is applicable to

only a few of the 68 pages of this MS.; it is a compilation of data on various subjects: regulations on marks of dignity, sunshades and flags; events during the years 1756-1803; notes on *gamēlan* orchestras of the Court; the actual *Undang-undang*, dated 1773; a list of districts and kampungs, and their obligations to the Court as regards dues and man-power; *piagēms* issued by the Sultans; a list of names of royal servants (*panakawan Dalēm*), and another list of court officials and people in charge of special functions at the Court.

#### 16. *Undang-undang Palembang (Malay)*

The Malay texts bearing this name, viz., MSS. B.G. Mal. 140 and 150, V.d.W. 58, KITLV Mal. 236(7) and 416, and Leningrad B 2509, are quite different from the Javanese text just mentioned. MSS. B.G. Mal. 150 and V.d.W. 58 are divided into 6 chapters, namely:

- I. Adat bujang dan gadis dan kawin.
- II. Aturan margā.
- III. Aturan dusun dan berladang.
- IV. Aturan kawm.
- V. Aturan pajak.
- VI. Aturan perhukuman.

In MS. B.G. Mal. 140 the chapters II and III are lacking; the same applies to the Leningrad MS. which was once the property of P. N. van Doorninck, district officer in Palembang from 1873-1875.

#### 17. *Sha'ir Alamat al-kiyamat*

Unregistered MS. in the University Library of Utrecht, copied in 1866 from a MS. dated 1230/1814. The author, a Palembang theologian, mentions as his sources 'reliable traditionists' (*ḥuddāth mu<sup>c</sup>tamad*) and the *Kanz al-khafi*, a well-known Malay work on eschatology, based on al-Rāniri's *Akhbār al-ākhirā* (see Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Mal. hss. Leiden*, p. 120, no. 289 and p. 151-'52, no. 359).

18. *Een op Palembangsche bodem geteeld verhaal, getrokken uit een hikājat* ('A Palembang story, taken from a hikayat'), contained in MS. KITLV H 270; see H. J. de Graaf, *Cat. West. hss. Kon. Inst.*, The Hague, 1963, p. 108

This MS. contains an abridged Dutch translation of the popular story of Johar Shah; see Pigeaud, *Lit. of Java*, Vol. I, p. 221; Vreede, *Cat. Jav. hss. Leiden*, pp. 202-205; Juynboll, *Suppl. Cat. Jav. hss. Leiden*, pp. 90-92. According to De Graaf, it comes from the estate of H. M. baron De Kock, who was the officer in command of the expeditionary force sent against Palembang in 1821.

19. *Malay letters from Palembang*

Eleven out of the thirteen letters from Palembang contained in cod. or. Leiden 2241 — a collection of letters sent from various places in the Archipelago — were written by the Sultans Muhammad Baha'uddin (7) and his successor Mahmud Badruddin (4). These letters, all of them addressed to the Central Government in Batavia, were despatched during the years 1791-1808. The remaining two letters are of minor importance.

They were catalogued by H. C. Klinkert in *Tijdschr. v. N.-Indië*, N.S. Vol. 11,2 (1882), pp. 86-89; see also Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55.

Cod. or. Leiden 8402 is a letter by Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin (Prabu ngamuk) to Governor-general Van der Capellen, dated July 6, 1821, in order to notify the G.G. of the happy outcome of De Kock's expedition and to thank him for his enthronement. See Woelders, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56.

Furthermore, in the National Archives there are preserved six letters written by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, all of them in 1819, and addressed to Muntinghe and Wolterbeek (2) and to Wolterbeek (4) respectively. See Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

## II

## OTHER MANUSCRIPTS

Several works of alleged or actual Palembang origin are (also) represented by MSS. of non-Palembang, or not demonstrably Palembang provenance. Among these there is a number of MSS. that may be supposed to be copies of MSS. from Palembang, as, for instance, quite a few MSS. of the V.d.W. collection in Jakarta. A good proportion of this collection was assembled in Riau in the third quarter of the 19th century but another part of it consists of copies of government-owned MSS. stored away in the office of the General Secretariat, including the remnants of the consignment shipped from Palembang in 1822. Many of the MSS. are of a religious character and would naturally have found their way outside Palembang. The MSS. of the works of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Şamad al-Palimbānī, who for many years resided in Mecca and wrote his books in Arabia, are not necessarily of Palembang origin.

I have recorded the following titles:

1. *Kitab* <sup>c</sup>*Aqīdat al-bayān*, by Shihabuddin.  
Cat. Juynboll, p. 295, no. 12, cod. or. Leiden 1953(6).

Five works (2-6) by <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Şamad:

2. *Zuhrat al-murīd fī bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd*.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 400: B.G. Mal. 109c and V.d.W. 49.

3. *Sair al-sālikīn*.  
Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 383: B.G. Mal. 293 and V.d.W. 4; Cat. Juynboll, p. 287-288: cod. or. Leiden 3285, 3286; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 109: cod. or. 5740.
4. *Hidāyat al-sālikīn*.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 429: B.G. Mal. 292, V.d.W. 43; Cat. Juynboll, pp. 261-'63: cod. or. Leiden 1710, 3284; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 113: cod. or. 4974; Bibl. Nat. Paris, Mal.-pol. 29 (*Archipel* 6 (1973), p. 46) and 232 (*ibidem*, p. 65).
5. *Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-mu'minīn* (Arabic).  
Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.*, pp. 139-140: nos. CCIX and V.d.W. 51; cf. Bibl. Nat. Paris, Mal.-pol. 232 (*Archipel* 6 (1973), p. 65), which possibly contains, *inter alia*, a Malay adaptation of this Arabic text.
6. *Rātib* (Arabic).  
Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arab. MSS. Bat. Soc.*, pp. 216-'17: no. DXLVII.
7. *Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmān fī manāqib ustādhinā al-a<sup>c</sup>zam al-Sammān*, by Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 422-'23: V.d.W. 126.
8. *Hikayat karamat Shaikh Muhammad Samman dengan ikhtisar*, by Muhammad Muhyiddin b. Shaikh Shihabuddin.  
*Ibidem*, p. 423: V.d.W. 127.
9. *Shair Nuri*, by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.  
Cat. Juynboll, p. 28: cod. or. Leiden 3340; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 92: cod. or. 5641; Kl. 175 and 186(?).
10. *Shair kumbang dan melati*.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 351-'52: V.d.W. 239 and 240; *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, pp. 94-95: MS. Kon. Akad. 239; Oph. 91.
11. *Shair Sinyor Kosta*, attributed to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 350: V.d.W. 268; Cat. Juynboll, p. 20: cod. or. Leiden, 1895; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 76: Kl. 133, 150, 170.  
Leiden MS. 1895 was presented to the library in 1867 by the former Governor-general Baron Sloet van de Beele; it may be a copy of one of the Palembang MSS. of the General Secretariat originating from the Palembang kraton library.
12. *Hikayat Raja Budak*.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 131-'32: V.d.W. 153, 154; Cat. Juynboll, p. 179: cod. or. Leiden 3318; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 26: cod. or. 6084.

13. *Shair Raja Mambang Jawhari*.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 336-'37: V.d.W. 264; Cat. Juynboll, pp. 20-23: cod. or. Leiden 1896, 1943, 1955; Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, pp. 68-69: Kl. 137.  
Van Ronkel has noted that the Leiden MS. 1896 is not identical with MS. 1943 (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 337). It was also presented to the library by Baron Sloet van de Beele, and likewise could be a copy of one of the Palembang MSS. in the office of the General Secretariat. It was copied by the same copyist who prepared MS. Leiden 1895 (Sinyor Kosta). Outside the text the copyist has added the following words: ...*karangan Pangeran Panembahan Palembang; diikat beberapa pantun dan tembang akan penglipur kalbu yang bimbang*.
14. *Shair Perang Ménténg*.  
Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 347: V.d.W. 272. Microfilms in the Leiden University Library. Described, edited and translated by Woelders, *thesis*, pp. 57-59; 194-225; 385-413.
15. *Shair Résidèn De Brauw*.  
*Ibidem*, p. 347: Brandes collection 157, VI.
16. *Shair Melayu Palembang*.  
Snouck Hurgronje, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Berlin*, pp. 158-'59; H. Overbeck, *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, Oct. 1926, p. 249.
17. *Asal Raja-raja Palembang*.  
Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-'82; Brandes coll. 157 III, with a reference to cod. or. Leiden 2276 (cat. Juynboll, pp. 251-'52) and MSS. Kon. Inst. Leiden, XXVII-XXXI (*B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 214-217). Microfilm in the Leiden University Library. See also Woelders, *thesis*, pp. 56, 57.
18. *Bunga Rampai, one story*.  
Cat. Juynboll, p. 173: cod. or. Leiden 1721, no. 3; Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90: B.G. Mal. 24 sub 6; *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 22: Kl. 67, pp. 79-88.
19. *Primbons from Palembang*.  
Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, p. 160: cod. or. 7310 (= S.H. 83); p. 153: cod. or. 5637(?).  
According to a statement by Snouck Hurgronje, cod. or. 7310 is a copy of the notebook of Hajji Harun b. Muhammad Saleh of Palembang, a bookseller residing in the Lampong district, who had been initiated into the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* in Mecca by a Lombok pupil of the well-known Khatib Ahmad Sambas. See Snouck Hurgronje, *Adviezen*, Vol. III, pp. 1863 and 1973-1975, for a more detailed summary than that in the Catalogue.

Not included in this list are the MSS. on adat and law in Palembang such as those mentioned in the Batavia Catalogue, pp. 302, 309-310, 392, and *Suppl. Cat. Leiden*, pp. 53; 281.

### III OBSERVATIONS

Summarizing the preceding survey one may say that it gives some idea of the literature extant in the city of Palembang at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century. In no way, however, is it a complete picture, for the field of Malay literature is not well represented. For that matter, in view of the close relations between Palembang and the Malay countries it is hard to believe that apart from those literary products which are proclaimed to be of local origin, so little was known of Malay literature.

Neither can Javanese literature be said to be copiously represented. Besides the *Sĕrat Rama*, Panji and wayang-stories we only found the *Jayalĕngkara* and a number of moralistic tracts. A noteworthy fact is that apart from the *Menak* (the story of Amir Hamzah) we do not come across Muslim narratives such as, for instance, those described by Dr. Poerbatjaraka in *Indonesische Handschriften* (Bandung, 1950), pp. 26-138 under the headings *Anbia* and *Pĕsantren-literature*, although stories of this kind were much in vogue in the seaport towns of Java.

In the field of the religious sciences too the number and variety of books translated from the Arabic or adapted from Arabic sources must have been considerably greater than might be inferred from the collected data. Beside the absence of books on the auxiliary sciences the complete absence of books on Islamic Law (*fiqh*) is most conspicuous. After all, books of this kind cannot have been lacking in Palembang; the less so because this town, a Muslim centre for centuries,<sup>23</sup> was the seat of a religious court coming under the authority of the Panghulu-in-chief (who in Palembang bore the title of Pangeran Panghulu Nataagama).<sup>24</sup>

As regards religious literature of Indonesian origin, it is curious that we do find writings of Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī and AbdurRauf,<sup>25</sup> but nothing by Hamzah Fansuri or Shamsuddīn<sup>26</sup> nor any writings of the same tenor, which we know to have enjoyed wide circulation about the middle of the 18th century, as is evidenced by the *Risalah* of Shihabuddin.

The extant works of Arabic origin, the majority of which came from the kraton library, can be grouped under seven headings.

#### I. *Qor'ān*.

1. Baiḍāwī's Commentary (*Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl*).
2. A Malay translation of Ibn al-Khashshāb's *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī faḍā'il al-Qor'ān al-<sup>c</sup>aẓīm* (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. I, pp. 414-'15).
3. A Malay adaptation of *Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-<sup>c</sup>aẓīm*, said to have been composed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī (not mentioned in *G.A.L.*).

II. *Hadīth*.

1. al-Nawawī, *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*, the well-known collection of 40 traditions.
2. ʿAli b. Ḥasan al-Ṣadaqa al-Miṣrī, *Idrāk al-ḥaqīqa fī takhrīj aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa* (*G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 656).

III. *Dogma*.

1. al-Sanūsiyya.
2. al-Laḡānī, *Jawhara*, with commentaries.
3. al-Ghazālī, *al-Durr al-manḡūm fī bayān al-sirr al-maktūm*.

IV. *Taṣawwuf*.

1. Raslān al-Dimashqī, *Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd*.
2. Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*, being a commentary on Raslān's *Risāla*.
3. Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh, *Kitāb al-ḥikam*.
4. Malay translations of works in praise of Muḥammad Sammān.

V. *Edifying books and prayers*.

1. al-Nawawī, *al-Adhkār*.
2. A Malay translation of al-Jazarī's *ʿUddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn* (*G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 203; S. II, p. 277).
3. A Malay translation of Aḥmad al-Ḥaddād, *Sabīl al-hidāya wa 'l-rashād*.
4. A Malay adaptation of a (Persian?) redaction of the "Questions of ʿAbdallāh b. Salām" (*Kitab Seribu Masa'il*).

VI. *History*.

Pseudo-Wāqidī, *Futūḥ al-Sha'm*.

VII. *Occult sciences and divination*.

1. Al-Biṣṭāmī, *Shams al-āfāq*.
2. Al-Biṣṭāmī, *Baḥr al-wuqūf* (*G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 232).
3. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Shumūs al-anwār* (*G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 83; S. II, p. 95).
4. Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī, *Tuḥfat al-zaman* (*G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 1042, no. 46).

All these works are in Malay translation.

The Palembang authors and translators will be treated individually in the following chapter, as also their contributions to the religious and historical literature of their time.

## IV

## PALEMBANG AUTHORS

I. *Shihabuddin b. Abdallah Muhammad*

Shihabuddin appeared as an author about the middle of the 18th century, and even nowadays he does not seem to have sunk into complete oblivion, for some people at least remembered his name when I inquired about him at the beginning of 1972. Three of his works have been preserved.

1. A Malay translation of an Arabic commentary on the well-known *Jawharat al-tawhīd* by Ibrāhīm al-Laḡānī (d. 1631). The *Jawhara* is a versified creed numbering 144 lines in the metre *rajaz*. It was much commented upon by, among others, al-Laḡānī's son ʿAbd al-Salām. The considerable number of copies, both Arabic and Malay, preserved in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta, constitutes evidence of the popularity of this text in former times. Among the Arabic texts there is an incomplete copy of al-Laḡānī's own commentary dated A.H. 1060/A.D. 1650, once the property of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin.

Shihabuddin's translation, dated 1163/1750, is contained in R.A.S. MS. Raffles Malay 48 in London. A printed edition of a Malay commentary on the *Jawhara*, originating from Sambas but published in Mecca, is mentioned by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Vol. II, p. 387. Brockelmann (*G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 317) records a Malay translation printed in Cairo in A.H. 1309/A.D. 1891. Of neither of these translations is the translator known.

2. A *Risāla* dealing with the first clause (*kalima*) of the short creed (*shahāda*) in a mystical sense, intended to shield people from both manifest and hidden polytheism (*shirk*). The same subject was to be treated later on by Kemas Fakhruddin in his *Kitab Mukhtasar*, the source of both writings being Shaikh Raslān al-Dimashqī's *Risāla fī 'l-tawhīd* and Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī's commentary on this short tract named *Fatḥ al-Raḥmān*.

Shihabuddin condemns the reading of tracts on the "Seven grades of Being", a practice which, according to him, had spread widely through the Malay countries owing to the lack of competent teachers of religion; and he preaches a mysticism as taught by Junaid, Qushairī and Ghazālī.

3. *Kitab ʿAqīdat al-bayān*, contained in cod. or. Leiden 1953(6), pp. 294-318 (Cat. Juynboll, p. 295). This is a short and simple survey of the twenty attributes of God (*sipat dua puluh*) and an exposition of the meaning of the short creed (*napi-isbat*). This is preceded by an exhortation to practise virtue and to fight against vices such as pride, hypocrisy and the like — the pitfalls from which even the ṣūfī is not

secure —, so that eventually one may attain the state of mind characterized by *tawakkul*, *sabar* and *rida*.

## II. *Kemas Fakhruddin*

Kemas Fakhruddin, whose activity falls two decades after that of Shihabuddin, apparently belonged to the following generation. So he was a somewhat older contemporary of ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, who spent a good deal of his life in Arabia and wrote his books here.

ʿAbd al-Ṣamad was a disciple of Muḥammad Sammān, the founder of the *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya*, which arose in Medina about the middle of the 18th century and before long spread to Sumatra. Shihabuddin and Kemas Fakhruddin did not belong to this *ṭarīqa*, which apparently was still unknown in Palembang at the time.

So far as may be inferred from the extant MSS. of his works, Kemas Fakhruddin was primarily a translator of Arabic works. His patrons were Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, who in 1774 retired and became Susuhunan, and his eldest son the crown-prince (Pangeran Ratu), who became Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin (1774-1804).<sup>27</sup>

Next to nothing is known about his life, and on inquiry in Palembang even his name appeared to have sunk into oblivion. If we rely on the information about him furnished by Professor Van Ronkel in his Catalogue of the Malay MSS. in Jakarta (pp. 369-'70), the only thing we can ascertain is that he spent at least four years of his life in India. In an Indian town the name of which he does not mention (*satu negeri daripada tepi negeri itu yang hampir pada negeri mashriq*) a learned shaikh who was engaged in composing a work on the eminent qualities of the Qor'ān dictated this work to him; afterwards he made an abstract of it. So much he tells us in the introduction to his *Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-ʿaẓīm*, about which more will be said below.

The extant works of Kēmas Fakhruddin are four in number.

1. *Kitab Mukhtasar*, a Malay translation of Shaikh Raslān al-Dimashqī's *Risāla fī 'l-tawhīd* enlarged with comments borrowed from the commentaries by Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, the prolific Cairo writer who died in 1520<sup>28</sup> and ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Ismāʿil al-Nābulusī (died 1143/1731).

2. A Malay translation of part of the *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* by pseudo-Wāqidi, that is to say, of the Mukhtaṣar Futūḥ al-Sha'm, composed by Abū Ismāʿil al-Baṣrī (died in the last quarter of the second century after the *hijra*) and published in 1854-1862 in Calcutta by W. Nassau Lees.<sup>29</sup>

As already remarked, this MS. (SOAS no. 11505) contains only part of this extensive text. According to a note by Dr. Voorhoeve the MS. begins with Abū ʿUbaida's letter to ʿUmar (p. 239 of the Calcutta edition) and could well be an autograph. Furthermore, Dr. Voorhoeve informs me that the lithographic book published in Riau in A.H. 1296/A.D. 1873 under the title *Futūḥ al-Sha'm* contains the translation of

another part of this Arabic work, running from the beginning up to Vol. II, p. 110 of the Calcutta edition. Further: that in the copy of this Riau publication in the Skeat collection in Oxford there is a note in pencil to the effect that the translation was made by Raja Ali Hajji, but that this seems open to serious doubt, as it is far more probable that we have here another part of Kemas Fakhruddin's translation.

3. A Malay translation of *Tuḥfat al-zaman fī zarf ahl al-Yaman*, also made by order of the Pangeran Ratu (crown-prince).

With reference to this MS. (Bodleian 4, Oxford) Dr. Voorhoeve informs me that the writing is similar to that of the translation of the *Futūḥ al-Sha'm*, and that the verses in which the translator offers his apologies for his scanty knowledge correspond almost word for word to the apology found in the latter MS. This seems to warrant the supposition that we have to do here with a work of Kemas Fakhruddin.

The *Tuḥfat al-zaman* was composed by Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī, an author whom Brockelmann places among those authors about whose time and place of residence nothing can be said with certainty (*G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 1042, no. 46). As stated by Brockelmann the book deals with mind-reading with the help of circles and charts.

4. *Khawāṣṣ al-Qor'ān al-<sup>c</sup>azīm*.

There are two copies of this work in the library of the Museum Pusat in Jakarta, namely MS. B.G. Mal. 75, dated A.H. 1184/A.D. 1770, and MS. V.d.W. 24, which is a copy of that (Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, pp. 369-'70). It deals with the eminent qualities of the chapters and verses of the *Qor'ān*, and is considered by Van Ronkel to be a translation of a work by Tamīmī. The translator began his work in A.H. 1183/A.D. 1769.

Brockelmann (*G.A.L.*, S. I, p. 679, sub 29a) does mention this author, *viz.*, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī, who lived in Damascus in the first half of the 13th century of the Christian era, but not this work by him. However, Van Ronkel's statement seems open to doubt. From the introduction of the text Van Ronkel has quoted two short passages. In the first the translator tells that the translation was made by order of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin. In the second he refers to his sojourn in India, telling us how in an Indian town where people did not know Arabic he made the acquaintance of a miracle-worker. Without quoting the original text Van Ronkel had added to this a comment that Kemas Fakhruddin stayed with that man for four years and enjoyed his extraordinary wisdom; furthermore, that he became acquainted with a learned shaikh who was engaged in composing a book on the eminent qualities of the text of the *Qor'ān* and dictated this book to him, whereupon he made an abstract of it. So there is no question of a direct translation from a work by al-Tamīmī. Going by the information supplied by Van Ronkel one can only say that Kemas Fakhruddin translated an abstract of an Arabic work by an unnamed shaikh, who may or may not have made use of a work by al-Tamīmī.

III. <sup>c</sup>*Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī*

This Palembang author took up his residence in Mecca, most probably in the early sixties of the 18th century. All of his books were written here or in Ṭā'if, the mountain-city with its cool climate south east of Mecca, which throughout the centuries has been the summer residence of well-to-do Meccans. Here he completed his Malay translation of an abridged version of Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' <sup>c</sup>ulūm al-dīn* in 1788. It is unknown whether he ever returned to his native country.

Already during his life-time he seems to have enjoyed considerable fame as a scholar, for in 1772 he wrote letters of introduction and recommendation to the princes of Central Java on behalf of two returning pilgrims.<sup>30</sup>

The principal works of <sup>c</sup>*Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī* are enumerated by Winstedt in his *History of Classical Malay Literature (J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, 1958)*, p. 125 as well as in Voorhoeve's article on him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. I, p. 92, where his Arabic writings are also mentioned. The Malay works are:

1. *Zuhrat al-murīd fī bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd*, written in Mecca in A.H. 1178/A.D. 1764.

The Jakarta copy of this text was prepared in Mecca in A.H. 1181/A.D. 1767; the Leiden copy originates from Aceh. <sup>c</sup>*Abd al-Ṣamad* composed this text at the request of a man who together with him had attended the lectures of Aḥmad b. <sup>c</sup>*Abd al-Mun<sup>c</sup>im al-Damanhūrī*, for the benefit of those students who had no Arabic. Al-Damanhūrī was an Egyptian scholar who visited Mecca in 1763 on the occasion of the pilgrimage; afterwards he became a professor at al-Azhar (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 371).<sup>31</sup>

2. *Hidāyat al-sālikīn fī sulūk maslak al-muttaqīn*, being an adaptation of Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, a work characterized by Montgomery Watt (*E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 1041a) as "a brief statement of a rule of daily life for the devout Muslim, together with counsel on the avoidance of sins". It deals with a number of subjects pertaining to dogmatics, *sharī<sup>c</sup>a* and others, in a somewhat mystical way. The Malay adaptation was finished in Mecca in A.H. 1192/A.D. 1778. Besides the printed editions from Mecca and Bombay mentioned in the *E.I.* there is also an Egyptian edition, dated A.H. 1341/A.D. 1922, which may be considered evidence of its lasting renown in Indonesia.

3. *Sair al-sālikīn ilā <sup>c</sup>ibādat Rabb al-<sup>c</sup>ālamīn*, considered to be his principal work. The idea of preparing this translation occurred to him in A.H. 1193/A.D. 1779; according to Van der Tuuk's note concerning the second part of this work (the lost MS. Gen. Secr. 17), this part was completed in Ṭā'if in 1195 and copied in Mecca in 1197, while the entire work of translation was finished in Ṭā'if in A.H. 1203/A.D. 1788.

The Arabic original of this translation is the *Lubāb Iḥyā' <sup>c</sup>ulūm*

*al-dīn*, an abridged version of Ghazālī's *magnum opus* by his brother Aḥmad b. Muḥ. al-Ghazālī (d. A.H. 520/A.D. 1126), or, according to others, by the author himself.<sup>32</sup>

°Abd al-Ṣamad's translation also exists in print. There are several editions: a lithographic one, Mecca, A.H. 1306/A.D. 1888-'89; a Būlāq edition, A.H. 1309/A.D. 1891, both in four volumes, and a Cairo edition of A.H. 1372/A.D. 1953, which proves that it has not fallen into disuse. In the first issue of the periodical *Akademika* (Kuala Lumpur, July 1972, pp. 62-63) Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady noted that both this work by °Abd al-Ṣamad as well the work mentioned above under para. 2 are still in use in the traditional madrasahs in Malaysia and among people interested in mysticism.

Another MS. may perhaps be added to this list:

4. *Tuḥfat al-rāghibīn fī bayān ḥaqīqat imān al-mu'minīn*, MS. V.d.W. 37 in Jakarta, which has a note to the effect that the work was composed in A.H. 1188/A.D. 1774. Recently it has been brought to my notice that another copy of this work is to be found in the library of the Leningrad Branch of the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies, namely Van Doorninck collection B. 4024. This copy, like the Leningrad copy of the Malay *Undang-undang Palembang* mentioned above, is of Palembang origin.

With reference to the Jakarta MS. Dr. Voorhoeve writes me the following: "°Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī is one of the few authors who always mention the year in which the work was completed. The Jakarta MS. is very much in disorder; it contains also a section on *perang sabil*, another subject on which °Abd al-Ṣamad has written. Moreover, the year 1188 fell within his lifetime. The odds are that he is in fact the author".

For a synopsis of the contents of the Leningrad MS. see my paper in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 132 (1976) referred to in note 30.

Besides these, °Abd al-Ṣamad is known to have composed three Arabic works.

1. *Naṣīhat al-muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-mu'minīn fī faḍa'il al-jihād fī sabīl Allāh wa-karāmat al-mujāhidīn fī sabīl Allāh*.

This is a treatise on holy war, divided into seven chapters. The Jakarta library has an unfortunately incompletely dated autograph copy of it, as well as a modern one (Van Ronkel, *Suppl. Cat. Arabic MSS. Bat. Soc.*, nos. 249 and 250). Teungku di Tiro, the author of the Achehnese *Hikayat Prang Sabi*, quotes °Abd al-Ṣamad's treatise (see *Indische Gids*, May & June 1912, line 583 of the *Hikayat Prang Sabi*; Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Vol. II, p. 119 (no. XIII)).

2. *al-Urwat al-wuthqā wa-silsilat ūlī 'l-ittiqā*.

Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady, *Akademika* 1, p. 62, nt. 2, states that this work, mentioned in Sulayman Mar'i's edition of the

*Hidāyat* (Singapore, n.d.), p. 28, deals with *awrād* to be recited at certain fixed times.

### 3. *Rātib* ° *Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī*.

Described by Van Ronkel as a "Sammani *ratib* of a poetical, liturgical and du'a-like character" (Van Ronkel, *op. cit.*, p. 216). On this kind of *rātib* see further Snouck Hurgronje, *De Atjèhers*, Vol. II ( p. 220 sqq. (*The Achehnese*, Vol. II, p. 216 sqq.)).

## IV. *Muhammad Muhyiddin b. Shaikh Shihabuddin*

This is a son of Shihabuddin whose writings were discussed above, under I. In his father's time the *ṭarīqa Sammāniyya* was still unknown in Palembang, but apparently he joined the new *ṭarīqa* and after the master's death (A.H. 1189/A.D. 1775) prepared a Malay translation of an Arabic "Life of Muḥammad Sammān", which was completed in A.H. 1196/A.D. 1781. Of this legendary biography there is one copy in Jakarta and another in Leiden; the latter bears a note to the effect that it was copied in A.H. 1245/A.D. 1829.

In his summary of the latter MS. (*Suppl. Cat. Mal. Hss. Leiden*, p. 296) Van Ronkel informs us that in the introduction to this *Hikayat Shaikh Muhammad Samman a Kitāb Ṭawālī*° *al-Faṭḥ* is referred to as an authoritative source of information on the Prophet's conquest of Medina and for the announcement of future miracles by Muḥammad Sammān (already noticed at that time). This *Kitāb Ṭawālī*° *al-Faṭḥ* was composed by ° *Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bakrī al-Ghamrī al-Sammānī* in A.H. 1180/A.D. 1766. It is obvious that the author was a follower of the Ṣūfī master; hence the addition 'al-Sammānī', not 'al-Samnānī', as Brockelmann interrogatively suggests (*G.A.L.*, S. II, p. 1038, sub 10).

## V. *Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad*

Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad has two books to his name:

### 1. *Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmān fī manāqib ustādhinā al-a*° *ḡam al-Sammān*.

As indicated by the title this is a book in praise of "our great master" Muḥammad Sammān and its general purpose is to record the course of his blessed life. The data for this biography were taken from Arabic sources. At the end of the book we are told that the saint's name-day (*ḥawl*) is celebrated in the third night of the twelfth month of the year, that is the night before Dhū 'l-ḥijja 3d.

The Jakarta MS. of this work is the only copy extant (V.d.W. 126).

### 2. *Baḥr al-*° *ajā'ib*.

Of this work too only one MS. is known, the Jakarta MS. B.G. Mal. 121. Its source is *Baḥr al-wuqūf fī °ilm al-tawfīq wa 'l-ḥurūf* by ° *Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥ. b. °Alī b. Aḥmad al-Biṣṭāmī*, a scholar who was

born in Syria but who died in Bursa in A.H. 858/A.D. 1454.<sup>33</sup> It deals with calculations for the prediction of future events. The Malay adaptation was made at the behest of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin, whose name figures on the front page, and it is dated A.H. 1223/A.D. 1808, in the reign of that Sultan, who was banished to Ternate in 1821.

On account of this the dates given by Van Ronkel (*Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 423) as indicating "his year of birth" (A.H. 1132/A.D. 1719) and "his year of death" (A.H. 1177/A.D. 1763) cannot possibly indicate Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad's term of life as Winstedt thinks. (*Hist. Class. Mal. Lit.*, p. 125). For that matter, it is highly questionable whether this is what Van Ronkel meant. I suspect that what Van Ronkel gave were the dates of the birth and the death not of Kemas Muhammad but of Muḥammad Sammān, both dates being mentioned in the MS. discussed in 1 above. A.H. 1132 is in fact the year of Muḥammad Sammān's birth; the date of his death is generally given as A.H. 1189. Moreover, it is hard to see that a Manāqib Muḥammad Sammān could have been written in Palembang before 1763, as the founder of the Sammāniyya was still alive and such works as a rule are not composed until the venerated person has passed away. Furthermore, it is highly improbable that the *ṭarīqa* was already known in Palembang by that time, since its spread in Sumatra is mainly attributable to <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ṣamad, who was an ardent disciple of the master and recruited many a compatriot into his *ṭarīqa*. <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ṣamad cannot have settled down in Arabia many years before 1764, when he wrote his first book. For these reasons Kemas Muhammad b. Ahmad has to be placed in the latter part of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century.

## VI. Sultan Mahmud Badruddin

The name of this Sultan, who came to the throne in 1803 or 1804 and ruled, with intervals, till 1821, when he was banished to Ternate, is associated with a small number of literary works.

### 1. *Shair Sinyor Kosta*.

The copyist of Leiden MSS. 1895 has added a note to the effect that this shair was composed by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin when still on the throne of Palembang (*Sultan Badaruddin mengarang cerita masa di Palembang lagi bertakhta, akan menjadi panglipur cinta*). Van der Linden (*thesis*, p. 115) ventures to think that the shair dates back to the time before 1811, as after the massacre of the Dutch garrison on September 14th 1811 the Sultan would have been preoccupied by military and political affairs to such a degree that he would have no time to spare for the composition of a shair as long and skilfully contrived as this one. So he does not question the Sultan's authorship, nor is there any doubt about this in Palembang. Here the accepted opinion is still the same as stated by Gramberg in his novel *Palembang* (1878), p. 112, note 1: "In Palembang Mahmud Badaruddin is credited with the

authorship of several works, one of which is entitled "The adventures of Sinyor Kasto", a work that is still much in demand". Winstedt's opinion is couched in more guarded terms. He speaks appreciatively of the poem: "'A trifle, but pretty', it has been termed,<sup>34</sup> and it is alive and vivid and novel in style and topic, being in fact one of the few genuinely Malay works as opposed to translations and adaptations". But referring to the attribution of the work to Sultan Badruddin in the Leiden catalogue he adds that this MS. "seems to differ from the version so often lithographed at Singapore and there appears insufficient reason to decide that he was the original author".<sup>35</sup>

## 2. *Hikayat Martalaya.*

Following Palembang tradition, Gramberg attributes the authorship of the *Hikayat Martalaya* also to Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. It has been observed above that the language of this shair too points to a Palembang origin; moreover, MS. B.G. Mal. 5, in which this hikayat is contained, and the only copy known, is of Palembang origin.

Evidence of the popularity of the story in Palembang in the first half of the 19th century can perhaps be drawn from another, unmistakably Palembang production, the *Shair Perang Ménténg*. In this shair the heroic behaviour of the Palembang warriors is compared with that of the gods and the heroes of the wayang stories such as Indera, Brama, Narada, Arjuna, Salya, Boma, Ratu Masapati, and also to that of Dewa Shahperi.<sup>36</sup> The last-named is a figure occurring in the *Hikayat Martalaya*; together with his father, the king of Muzjajar he joins battle with Shamsu Bahrum and his two *jinn*, who have penetrated into the garden of his fiancée Puspá Indera.<sup>37</sup> He also figures in the *Shair Mambang Jawhari*; here the princess's name is Kusuma (= Puspá) Indera.<sup>38</sup> So it is also possible that the mention of Shahperi in the *Shair Perang Ménténg* is due to the popularity of the *Shair Mambang Jawhari*. But all things considered, Gramberg's observation on the popularity of the *Hikayat Martalaya* is probably a fair description of the situation of the first decades of the 19th century.

## 3. *Shair Nuri*; 4. *Pantun*.

Possibly both were composed "akan penglipur manah" when the Sultan was in exile.

## VII. *Pangeran Panembahan Bupati*

The copyist of cod. or. Leiden 1896, a copy of the *Shair Raja Mambang Jawhari*, attributes the authorship of this work to a Pangeran Panembahan Palembang; this may or may not be correct. But it is not clear whether this is the same Pangeran as the Pangeran Panembahan Bupati, a "brother of the expelled Sultan of Palembang" who is said to have composed a *Shair Kembang air mawar* (MS. B.G. Mal. 10, first part; see Cat. Mal. hss. Bat. Gen., p. 54).

This Pangeran, originally named Pangeran Adikesuma and later on Pangeran Dipati tua, was granted the title of Pangeran Bupati Panembahan by Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin after De Kock's capture of Palembang. He figures in several of the chronicles and in the *Sha'ir Perang Ménténg*. See Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 480, *s.v.* Pangeran Adikesuma.

The third(?) shair to his name is the *Shair Patut delapan*. With regard to this shair it is stated in the *Notulen* ('Minutes') of the Batavia Society, 1866, p. 25, that the poem is more remarkable on account of its composition than on account of its contents. Its four-line stanzas can be divided into eight rhyming parts; hence the name.

### VIII. *Muhammad Ma'ruf b. Abdallah, khatib Palembang*

Muhammad Ma'ruf is the author of a harmonistic work on the *Qādiriyya* and *Naqshbandiyya ṭarīqas*, entitled *Ṭariqah yang dibang-sakan kepada Qādiriyyah dan Naqshbandiyyah*, a short summary of which is given by Van Ronkel in his *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 438.

In the beginning of the tract there is mention of Shaikh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, most probably the writer's teacher, who was head of the *ṭarīqa Qādiriyya* in Mecca about the middle of the 19th century, and who in that capacity initiated many pilgrims from Indonesia and the Malay countries into this fraternity.<sup>39</sup> The tract was composed in Mecca, presumably during the author's student days.

### IX. *Ahmad b. Abdallah*

In *B.K.I.*, Vol. 126 (1970), pp. 259-'60 Dr. Voorhoeve has suggested that the story of *Raden Manteri*, versified by Ali Musthatier and edited in 1838 by P. P. Roorda van Eysinga, is possibly based on a prose text from Palembang written by Ahmad b. Abdallah, possibly the *Hikayat Andakén Penurat*.

The Leiden MS. of this hikayat was copied in Batavia in 1825 and, as supposed by the editor, Dr. Robson (*Bibliotheca Indonesica*, Vol. 2; 1969), could very well originate from the Scriptorium of the General Secretariat, where so many MSS. were copied at the time (see Dr. P. Voorhoeve, *A Malay Scriptorium*, in *Malayan and Indonesian Studies*, ed. Bastin and Roolvink, Oxford 1964, pp. 256-266). Could the original of this copy have been one of the MSS. shipped to Batavia in 1822 that were spirited away afterwards? A second point is whether this Ahmad b. Abdallah was the father of Kemas b. almarḥūm Ahmad al-Palimbani, mentioned under V above. Should this be the case, then he must have lived in about the middle or the latter part of the 18th century.

It is worth mentioning that the Leiden MS. of the *Hikayat Andakén Penurat* is not a unique specimen, as Dr. Robson thought. There is a second copy of it in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, as stated by Dr. Amin Sweeney in *B.S.O.A.S.*, Vol.

XXXIII, p. 431, while a third copy is to be found in Cambridge (Add. 3811). This copy is the second part of a MS. of which the first part is the MS. E used in Teeuw's edition of the *Shair Kèn Tambuhan* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966).

#### X. *Kyai Rangga Setyanandita Ahmad*

K. R. Setyanandita Ahmad, the son of Kyai Ngabehi M-s-t-w-ng, is the copyist of Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri's *Hikayat Mareskalek* contained in cod. or. Leiden 2276d, to which he added an account of events in Palembang from 1812-1819. This account opens with Raffles' commissioning three delegates to Palembang in order to investigate the rumour of the massacre of the Dutch garrison. It describes the return of the delegates (apparently with nothing achieved), and the concentration of British ships in the straits of Bangka. On p. 95, in the beginning of a new section opening with the arrival of the Dutch expeditionary force at the mouth of the Sungsang river in 1821, the text ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. It is likely that Kyai Rangga Setyanandita was not the copyist but the author of this sequel. The question of the authorship will be examined below in § VI, *Hikayat Palembang*.

#### XI. *Pangeran Tumenggung Karta Menggala*

This Pangeran was a direct descendant of Sultan Muhammad Mansur ( $\pm 1706-1714$ ), and through his grandmother on the paternal side he was a great-grandson of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin I ( $\pm 1724-1757$ ). After the abolition of the Sultanate he held various posts in the local administration. At the request of A. H. W. baron De Kock, acting Commissioner for Palembang from 1842-1847, he composed the three texts contained in MSS. KITLV Mal. nos. 196, 201 and 201a, mentioned above sub I, 13, namely, *Carita Negeri Palembang*, *Carita daripada aturan Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang*, and *Hikayat Mahmud Badruddin*. For a synopsis of their contents and the use they were put to by Baron De Kock for a series of articles published (anonymously) in *Tijdschrift voor Neêrland's Indië*, 1844 and 1846, the reader is referred to Dr. Woelders' *thesis*, pp. 31-35.

Dr. Woelders suggests that P. T. Karta Manggala is also the author of a chronicle of Jambi, contained in MS. KITLV Mal. 205 and 207. This chronicle, however, is not an original work but an adaptation of an older text written in 1837 in Muara Kompeh (Jambi) and contained in cod. or. Leiden 2013 (Juynboll, *Cat. Leiden*, pp. 244-'45).

#### XII. *Demang Muhiddin*

Demang Muhiddin, a Palembang magistrate, is the author of the *Sila-sila Raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang* contained in MS. KITLV

Mal. 414. The last date mentioned is 2 Rajab 1277/January 14, 1861, the date of the death of Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, the son of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. As this MS. was acquired by Mr. Van den Bossche, most probably when he was Commissioner for Bangka and its dependencies from 1860-1862, the text must have been composed in 1861 or 1862. A summary of its contents is given by Dr. Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

\* \* \*

Not of Palembang origin is the *Hikayat Tuan Tilani* (Oph. 69), said by Van Ronkel to have been composed in A.H. 1278/A.D. 1861 by a certain Kemas Hasanuddin of Palembang. Hasanuddin was only the copyist; the story was written in Jambi in 1243/1827. It deals with the remnants of ancient habitation in the hinterland of Jambi and the relations with the royal dynasty of Siam. It is the same story as that contained in cod. or. Leiden 2013 (Cat. Juynboll, pp. 244-'45) that bears the name of *Hikayat Negeri Jambi*, and in MS. K.I.T.L.V. Mal. 205, described by Van Ronkel in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 211-213.

Tilani (sometimes Talani) should be read Tilawi, corrupted from Thai Butlawa = Putra Lawa, (Rama's) son Lawa. See H. H. Juynboll, in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 54 (1902), p. 545; A. Ziesenis, *Rama-Sage*, Hamburg 1928, p. 106 (= *Rama in Malaysia*, published by M.S.R.I., Singapore, 1963, p. 175).

## V

### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THREE WORKS BY UNKNOWN AUTHORS

#### 1. *Sha'ir Perang Ménténg*

This account in verse of the battle of Palembang (1819), already summarized above, is deserving of more attention. It has been treated in some detail by A. L. V. L. van der Linden in his Utrecht thesis on *De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur* ('The European in Malay literature'), Meppel 1937, pp. 147-171. More recently, in 1967, it was edited, together with a historical introduction, by drs. Atja of Jakarta, under the title of *Sjair Perang Palembang*. Unfortunately this is a mimeographed edition, which for the greater part is hardly readable. And lately it has been edited again by Dr. M. O. Woelders, who in his Leiden thesis on the Palembang Sultanate 1811-1825, has published the text together with a translation (*op. cit.*, pp. 189-225; 385-413).

Drs. Atja does not discuss the problem of the authorship of the sha'ir. Dr. Van der Linden ascribes it to Pangeran Muhammad, a half-caste Arab, basing himself on a note to that effect which he had found on the MS. and ascribed to Gramberg, the donor of the MS. But on exami-

nation of the Ms. Dr. Woelders found that the note contains nothing of the kind, and most probably is not Gramberg's.

Apparently it escaped Van der Linden that this Pangeran Muhammad was none other than Pangeran Sharif Muhammad, a son of the Pulau Pinang merchant Husain b. Shihab al-Din by a Palembang lady of title.<sup>40</sup>

Pangeran Muhammad maintained active commercial relations with Malacca and Palembang; on account of this he was taken in service by Raffles to act as an intermediary between the British and the Sultan of Palembang in the pourparlers with the latter which preceded the British occupation of Java.<sup>41</sup> From Dutch reports on Palembang affairs he is well-known as a *wakil* of Raffles; in this capacity he is given a place by Gramberg in his novel *Palembang* (1878), in which the author asserts that he has not done undue violence to historical authenticity.<sup>42</sup> In the correspondence of Raffles published by Bastin, Pangeran Muhammad figures under the name of Tunku Radin Mahomed, while in one of his letters to Lord Minto Raffles refers to him as "Mahomed, a relation of the Sultan".<sup>43</sup>

This Pangeran Muhammad was *not* the author of the sha'ir, as was rightly argued by Dr. Woelders (*thesis*, p. 58).<sup>44</sup> As is apparent from the sha'ir itself, in this battle he sided with the Dutch, which is not remarkable in view of the part he had played as Raffles's *wakil* and the ill-will the Sultan bore him as a consequence. Already in the first lines of the sha'ir he and Raja Akil, claimant to the throne of Siak, are bracketed together as allies of the infidels:

Alkissah pertama mula, Pangeran Muhammad membuat cela,  
Raja Akil demikian pula, Beserta, dengan kafir segala,

so that V. d. Linden's statement is enigmatical, to say the least.

This Raja Akil, "a man of great renown in the entire Northern part of the Indian Archipelago"<sup>45</sup>, was a grandson of the dethroned Sultan Muhammad of Siak (Raja Buang). In 1791 his uncle Sultan Yahya was ousted by Sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿUthmān b. Shibāb, whose mother was a daughter of Raja Alam, an erstwhile Sultan. Sayyid ʿAlī ruled till 1811 under the name of Sultan ʿAbd al-Jalīl Saif al-Dīn. His successor was Sultan Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Jalīl Khalīl al-Dīn (1811-1827). Meanwhile Raja Akil had entered the service of the British and in that capacity headed a punitive expedition against Belitung, where a British ship had been plundered.<sup>46</sup> After the restoration of Dutch rule he entered into Dutch service and was promoted major in the Netherlands-Indies army. He ended up as Sultan of Sukadana, where he could provide his aged father with rest and comfort till the end of his days. So small wonder that Professor Veth, after having passed in review his virtues and his less commendable qualities, was reminded of Aeneas and wondered when this Malay Aeneas would find his Vergil.<sup>47</sup>

In the *Sha'ir Perang Ménténg* it is Raja Akil who is pre-eminently the scapegoat; he is stigmatized repeatedly; see stanzas 28; 31-34; 81,

209; 212-214. Pangeran Muhammad is only mentioned twice; on his advice the gunfire directed against Muntinghe's ship was returned by shelling the kraton (st. 95), while in st. 112 it is told that Pangeran Puspawijaya, his face scarlet with fury, wanted to pit himself against Pangeran Muhammad.

What the Sultan took very much amiss is to be found in captain Robison's defence of his rehabilitation of Sultan Mahmud Badruddin. "Tunku Radin Mahomet has not been an honest Agent and had fabricated many of his stories"<sup>48</sup>, which should be understood as referring first and foremost to the statement he had made at the British headquarters at Muntok, to the effect that the Pangeran Ratu (crown-prince), naturally deputizing for his father the Sultan, had wanted to force him into signing a — false — declaration testifying that the Dutch garrison had been allowed to withdraw unmolested to Banka.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore: "the reason why . . . Radeen Mahomet has been so much my enemy with the English, said the Sultan, I suppose are these. He wanted money of me to pay his expences, which I declined to give him. He also took away one of my Women from my palace, availing himself of his situation as English Agent. If any other Malay had done such an insult he could not have escaped punishment for so doing."<sup>50</sup>

Cod. or. Leiden 2276c, pp. 30-31, however, gives an entirely different version of this story. Pangeran Muhammad had married a Muntok lady of noble birth and brought her to Palembang in disregard of the fact that marriage with a lady of her extraction (*bangsa Yang*) was a prerogative of the Palembang Sultans. The Sultan took his wife away, whereupon Pangeran Muhammad fled to Kedah and afterwards entered into the service of the British.<sup>51</sup> Another of Pangeran Muhammad's wrong-doings was that by order of Muntinghe he removed a piece of ordnance, the famous Palembang heirloom *Seri Padah*, from the entrance of the kraton without the Sultan's knowledge and consent.<sup>52</sup>

Now the *sha'ir*.

The events in Palembang between 1812 and 1819, when the town was the scene of the battle described in the *sha'ir*, are well-known. Sultan Mahmud Badruddin was dethroned by the British and replaced by Ahmad Najmuddin. He was then rehabilitated by Captain Robison but dethroned again by the intervention of the Central Government. In 1818 he was reinstated once more by the Dutch, after Ahmad Najmuddin had been banished to Cianjur on account of his incompetence and intriguing with the English in Bencoolen. The situation, however, did not improve and was visibly deteriorating during Muntinghe's protracted stay in the hinterland where he was coping with the English penetration into the border-land of Bencoolen. The tension intensified when on his return from the interior Muntinghe received non-committal replies to the demands he had made to the Sultan. Perceiving from the walls of the kraton that the Dutch had reoccupied the old fortification on the opposite bank of the river opposite the kraton, the Sultan assembled his troops, bracing himself for any encounter.

In the Malay sources the immediate cause of the outbreak of hostilities is said to have been a scuffle that broke out between a group of hajjis who were engaged in *dikir* and a number of Dutch soldiers. In view of the date of this incident, namely Sha<sup>c</sup>bān 18th<sup>53</sup>, this does not seem unlikely, for apart from the fact that the atmosphere was charged with tension the latter part of Sha<sup>c</sup>bān is a period of increased religious intensity, when people are preparing for the fasting of the next month, Ramaḍān. Prompted by the Sultan himself<sup>54</sup> the hajjis executed a *ratib*, possibly the *ratib* Sammān, which was much *en vogue* at that time in Palembang. A *ratib* is a religious performance consisting of the joint recital of certain formulas such as the *shahāda*, the *asmā' al-ḥusnā* (God's most beautiful names) and eulogies in praise of God and the Prophet, accompanied by various motions and postures. It was not uncommon for the participants in such a performance to work themselves up into a frenzy, so that a gathering that began as a religious event more often than not ended in tumult. No doubt such a tumultuous gathering was going on here on the 18th of Sha<sup>c</sup>bān.

At all events, a Dutch officer, accompanied by a Javanese soldier — as we read in cod. or. Leiden 2276c, p. 55 — came to see what was going on. For some reason or other the hajjis were infuriated and chased them away, pursuing them as far as the gate of the fortification. This resulted in a general attack on the garrison.

To quote the poem itself:

- st. 11 To perform a *ratib* in the audience court  
 The hajjis gathered as for a banquet.  
 Shyness and modesty were put aside.  
 Standing face to face they set to the performance.
- st. 12 At the words *Lā ilāha illā 'llāh* they beat their left side,  
 The seat of the pine-apple shaped (= physical) heart.  
 An officer came along and stopped to see what was going on.  
 The hajjis rushed at him and the officer fled.
- st. 13 The infuriated hajjis chased him,  
 Hajji Zain now taking the lead.  
 In this way the hostilities broke out  
 In the course of which eventually the old kraton was attacked.

This is not an unlikely story, as “Paradise lies in the shadow of the swords” (*sorga bernaung di mata pedang*)<sup>55</sup>, and if it is true the situation would appear to have got out of the Sultan's control, the more so after Pangeran Citra Saleh had come to the rescue of the hajjis by opening fire upon the Dutch garrison from an inland bastion. With respect to a fair assessment of the Sultan's role in the outbreak of the hostilities this detail does not seem to be devoid of interest. At any rate, a furious battle ensued, lasting for a couple of days, and though from time to time on the Palembang side a few combatants fell in action,

according to the poet the heaviest losses were inflicted upon the Dutch and their allies. These were harassed afloat and ashore, and seeing nothing else for it sailed down the river and sought safety in flight to Banka.

The Sha'ir Perang Ménténg, which describes this battle, was composed shortly after the abortive punitive expedition headed by Wolterbeek that was launched in December 1819.<sup>56</sup>

\* \*  
\*

Some additional observations can be made concerning the Shair Résidèn De Brauw and the Shair Melayu (Palembang), nos 15 and 16 of the list given above, under II.

No. 15, *Shair Résidèn De Brauw*.

This anonymous shair owes its name to Van Ronkel, but properly speaking the title is inappropriate, since Resident (rightly: Lieutenant-colonel) De Brauw hardly appears in it, and then only in a subordinate role. Van Ronkel's summary of its content is defective; the real subject is not even mentioned, namely, the dismissal and arrest of the Palembang regent (perdana menteri) and his banishment to Java for fraudulent practices and extortion. These events took place in 1851, so that the sha'ir must have been composed in the 1850's.

No. 16, *Shair Melayu (Palembang)*.

A summary of this shair is given by Hans Overbeck in his paper on *Malay Manuscripts*, which contains an annotated catalogue of the Malay manuscripts in German libraries (*J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 2, Oct. 1926).

On the MS. of this shair (Sch. V. 43(b)) Overbeck has made the following remarks: "Probably written by a Chinese. The spelling is very faulty, and compelled by the rhyme the writer has sometimes used words the meaning of which he was not quite sure of himself, so he put what he wanted to say in parentheses".

In Snouck Hurgronje's catalogue of the Berlin Malay MSS. (with which Overbeck was not acquainted as it is not available in print), pp. 158-'59, the content of the shair is summarized as follows: "In a rather dull fashion the poet relates how on August 27th 1842 a Palembang born Chinese skipper put his single-masted cutter into the port of Palembang and tried to mislead the harbour-master by means of a faked bill of lading. However, a Palembang port-constable resisted his attempt at bribery and reported the fraudulent intentions of the Chinese to his superior officer. Thereupon the cutter was closely surveyed by a commission of three inhabitants of Palembang; the cargo was seized and on Oct. 8th sold by public auction, to the amusement of the public at large. The shair was composed on June 10th 1845".

## VI

## HIKAYAT PALEMBANG

In the Leiden University Library there are two MSS. which claim to be and should be given the name Hikayat Palembang. They are A. cod. or. 2276c, and B. cod. or. 2276d, pp. 41-95 (Juynboll, Cat. Leiden, p. 251; p. 243). MS. A., numbering 79 pages, covers the period from 1720-1825. MS. B., numbering 54 pages, covers only the years from 1812-1819, beginning with the British expedition under the command of Colonel Gillespie and ending abruptly after a few lines on the arrival of the expeditionary force under the command of Baron De Kock in 1821. It is, in fact, a continuation of the story preceding on the first 40 pages of the MS., namely the *Hikayat Mareskalek* (i.e., the story of Daendels, 'the Iron Marshal' and his successor Janssens, who had to capitulate to the British) and offers an account of the events that occurred in Palembang after Raffles had appeared on the scene.

Both MSS. are discussed at some length by Van der Linden in his thesis (pp. 147-160). MS. B. had already been more fully discussed by Van Ronkel in a paper on "Daendels in de Maleische litteratuur" ('Daendels in Malay Literature'), published in *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, Vol. VII (1918), pp. 858-875 and 1152-1167. MS. A. has recently been discussed, edited and translated by Dr. Woelders in his thesis, pp. 49-50, 72-115 and 230-278. It is a different work by another author, and thus there is no need to discuss it in this connection.

Van Ronkel did not fail to see that at the end of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* (page 41 of the MS.), the story moved on rather abruptly from the coming of Raffles to the events in Palembang. In spite of this, he considered it to be a continuous whole. He did add, however, that in spite of the mention of the author's name at the beginning of the MS., the version in this MS. could not be the original one because the author, Abdullah al-Misri, was a writer of considerable fame, who would scarcely have passed so abruptly from one part of the story to another.

The Leiden library has another copy of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* (cod. or. 1724), which was made in Riau in 1827 by a Siak man named Encik Ismail b. Datuk Kerkun. He was also the copyist of cod. or. 1736 (*Sejarah Melayu*) and 3376 (Court ceremonial), and perhaps of the "Mirror for Princes" (also called *Hikayat Mareskalek* by Van Ronkel, Suppl. Cat. Leiden, p. 44), of which cod. or. Leiden 6057 could well be a copy.

Cod. or. 1724 contains a more elaborate and embellished version of the *Hikayat Mareskalek*, which in Van Ronkel's opinion is related to the version found in MS. B. but is not the original version of this Hikayat. In this MS., which does not contain the Palembang sequel, the name of the author of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* is given in full: Shaikh Abdullah b. Muhammad Abu Bakr Raja Bandarkhan b. Shaikh Ibrahim al-Misri.

This Shaikh Abdullah is not a complete stranger. He and his writings

were very well known to an older generation of writers on Malay subjects. But it seems that subsequently his fame as a writer was eclipsed by that of his renowned contemporary and namesake, Abdullah b. Abdalkadir Munshi, to such an extent that in Winstedt's *History of Classical Malay Literature* his name is not even mentioned. Hooykaas (*Over Maleische Literatuur*, p. 114) mentions two of his books, but ascribes one of these to "a Malay", and the second to "a Pontianak Arab".

Who this "Pontianak Arab" has been elucidated by Van Hoëvell in *Tijdschrift voor Ned.-Indië*, 1854 II. He was born in Palembang, and educated in Batavia by a cousin who was none other than the famous Shaikh ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī of Petamburan (died 1847).<sup>57</sup> But before long he gave his heart to Pontianak and dedicated his *Hikayat Mareskalek* to the Pontianak Sultan Sayyid Qāsim al-Qadrī, who ruled from 1808-1819. Van Ronkel has suggested that this work was completed some time between 1813 and 1816. Another treatise of his, composed in 1818-1819, is in fact a "Mirror for Princes", despite the fact that Daendels figures largely in it. It was summarized by Van Ronkel in his article on Daendels.

In the early 1820's Shaikh Abdullah became a secretary to Sayyid Ḥasan b. ʿUmar al-Ḥabshī, who was on good terms with the colonial government. Several times Sayyid Ḥasan was sent by the Governor-General on diplomatic missions; he was given the title of Pangeran, and in 1830 he submitted to the Governor-General a report on piracy in the Archipelago.<sup>58</sup> Shaikh Abdullah accompanied this diplomatic agent on his voyages to Siam and Bali, and wrote down his findings in two treatises, *Hikayat Raja-raja Siam* (1823) and *Hikayat Tanah Bali*, of which only the first has been preserved. The latter is only known from an extract of it published by Van Hoëvell in his paper of 1854 referred to above. Copies of the *Hikayat Raja-raja Siam* are preserved in the Leiden University Library (Cat. Juynboll, pp. 240-'41, cod. or. 2011) and in the library of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden, no. 534 (see *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 213-'14). De Hollander has published fragments of it in his *Handleiding*, and a Dutch summary of its contents in *B.K.I.*, Vol. III : 8 (= Vol. 20; 1873), pp. 229-248.

It is beyond doubt, though perhaps not unexpected, that the last-mentioned works breathe a spirit widely different from that of the *Hikayat Mareskalek*. Van Ronkel, who apparently was captivated by this work owing to its candid estimate of Daendels' forceful personality, asked himself for what purpose the work was written. Because his interesting paper was published more than half a century ago in a no longer extant periodical of limited circulation I venture to quote his views at some length. Says Van Ronkel: "What is offered here is a short anecdotal history of the man who kept a tight hand over his subjects, and this in connection with the perpetual question of the reasons for the white man's power . . . The author was a pious man who had a low opinion of traders and trade. He was a true resident of the 'Outer

Possessions', and did not take kindly to Java. He was an old-fashioned, almost reactionary man of letters and as a good Muslim he hated the infidels and abhorred the worldly, frivolous life in the port of Java . . . He asserts that he wrote his book for three reasons: first, to demonstrate God's omnipotence; secondly, to demonstrate the white man's ability to govern as well as his capability of making a profit . . .; and thirdly, to practise composition (p. 861). . . . Broadly speaking, one may say that "the Terrible One" fares rather well at the author's hands, but we should not forget that he was not a Javanese nor had he a liking for the Javanese with their *hormat* (exaggerated formality) towards their princes and grandees. He gloated in silent satisfaction over all those menaks and pangerans who were put in their place and humiliated by the Marshall, and he could not stand the fact that in Java the Chinese, those unworthy infidels, were addressed in so dignified a manner. In his opinion Java was a sinful, frivolous and voluptuous land, the chastisement of which by Daendels did not displease him. In a dual sense he considered this despot an instrument in God's hand." (p. 1165).

However, we find a drastic change of tune in the *Hikayat Siam*, which was written in 1822 or shortly thereafter. In the beginning of this story we read that the author gave up an intended business trip to Timor in order to accompany Sayyid Ḥasan on his voyage to Siam because the latter had held out the prospect of presentation to the Governor-General. This audience did not come about, in spite of the fact that, as our author says, his only purpose in writing his hikayat had been to be of use to the Grand Seignior in Batavia. On the subject of being ruled by Westerners he thinks quite differently. He no longer considers it a punishment but a blessing, and he does not even object to the taxes imposed by them, because they create the possibility of a peaceful, secure and prosperous condition, which is too often lacking elsewhere.

This change of mind induced Van der Linden to make the following observation: "Should, in fact, this Abdullah be identical with the haughty author of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* who fulminated against the whites and in particular against their fiscal system, then this volte-face can be seen as nothing short of staggering" (*loc. cit.*, p. 176, nt. 1). A few pages earlier Van der Linden had observed (p. 172, nt. 2), "Within about ten years he must have been converted from a fierce anti-European and orthodox Islamic writer into a humble, out-and-out admirer of European government and everything connected with it, and in religion he became a very moderate man, even taking interest in other religions".

If there was a volte-face, it could not have occurred all at once. We should not lose sight of the fact that his cousin, who educated him, was always on good terms with the Netherlands-Indies government. Furthermore, it is quite possible that his ideas underwent a fundamental change owing to his intercourse with the Arab colony in Pontianak — a town constantly idealized by Abdullah, and where friendly terms with the Dutch were highly valued — as well as his employment with Sayyid

Hasan, who received the title of Pangeran for diplomatic services rendered. And who knows whether or not the prospects of enhanced social prestige, or the hope of the title of Pangeran for himself even, may not have contributed to his change of outlook? Finally, the picture of the white man as sketched in the *Hikayat Mareskalek* already shows a number of lighter touches beside the dark ones. Of certain qualities and activities of the white man Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri speaks with as much appreciation as his namesake does in his autobiography. So the symptoms of some reappraisal were already there.

So much for the personality of Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri. We now revert to the initial question: is this Shaikh Abdullah the author of the sequel to the *Hikayat Mareskalek* that is dedicated to the history of Palembang? Van Ronkel is not clear about this, but, as I understand him, in the end he takes the line that the hypothetical originals of both parts of the MS. go back to the same author. Van der Linden also assumes that both parts of the MS. flowed from the same pen, for he says, "MS. B (= cod. or. Leiden 2276d) pays more attention to Gillespie than, for instance, to Raffles. Gillespie shows the same temper as the Marshal, perhaps in part because of the fact that the author described the latter only a short while before" (*op.cit.*, p. 152).

But, one may ask, is it likely that an Arab who in the period under discussion lived in Pontianak and travelled a good deal elsewhere and even abroad, was at the same time so thoroughly informed about events in Palembang that he could write about them in such detail? I, for one, think this very unlikely: here speaks an insider.

Now, in addition to the name of Shaikh Abdullah, the name of the copyist is also mentioned at the beginning of the manuscript. He was Kyai Ranga Setyanandita Ahmad b. Kyai Ngabehi M-s-t-w-ng, and it is stated that he carried out his work in A.H. 1247/A.D. 1831-'32. I think one may presume, not only that it was this Kyai Ranga who combined the subject-matter of the *Hikayat Mareskalek* with an account of Palembang events into a continuous story, but also that he himself, being a Palembang man, could well be the author of this account.

After a thorough examination of the text Dr. Woelders made the same suggestion, for reasons supplied by the text itself. Furthermore, in the N.I. Government Yearbooks for 1830-1834 Dr. Woelders found the copyist's name registered as that of a Palembang magistrate (*op.cit.*, pp. 53-54). So it seems that there is much to be said for the possibility that the copyist of the first part of the MS. was the author of the Palembang sequel to it.

## NOTES TO APPENDIX

- 1 *J.R.A.S.*, April 1963, p. 63.
- 2 *Bibl. Marsd.*, p. 304.
- 3 See *Bibl. Marsd.*
- 4 Cat. Greentree and Nicholson, p. 6; as stated by Dr. Voorhoeve, *Handlist Arabic MSS. Leiden*, p. 384, this Malay text is a translation of Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī's *Tuhfat al-zaman fi ḡarf ahl al-Yaman*.
- 5 In cod. or. Leiden 2276(d), p. 46 it is stated that Gillespie's soldiers looted the town. (Woelders, *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825*, Thesis Leiden 1975, pp. 159; 350).
- 6 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1866.
- 7 *Loc. cit.*, Oct. 30th 1866, VI, b.
- 8 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1875, pp. 7-9; 56.
- 9 *Ibidem* 1876, p. XVIII, where the writing is erroneously said to be Balinese.
- 10 The last passage of p. 17 should be read: *Alamat hikayat Seri Paduka Pang-eran Ratu ibn Paduka Seri Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin ibn Paduka Seri Susuhunan Ahmad Najmuddin ibn Sultan Ratu Mahmud Badruddin fi Palembang dār al-maḥmūr wa 'l-mashhūr*.
- 11 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1880, p. 75.
- 12 In his thesis *De European in de Maleische Literatuur* (Utrecht, 1937), p. 157 and note 7.
- 13 In Gramberg's novel *Palembang* (1878), pp. 286-295 the author has tried his hand at a description of the Sultan's treasure-chamber and its contents, an account probably based on oral tradition current in Palembang at the time. See also Raffles' letter to Lord Minto, quoted by Bastin in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 109 (1953), p. 307: "... the Sultan of Palembang is one of the richest of the Malay Chieftains and is literally said to have Godowns stored with Dollars and Gold hoarded by his Ancestors".
- 14 Its formation was due to the renewed awakening of interest in the indigenous culture that set in in the time of this Governor-general. It was this Governor-general who ordained (1819, *Indisch Staatsblad* 34) that within a certain period every civil servant had to know the language of his district (see: P. Mijer, *Jean Chrétien Baud geschetst*, Utrecht 1878, p. 112).
- 15 *Notulen Bat. Gen.* 1880, after p. 174 (Bijlage II, after Not. 7-XII-1880).
- 16 *Notulen Bat. Gen.*, loc. cit.
- 17 *al-Durr al-manḡūm* is a very common book-title. A book of this name is also mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu* as written in Mecca by a certain Abū Ishāq and brought to Malacca by his pupil Abū Bakr. Sultan Mansur Shah sent it to Pasai with a request that it be explained by Makhdum Patakan, who did this to the full satisfaction of Maulānā Abū Bakr. See: *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. Situmorang and Teeuw, pp. 168-169; H. Overbeck, *The Answer of Pasai*, in *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XI, Pt. 2 (1933); R. Roolvink, *The Answer of Pasai*, *ibidem* Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 2 (1965).
- 18 In a letter to Professor Millies in Utrecht, dated Oct. 1849; see: *H. N. van der Tuuk, De Pen in Gal gedoopt*, Brieven en documenten verzameld en toegelicht door R. Nieuwenhuys, Amsterdam 1962, p. 35.

- 19 That he was cognizant of the MSS. of the General Secretariat was already apparent from his list of the MSS. in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society (*B.K.I.*, Vol. III: 1 (1866)), where reference is made to MS. Gen. Secr. 3, a copy of al-Rānīrī's *Hadiyyat al-ḥabīb*. On this MS. (that probably got lost, but of which MS. Schoemann V 34 (Berlin) seems to be a copy), see Dr. Voorhoeve in *Bingkisan Budi* (Van Ronkel Anniversary Volume, Leiden 1950), pp. 307-309; *B.K.I.*, Vol. 107 (1951), p. 357, note 11.
- 20 On the *Ḥikam* of Ibn ʿAtā' Allāh see: Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAtā' Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie Shadhilite*; édition critique et traduction des *Ḥikam*. Dar el-Machreq, Beyrouth 1972, and for the Malay translation of the *Ḥikam*: R. L. Archer, *Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra*, in *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XV, Pt. 2 (1937).
- 21 *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen*, thesis Leiden 1924.
- 22 *Op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.
- 23 According to Javanese tradition Raden Patah, said to have been the head of the Muslim alliance against Majapait, was born and brought up in Palembang. So when it is stated in the *Sajarah Bantěn* that in 1596, when Pangeran Muhammad launched his ill-fated attack on Palembang, Palembang was still *kafir*, this can only mean that the interior was not yet Muslim (Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantěn*, thesis Leiden 1913, p. 151; see also De Graaf and Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java*, Verh. Kon. Inst. Vol. 69 (1974), p. 203). That the interior was still heathen may also be concluded from the *Sajarah Bantěn* story of the albino Amar, who, at a somewhat later date, preached Islam in the Lampung district of South Sumatra, penetrating as far as the Palembang hinterland (Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *op. cit.*, p. 45). According to Palembang tradition Islam did not become solidly rooted in the Palembang hinterland until the latter part of the 17th century, during the reign of Sultan Abdurrahman; see MS. Mal. 414 of the collection of the Royal Institute.
- 24 As already mentioned by Radermacher in his description of Sumatra (*Verh. Bat. Gen.*, Vol. III (1781)). This court of justice was perpetuated by the Netherlands-Indies Government (see J. J. van de Velde, *De godsdienstige rechtspraak in Ned.-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, thesis Leiden 1928, p. 30).
- 25 See D. A. Rinkes, *Abdoerraof van Singkel*, thesis Leiden 1909; Dr. P. Voorhoeve, Van en over Nuruddin arRaniri, *B.K.I.*, Vol. 107 (1951), pp. 353-368; Bayan Tadjalli, Gegevens voor een nadere studie over Abdurrauf van Singkel, *T.B.G.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), pp. 87-117.
- 26 See C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Shamsu 'l-Din van Pasai*, thesis Leiden 1945; Nur al-Din al-Raniri als bestrijder der Wujudiyya, *B.K.I.*, Vol. 104 (1948), pp. 337-414; Syed Muhammad Naguib al-Attas, *Raniri and the Wujudiyah of 17th Century Acheh* (Monographs Mal. Branch Royal Asiatic Society III), 1966; G. W. J. Drewes, Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddiq li-daf' al-Zindīq re-examined, *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XLVII pt. 2, 1974, pp. 83-104.
- 27 He was nominated Sultan in August 1774, his predecessor, Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin, becoming Susuhunan, the title granted to retired Sultans. The evidence furnished by the official diplomatic document printed by Stapel, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, Vol. VI (1753-1799), p. 404, escaped Woelders' notice (*op. cit.*, p. 443, note 65). Stapel is mistaken in assuming that Sultan Ahmad Najmuddin came to the throne in 1774.
- 28 The short summary given by H. H. Juynboll in his catalogue, and borrowed by Winstedt (*Hist. Class. Mal. Lit.*, p. 126), is incorrect.
- 29 Brockelmann, *Gesch. Arab. Litt.*, Vol. I, p. 136; S. I, p. 208; Fuat Sezgin,

- Gesch. des Arab. Schrifttums*, Vol. I, p. 293. The book deals with the conquest of Syria by the Muslims after the Prophet's death.
- 30 I am indebted to Dr. M. C. Ricklefs for sending me copies of the Dutch translations made from the Javanese translations of these Arabic letters, which were found by him in the Dutch Colonial Archives and discussed at some length in his book *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1792*, London 1974. I cannot, however, concur with his opinion that the purport of these letters was to foment holy war in Java. It is true that in the beginning of the letters the addressees — notwithstanding their grim struggle for temporal power — are praised as true Muslim princes who have exerted themselves in "the way of the Lord". But one should not lose sight of the fact that in Javanese epistolary style it is considered bad form to come straight to the point at the very beginning of a letter. The real object is not brought forth until its path has been paved. So what the writer really wanted was to solicit princely favour for the two hajjis, who, in furtherance of this request, brought the princes a present of Zam-Zam water (water from the sacred well near the Ka'ba) by way of *oleh-oleh*. For the content of these letters I refer to my paper. *Further data concerning 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbānī*, in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 132 (1976), pp. 267-292.
- 31 In the Index of Brockelmann's *G.A.L.*, S. III, p. 586, he is mistakenly recorded under the name of 'Abd al-Mu'min.
- 32 H. Ritter (*Enc. of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II, p. 1041) says that Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's abridged version of the *Iḥyā'* of his brother has not survived, but Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, S. I, p. 748, offers no opinion on the subject.
- 33 Brockelmann, *G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 231 sub 5 and S. II, p. 323, states that he was a favourite of the Turkish Sultan Murad II (d. 1451), whose court was a centre for scholars and writers. The title of the work in question is given as *Baḥr al-wuqūf fī cilm al-ḥurūf* (*G.A.L.*, Vol. II, p. 232 sub 20), so that one may surmise that it deals with cabbalistic and mystical meanings of letters (*ḥurūf*), a subject al-Bisṭāmī was very familiar with.
- 34 By Pijnappel, in *B.K.I.*, Vol. III: 5 (= Vol. 17; 1870).
- 35 Winstedt, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.
- 36 Sha'ir Perang Ménténg, st. 85.
- 37 Van Ronkel, *Cat. Mal. Hss. Bat. Gen.*, p. 75.
- 38 *Ibidem*, p. 336.
- 39 Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Vol. IV, II, p. 389.
- 40 *B.K.I.*, Vol. 109 (1953), p. 315; according to cod. or. Leiden 2276c, p. 30 a *den ayu* (Woelders, thesis Leiden 1975, p. 90).
- 41 *B.K.I.*, Vol. 109 (1953), p. 306.
- 42 The events which led to the expedition under the command of Colonel Gillespie have been described several times, Baud's paper *Palembang in 1811 en 1812*, printed in the very first issue of the *Bijdragen Kon. Inst.* (1853) being a source many writers have drawn upon. Recently they were recapitulated again by Dr. M. O. Woelders in the introductory chapter of his thesis. But no one going into all the facts of the massacre of the Dutch garrison can ignore the penetrating study of Bastin that appeared under the same title as Baud's article in *B.K.I.*, Vols. 109 and 110 (1953, 1954). It is less well-known that the Palembang events of 1811 are the subject-matter of a novel entitled *Palembang, Historisch-romantische Schets uit de geschiedenis van Sumatra*, by J. S. G. Gramberg (1878), a writer who lived in Palembang from 1864-1866.
- 43 *B.K.I.*, Vol. 109 (1953), p. 307.

- 44 This Appendix was compiled in 1973 and in the same year submitted to but not accepted for publication by the Editorial Board of the *Bijdragen* on account of its too special character. Criticizing Van der Linden's untenable view of the authorship of the Sha'ir Perang Ménténg and rejecting the assumption of both Van Ronkel and Van der Linden that cod. or. Leiden 2276d, registered as Hikayat Mareskalek, in its entirety was to be considered as based on a (hypothetical) original composed by Shaikh Abdullah al-Misri, I came to the same conclusions as those reached by Dr. Woelders. Considering the materials adduced in my discussion of this point I think there is no reason to suppress this paragraph. As will be apparent from the text and the notes of this Appendix I am indebted to Dr. Woelders for valuable additional information on authors, manuscripts and former owners of manuscripts.
- 45 E. Netscher, *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1602-1865* (Verh. Bat. Gen., Vol. XXXV (1870)), p. 162 note, where Veth's statement that he was a grandson of Sultan Yahya (repeated by Woelders, *thesis* p. 442 note 57) is rectified.
- 46 F. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het eiland Banka* (naar een Maleisch handschrift), *B.K.I.*, Vol. VI: 1 (1895), p. 154. This Malay MS. is Mal. 541 in the possession of the Royal Institute in Leiden, described by Van Ronkel in *B.K.I.*, Vol. 60 (1908), sub no. XVII. See also Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and p. 440 note 39, and above sub 13: MSS. of the Royal Institute.
- 47 P. J. Veth, *Borneo's Westerafdeeling*, Vol. II, pp. 150 sqq.
- 48 *B.K.I.*, Vol. 110 (1954), p. 76.
- 49 *Ibidem*, pp. 67; 69.
- 50 *Ibidem*, pp. 77, 78.
- 51 Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 90; p. 248; p. 458 *s.v.* bangsa Yang.
- 52 *Ibidem*, p. 184; p. 380.
- 53 Sha'ir Prang Ménténg, st. 10.
- 54 Woelders, *op. cit.*, p. 184; translation p. 381.
- 55 Sha'ir Prang Ménténg, st. 18. This is the translation of a well-known tradition found in all the classical collections (see the *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition musulmane*, Vol. IV, Leiden 1962, p. 79). The Arabic original runs as follows: (*Abwāb*) *al-janna tahta zilāl al-suyūf*, '(The gates of) Paradise lie in the shadow of the swords', meaning that fighting the unbelievers is a way of attaining Paradise. Woelders' translation: 'De hemel gaat schuil in het lemmet van Uw zwaard' ('Heaven hides itself in the edge of your sword') is not correct.
- 56 Stanza 258: *Jendral laut lari bēroleh wirang*.
- 57 L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadramout et les Colonies arabes dans l'Archipel indien*, Batavia 1886, p. 163, states that after having engaged in trade in Palembang and Padang, he settled down in Petamburan as a teacher of religion. Furthermore, that he was on very friendly terms with the Netherlands-Indies Government and that, though having no books to his name, he had numerous pupils. He is said to have excelled in astronomy and astrology, and about 1803, when he was on a visit in Palembang, he observed on the deviation of the *mihrāb* of the so-called Sultan's Mosque, built in 1748 by Sultan Mahmud Badruddin I. In consequence of this observation the direction of the *mihrāb* was adjusted (Snouck Hurgronje, *Adviezen* Vol. I, p. 844). The well-known Sayyid ʿUthmān of Batavia was a grandson of Shaikh ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Misri, his mother being a daughter of his.
- 58 *Ibidem*, p. 181.

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

### mentioned in the Appendix

	<i>page</i>
Aghmaḍ al-masā'il . . . . .	206
Agreement of June 2nd 1722 . . . . .	211
Agreement of December 25th 1755 . . . . .	211
K. <sup>c</sup> Aqīdat al-bayān . . . . .	214, 219
Asal raja-raja Palembang . . . . .	216
Asrār al-insān . . . . .	206
Baḥr al- <sup>c</sup> ajā'ib . . . . .	204, 224
Baḥr al-wuqūf . . . . .	224
Baiḍāwī's Commentary on the Qor'ān (Arab.) . . . . .	202, 217
Bunga Rampai (one story) . . . . .	216
Carita daripada aturan raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang . . . . .	210, 228
Carita negeri Palembang . . . . .	210, 228
Carita raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang . . . . .	211
Daqā'iq al-ḥurūf . . . . .	206
Dewa Mēndo . . . . .	199
al-Durr al-manẓūm fi bayān al-sirr al-maktūm (Arab.) . . . . .	204, 218
al-Durr al-naẓīm . . . . .	205, 217
Durrat al-farā'id bi-sharḥ al- <sup>c</sup> aqā'id . . . . .	207
Faṭḥ al-ma <sup>c</sup> ārif . . . . .	208
Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān (Arab.) . . . . .	205, 218
Genealogies, Palembang . . . . .	211, 212
Hidāyat al-sālikin . . . . .	215, 222, 224
Hikayats (anonymous) . . . . .	209
Hikayat Andaken Penurat . . . . .	227
„ Cekelwanengpati . . . . .	209
„ karamat Shaikh Muh. Samman dengan ikhtisar . . . . .	215, 224
„ Mahmud Badruddin . . . . .	210, 228
„ Mareskalek . . . . .	209, 228
„ Martalaya . . . . .	200, 226
„ Palembang . . . . .	209, 228, 234-237

	<i>page</i>
Hikayat Pendawa lima . . . . .	209
„ Raden Manteri . . . . .	227
„ Raja Budak . . . . .	200, 215
„ Seri Rama . . . . .	208
„ Seribu Masa'il . . . . .	208, 218
„ Tuan Tilani . . . . .	229
History of Banka . . . . .	211
Idrāk al-ḥaḡīqa fī takhrij aḥādīth al-Ṭarīqa (Arab.) . . . . .	202, 218
Jawāhir al-ʿulūm fī kashf al-maʿlūm . . . . .	204
Jawharat al-tawḥīd . . . . .	199, 218, 219
Jayalengkara wulang (Jav.) . . . . .	202
Johar Shah (Dutch) . . . . .	213
Khawāṣṣ al-Qur'ān al-ʿaẓīm . . . . .	204, 217, 221
Kifāyat al-muḥtājīn . . . . .	206
Kitāb al-adhkār wa-ḥilyat al-abrār (Arab.) . . . . .	202, 218
„ al-fawā'id . . . . .	204
„ al-ḥikam . . . . .	205, 218
„ (al-)Mukhtaṣar . . . . .	204, 220
Letters from Palembang . . . . .	214
Menak (Jav.) . . . . .	203
Misa Cangkrama . . . . .	199
Moralistic tracts (Jav.) . . . . .	199
Mukhtaṣar Futūḥ al-Sha'm . . . . .	199, 218, 220
Nafahāt al-Raḥmān fī manāqib ustādhinā al-aʿẓam al-Sammān . . . . .	215, 218, 224
Naṣīḥat al-muslimīn wa-tadhkirat al-mu'minīn (Arab.) . . . . .	215, 223
Palembang History . . . . .	210
Panji (Jav.) . . . . .	202
Pantun Sultan Badruddin . . . . .	201, 226
Primbons . . . . .	216
Rama kawi (Jav.) . . . . .	199
Ratib . . . . .	215, 224
Rēpen bramara (Jav.) . . . . .	199
Risalah . . . . .	199, 219
Risāla fī 'l-tawḥīd . . . . .	205, 218
Sabīl al-hidāya wa 'l-rashād . . . . .	207, 218
Sair al-sālikīn . . . . .	206, 215, 222
al-Sanusiyya . . . . .	206, 218
Sejarah Melayu . . . . .	209

	<i>page</i>
Sha'ir alamat al-kiyamat . . . . .	213
„ kembang air mawar . . . . .	201
„ kumbang . . . . .	200, 215
„ Melayu Palembang . . . . .	216, 233
„ Nuri . . . . .	201, 215, 226
„ Patut delapan . . . . .	201
„ Perang Ménténg . . . . .	201, 216, 229–233
„ Raja Mambang Jawhari . . . . .	216, 226
„ Résidèn De Brauw . . . . .	216, 233
„ Sinyor Kosta . . . . .	215, 225
Shams al-āfāq fi ʿilm al-ḥuruf wa 'l-awfāq . . . . .	206, 218
Shams al-maʿārif . . . . .	208
Shumūs al-anwār wa-kunūz al-asrār . . . . .	207, 218
Sila-sila raja-raja didalam negeri Palembang . . . . .	211, 228
Širāṭ al-mustaqim . . . . .	204
Sullam al-mustafidīn . . . . .	208
Surat bintang . . . . .	206
Tariqah yang dibangsakan kepada Qadiriyya dan Naqshbandiyyah	227
Tuḥfat al-rāghibīn . . . . .	223
Tuḥfat al-zaman . . . . .	199, 218, 221
ʿUddat al-ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn . . . . .	206, 218
Undang-undang Palembang (Mal.) . . . . .	213
Uṅḍang-uṅḍang Palembang (Jav.) . . . . .	213
ʿUmdat al-muḥtājīn . . . . .	207
ʿUmdat al-murīd li-Jawharat al-tawḥīd (Arab.) . . . . .	202
al-ʿUrwat al-wuṭḥā . . . . .	223
Wayang geḍog (Jav.) . . . . .	199
Wayang purwa stories (Jav.) . . . . .	199
Zuhrat al-murīd fī bayān kalimat al-tawḥīd . . . . .	214, 222

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, M. A., *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London, 1907.
- Ahlwardt, W., *Verzeichniss der arabischen Hss. der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 10 Vols., 1887-1899.
- Ali Hassan Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junaid*, Gibb Mem. Series, N.S., Vol. XXII, 1962.
- al-ʿAlmawī, *Mukhtaṣar Tanbih al-ʿālib wa-irshād al-dāris*, see Sauvaire, Henri.
- Antonius, George, *The Arab Awakening*, Philadelphia, 1938.
- Arberry, A. J., *The Mawāqif and Mukhātabāt of Muḥ. Ibn ʿAbdi 'l-Jabbār al-Niffārī*. Gibb Mem. Series, N.S., Vol. IX, 1935.  
*The Book of Truthfulness (Kitāb al-Ṣidq)*, Islamic Research Association no. 6, O.U.P., 1937.
- Arberry, A. J. and ʿAli Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Qādir, *Kitāb al-riyāḍa wa-adab al-naḥs*, Cairo, 1366/1947.
- Archer, R. L., Muhammadan Mysticism in Sumatra, *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XV Pt. 2 (1937).
- Asin Palacios, M., Une introduction musulmane à la vie spirituelle. *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, Vol. IV (1923).
- Atja, *Sjair Perang Palembang*, Jakarta, 1967.
- al-Attas, Syed Muḥ. Naguib, *Rānirī and the Wujūdiyyah of 17th century Aceh*, Singapore, 1966.
- al-Bājūrī, Ibrāhīm, *Hāshiya ʿalā Sharḥ Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī ʿalā matn Abi Shujāʿ*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1331/1912.
- Bastin, John, Palembang in 1811 and 1812, *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. 109 (1953), pp. 300-320 and Vol. 110 (1954), pp. 64-88.
- Baud, J. C., Palembang in 1811 en 1812, *B.K.I.* 1 (1853).
- Becker, C. H., *Islamstudien*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1924-1932.
- Bell, Richard, *The Qurʾān*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1937-1939.
- Berg, L. W. C. van den, *Codicum Arabicorum in bibliotheca Societatis artium et scientiarum quae Bataviae floret asservatorum Catalogus*, Batavia, The Hague, 1873.  
*Le Hadramout et les colonies arabes dans l'Archipel Indien*, Batavia, 1886.
- Braune, Walther, *Die Futūḥ al-ḡaib des ʿAbd al-Qādir*, 1933.
- Brockelmann, C., *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., Weimar, 1898-1902; Supplement vols. I-III, Leiden, 1937-1942.

- al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Krehl and Juynboll, 4 vols., Leiden, 1862-1908.
- Busse, Heribert, 'Abd al-Ganī an-Nābulusīs Reisen im Libanon (1103/1689 — 1112/1700. *Der Islam*, Vol. 44 (1968), pp. 71-114.
- Chabbi, Jacqueline, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī personnage historique. *Studia Islamica*, XXXVIII (1973), pp. 75-106.
- Clercq, F. S. A. de, Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het eiland Banka (naar een Maleisch handschrift). *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. VI: 1 (= Vol. 45; 1895).  
*Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, 7 vols. Leiden, 1933-1969.
- Damsté, H. T., Atjèhsche oorlogspapieren. *Indische Gids*, May-June 1912, pp. 617 sqq. en 776 sqq.
- Djajadiningrat, Hoesein, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantën*, thesis Leiden 1913.  
*Atjèhsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, 2 vols., Batavia, 1934.
- Doorenbos, J., *De Geschriften van Hamzah Fansoeri*, thesis Leiden 1933.
- Drewes, G. W. J., *Drie Javaansche Goeroe's*, thesis Leiden 1925.  
*The Admonitions of Seh Bari* (Bibl. Indonesica 4), The Hague, 1969.  
Further data concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. 132 (1976), pp. 267-292.
- Drewes, G. W. J. and Poerbatjaraka, *De Mirakelen van Abdoel Kadir Djaelani*, Bibliotheca Javanica 8, Bandoeng, 1938.
- Drewes, G. W. J., Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānīrī's Ḥujjat al-Ṣiddīq li-daf' al-zindīq re-examined. *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XLVII, Pt. 2, 1971, pp. 83-104.
- Edel, J., *Hikajat Hasanoeddin*, thesis Utrecht 1938.
- Elisséeff, N., Les corporations de Damas sous Nūr ad-Dīn. *Arabica* III (1956), pp. 61-79.  
*La Description de Damas d'Ibn 'Asākir*, Damas, 1959.  
*Nūr ad-Dīn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511-569 H./1118-1174)*, 3 vols., Damas, 1967.
- Encyclopaedia of Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Leiden, 1960 —.
- Enzyklopaedie des Islam*, 4 vols. and Supplement, Leiden, 1913-1938.
- Ess, J. van, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn, 1961.
- Fahd, T., Firāsa, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. IV: 916-917.
- Gabrieli, F., The Arabic historiography of the Crusades. *Historians of the Middle East*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 98-107.
- Gibb, H. A. R., *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, London, 1932.
- Goitein, S. D., *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden 1966.

- Goldziher, I., *Muhammedanische Studien*, 2 vols., Halle, 1889-1890.  
*Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden, 1920.  
*Vorlesungen über den Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Heidelberg, 1925.  
*Gesammelte Schriften*. 6 vols., Hildesheim, 1967-1973.
- Goris, R., *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche theologie*, thesis Leiden 1926.
- Graaf, H. J. de, *Catalogus van de Handschriften in Westerse talen toebehorende aan het Kon. Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, The Hague, 1963.
- Graaf, H. J. de, and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De eerste Moslimse Vorstendommen op Java*. (Verh. Kon. Inst., Vol. 69), The Hague, 1974.
- Gramberg, J. S. G., *Palembang, historisch-romantische schets uit de geschiedenis van Sumatra*, Batavia-Haarlem, 1878.
- Greentree and Nicholson, *Catalogue of Malay manuscripts etc. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1910.
- al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1915; *Minhāj al-ʿabidīn*.
- Hartmann, R., *Al-Ḳuschairīs Darstellung des Ṣūfītums*, Berlin, 1914.
- Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.
- Heffening, W., *Waqf. E.d.I.*, Vol. IV: 1187 sqq.
- History of Islam, The Cambridge*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1970.
- Hitti, Ph. K., *Who's who in the fifteenth century*, New York, 1927.
- Hoëvell, W. R. van, Eenige mededeelingen omtrent het eiland Bali van Abdullah bin Mohamed el Mazrie. *Tijdschrift voor Neêrl.-Indië*, Vol. VII (1845), II, pp. 139-201.
- Hollander, J. J. de, *Handleiding bij de beoefening der maleische taal- en letterkunde*<sup>4</sup>, texts, pp. 241-246 (Arabic figures).  
 Berichten van eenen Maleier over Siam en de Siameezen. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* Vol. III: 8 (= Vol. 20; 1873), pp. 229-248.
- Hooykaas, C., *Over Maleische Literatuur*, Leiden, 1937.
- Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ic al-zuhūr fi waqā'ic al-duhūr*, 3 vols., Cairo, 1960-'63. (Bibl. islamica, Vol. 5)
- Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, see Sublet, Jacqueline.
- ʿIzzet Ḥaṣriyya, *Imām al-sālikīn wa-shaikh al-mujāhidīn al-Shaikh Arslān al-Dimashqī*, 461-541, Damascus, 1965.
- Jaarboek Kon. Batav. Genootschap*, Vol. I (1933).
- Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, see Nicholson, R. A.
- Jones, Russell, *Nuru 'd-dīn ar-Raniri, Bustanu 's-Salatin Bab IV Fasal I*, Kuala Lumpur, 1974.
- Juynboll, H. H., *Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden, 1899.  
 Indonesische en Achterindische tooneelvoorstellingen uit het Rāmāyaṇa, *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. VI: 10 (= Vol. 54; 1902).

- Khairī, Aḥmad, *Izālat al-shubuhāt ʿan qawl al-ustādh “Kunna ḥurūfan ʿāliyyāt”*, Cairo, 1370.
- Kharrāz, Abū Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Ṣidq*, see A. J. Arberry.
- Kremer, A. von, *Mittelsyrien und Damascus*, Vienna, 1853.
- Lane, E. W., *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 8 vols., London, 1863-1893.
- Lewis, Bernard, *Islam in History*. London, 1973.
- Linden, A. L. V. L. van der, *De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur*, thesis Utrecht 1937.
- Lisān al-ʿArab*, Bulāq, 1300/1882.
- Macdonald, D. B., *The religious attitude and life in Islam*<sup>2</sup>, Chicago, 1912.
- Majmūʿ muhimmāt al-mutūn*, Cairo 1328/1910.
- Makdisi, George, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l’Islam traditionaliste*, Damas, 1963.
- al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, *Qūt al-qulūb*, 2 vols., Cairo 1310/1893.
- Margoliouth, D. S., Contributions to the biography of ʿAbd al-Kādir. *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 267-310.
- Marsden, W., *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana philologica et orientalis*, 1827.
- Meier, Fritz, *Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker. Der Islam*, Vol. 24 (1937), pp. 1-42.
- Muḥammad b. Faḍlillāh al-Burhānpūrī, *al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā ruh al-nabī*, printed in A. H. Johns, *The Gift addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*, Canberra, 1965, pp. 128-137.
- Muḥammad Uthmān El-Muḥammady, *The Islamic Concept of Education according to Shaykh ʿAbdu ’s-Samad of Palembang*, *Akademika*, July 1972, Kuala Lumpur, pp. 59-83.
- al-Muḥāsibī, Ḥārith, *Kitāb al-riʿāya li-ḥuqūq Allāh*, ed. Marg. Smith, Gibb Mem. Series, N.S. XV, 1940.
- Müller, A., *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendland*, 2 vol., Berlin, 1885-1887.
- Mijer, P., *Jean Chrétien Baud geschetst*, Utrecht, 1878.
- Netscher, E., *De Nederlanders in Djohor en Siak 1602-1865*. Verh. Bat. Gen., Vol. XXXV (1870).
- Nicholson, R. A., *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, Gibb Mem. Series, Vol. XXII (1914).
- The Mathnawī of Jalālu ’ddīn Rūmī*, 8 vols., London, 1925-1940.
- Nieuwenhuys, R., see Van der Tuuk.
- Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. van, *Samsu ’l-Dīn van Pasai*, thesis Leiden 1945.
- Nūr al-Dīn al-Rānirī als bestrijder der Wuḡūdiya. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, vol. 104 (1947-’48), pp. 337-414.

- al-Niffarī, see A. J. Arberry.
- Noer, Deliar, *The Modernist Movement in Indonesia, 1900-1942*. O.U.P., 1973.
- Notulen v. h. Bataviaasch Genootschap v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen*.
- al-Nu'aimī, *Tanbih al-ṭālib wa-irshād al-dāris*, see Sauvaire, Henri.
- Nūr al-dīn al-Rānīrī, see Tudjimah and Voorhoeve.
- Nwyia, Paul, *Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie Shadhilite*, Beyrouth, 1972.
- Obermann, J., *Der philosophische und religiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1921.
- Osman Yahia, *Histoire et classification de l'oeuvre d'Ibn 'Arabī*, 2 vols., Damas, 1964.
- Overbeck, H., Malay Manuscripts. *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. 2 (1926).  
The Answer of Pasai. *Ibidem*, Vol. XI, Pt. 2 (1933).
- Peribahasa*<sup>3</sup>, ed. Balai Pustaka, Jakarta, 1949.
- Philby, H. St. John, *A Pilgrim in Arabia*, London, 1946.
- Pigeaud, Th. G. Th., *Literature of Java*, 3 vols., Leiden, 1967-1970.
- Pigeaud, Th. G. Th. and H. J. de Graaf, *Islamic States in Java 1500-1700*. Verh. Kon. Inst., Vol. 70 (1976). See also sub H. J. de Graaf.
- Pijnappel, J., De Maleische handschriften der Leidsche bibliotheek. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. III: 5 (= Vol. 17; 1870).
- Pijper, G. F., *Het Boek der Duizend Vragen*, thesis Leiden 1924.
- al-Qushairī, see R. Hartmann.
- Radermacher, J. C. M., Beschrijving van het eiland Sumatra. *Verh. Bat. Gen.*, vol. III, 2nd ed., 1824.
- Reinert, Benedikt, *Die Lehre vom tawakkul in der klassischen Sufik*, Berlin, 1968.
- Ricklefs, M. C., *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi 1749-1791*, London, 1974.
- Rinkes, D. A., *Abdoerraef van Singkel*, thesis Leiden 1909.
- Ritter, H., Muslim Mystics' strife with God, *Oriens*, Vol. 5 (1592), pp. 1-15.  
Al-Ghazālī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II: 1041.
- Robson, S. O., *Hikajat Andakén Penurat* (Bibl. Indon. 2), The Hague, 1969.
- Ronkel, Ph. S. van, Over invloed der Arabische syntaxis op de Maleische. *Tijdschrift Batav. Gen.*, Vol. 41 (1899), pp. 498-528.  
Catalogus der Maleische handschriften van het Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned.-Indië, *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. 60 (1908), pp. 181-248.  
Beschrijving der Maleische handschriften van de Bibliothèque Royale te Brussel. *Ibidem*, pp. 501-520.

- Catalogus der Maleische handschriften in het Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. Verh. Bat. Gen., Vol. LVII, 1909.
- Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences*, Batavia-The Hague, 1913.
- Daendels in de Maleische litteratuur, *Koloniaal Tijdschrift*, Vol. VII (1918), pp. 858-875 and 1152-1167.
- Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek*, Leiden, 1921.
- Roolvink, R., The Answer of Pasai. *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Pt. 2 (1965).
- al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi<sup>c</sup> li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi<sup>c</sup>*, 12 vols., Cairo, 1353-'55/1934-'36.
- al-Sarrāj, see R. A. Nicholson.
- Sartain, E. M., *Jalal ad-Din al-Suyuti*, 2 Vols., Cambridge 1975.
- Sauvaire, H., Description de Damas. *Journal Asiatique*, 9e Série, t. III-VII (1894-1896).
- Schacht, J., al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī, *E.d.I.*, Vol. IV: 342-344.
- Sedjarah Melaju*, ed. T. D. Situmorang and A. Teeuw, Jakarta-Amsterdam, 1952.
- Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1967—
- al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī, *Lawāqih al-anwār fi ṭabaqāt al-akhyān*, 2 vols., Cairo 1299/1881.
- al-Shaṭṭanawfī, *Bahjat al-arsār wa-ma<sup>c</sup>din al-anwār*, Cairo, 1330/1911.
- Smith, Margaret, The Forerunner of al-Ghazālī. *J.R.A.S.*, 1936, pp. 65-78. See also al-Muḥāsibī.
- Smith, Wilfred Cantwell, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton, 1957.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C., *Mekka*, 2 vols., The Hague, 1888-1889.  
*De Atjèhers*, 2 vols., Batavia, 1893-1894; English translation *The Achehnese*, 2 vol., Leiden, 1906.  
*Verspreide Geschriften*, 7 vols., 1923-1927.  
*Adviezen*, 3 vols., The Hague, 1957-1965.  
*Cat. Mal. Hss. Berlin* (not available in print).
- Stapel, F. W., *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, Vol. VI (1753-1799), The Hague, 1955.
- Sublet, Jacqueline, *Ibn aṣ-Ṣuqā<sup>c</sup>i, Tālī kitāb Waḥyāt al-a<sup>c</sup>yān (un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke)*, Damas, 1974.
- al-Suyūfī, *Naẓm al-a<sup>c</sup>iqyān fi a<sup>c</sup>yān al-a<sup>c</sup>yān*, see Ph. K. Hitti.
- Sweeney, Amin, Review of S. O. Robson, Hikajat Andakén Penurat, in *B.S.O.A.S.*, Vol. XXXIII (1970), p. 431.
- al-Tādhifī, *Qalā'id al-jawāhir*, Cairo 1331/1913.
- Teeuw, A., *Shair Ken Tambuhan*, Kuala Lumpur, 1966.

- al-Tirmidhī, see A. J. Arberry.
- Tudjimah, *Asrār al-insān fī maʿrifā al-Rūḥ wa 'l-Raḥmān*, thesis Jakarta, 1961.
- Tuuk, H. N. van der, Kort Verslag der Maleische handschriften toebehoorende aan de Royal Asiatic Society te Londen. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. III: 1 (= Vol. 13; 1866), pp. 409 sqq.  
*De Pen in gal gedoopt*; Brieven en documenten verzameld en toegelicht door R. Nieuwenhuys, Amsterdam, 1962.
- al-Thaḥlabī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' (al-ʿArāʾis)*, Cairo, 1348/1929.
- Urvoy, D. et M.-Th., Les thèmes chrétiens chez Ibn Sabʿīn. *Studia Islamica*, XLIV (1976), pp. 99-121.
- al-ʿUshr, Dr. Yūsuf, *Fihris makhṭūʾāt Dār kutub al-Ḍāhiriyya*, Damas, 1947.
- Vaux, Carra de, ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jilani, in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols. Edinburgh-New York, 1908-1921.
- Velde, J. J. van de, *De godsdienstige rechtspraak in Ned.-Indië, staatsrechtelijk beschouwd*, thesis Leiden 1928.
- Veth, P. J., *Borneo's Westerafdeeling*, 2 vols., Zalt-Bommel, 1854.
- Voorhoeve, P., Een werk van al-Rānirī terechtgebracht. *Bingkisan Budi*, Leiden 1950, pp. 307-309.  
Van en over Nūruddīn ar-Rānirī. *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.*, Vol. 107 (1951), pp. 353-368.  
Bajan Tadjalli. Gegevens voor een nadere studie van Abdurrauf van Singkel. *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, Vol. LXXXV (1952), pp. 87-117.  
*Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānirī* (Publ. of the Foundation 'De Goeje', no. 16), Leiden, 1955.  
*Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the library of the University of Leiden and other collections in the Netherlands*, Leiden, 1957.  
A Malay Scriptorium. *Malayan and Indonesian studies*, ed. John Bastin and R. Roolvink, Oxford, 1964, pp. 256-266.  
Les Manuscrits malais de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. *Archipel* 6 (1973), pp. 42-80.
- Watt, W. Montgomery, al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥamīd Muḥ. b. Muḥ. al-Ṭūsī. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II: 1038-1041.
- Winstedt, R. O., A History of Classical Malay Literature. *J.M.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXI, Pt. 3, 1958.
- Woelders, M. O., *Het Sultanaat Palembang 1811-1825*, Thesis Leiden 1975. (Verh. Kon. Inst., Vol. 72)
- Wijk, D. Gerth van, Iets over verschillende Maleische redacties van den Seri Rama. *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, Vol. XXXVI (1891).
- Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, *Kitāb Faṭḥ al-Raḥmān*, Cairo, 1317/1899.
- Zieseniss, A., *Die Rama-Sage bei den Malaien*, Hamburg, 1928: English translation, by P. W. Burch, Singapore, 1963.

## INDEX

### A

- °Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, 2, 18, 106, 107, 176.  
 Abdel Kader, Ali Hassan, see °Abd al-Qādir 'A.H.  
 °Abd al-Karīm al-Jilī, 35.  
 °Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī, 6, 7, 10, 14, 25, 177, 178, 180.  
 °Abd al-Qādir, °Alī Ḥasan, 180, 187.  
 °Abd al-Ra'uf, 27, 206, 207, 217.  
 °Abd al-Rāziq al-Turābī, 181.  
 °Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, 36, 206, 222-24.  
 °Abdallāh al-Samarqandī, 187.  
 °Abdullah b. Muh. Abu Bakr Raja Bandarkhan b. Shaikh Ibrahim al-Misri, 234-237.  
 al-Abharī, 28.  
 Abraham, Ibrāhīm, 14, 178, 179.  
 Abū °Āmir al-Mu'addib, 10, 12, 17, 178.  
 Abū Bakr, 93.  
 Abū Bakr Zaila', 179.  
 Abū Bayān, 178.  
 Abū Madyan, 18.  
 Abū Nu°aim, 180.  
 Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, 22, 182, 187.  
 Abu Zur°a al-°Irāqī, 26.  
 Ādāb al-baḥth, 20.  
 Adler, M. A., 177.  
 Ahlwardt, W., 18.  
 Ahmad b. Abdallah, 227, 228.  
 Aḥmad Khairī, 176.  
 Aḥmad al-Maghribī, 27.  
 al-°Ainī, 30.  
 Akil, Raja, 201, 230.  
 °Alawān al-Ḥamawī, °Alī b. °Atiyya, 2.  
 Aleppo, 9, 10.  
 Alfīyya (Ibn Mālik), 28.  
 Alfīyya (al-°Irāqī), also called al-Tab-  
 šira, 29.  
 Ali, Bağda, 66, 67, 78, 79.  
 °Alī al-Nabatī, 32, 33, 181.  
 al-°Almawī, 7.

- °Āmir b. °Abd Qais, 46.  
 Antonius, George, 179.  
 Arberry, A. J., 35, 179, 180, 187.  
 Arslān, Emīr Shakib, 1.  
 al-A°shā, 42.  
 Asin Palacios, M., 188.  
 Asrār al-insān, 180, 187, 206.  
 Atja, 229.  
 al-Attas, Syed Muh. Naguib, 180, 239.  
 awlād al-ajnād, 8.

### B

- Bāb al-Naṣr, 34.  
 Bāb al-Qarāfa, 34.  
 Bāb Tūmā (Thomas Gate), 8, 11, 12, 16.  
 Badā'i° al-zuhūr fi waqā'i° al-duhūr 180.  
 Badr al-dīn al-Ḥasanī, 16.  
 al-Badr al-ṭāli° min al-ḍaw' al-lāmi°, 180.  
 al-Bahja al-wardiyya, 29, 31.  
 Bahjat al-asrār, 6, 8, 12, 178.  
 al-Baiḍāwī, 27, 30, 202, 217.  
 al-Bājūrī, 181.  
 Bakker, Colonel, 201.  
 Baldwin of Edessa, 9.  
 Bālis, 9.  
 Bayān al-sirr, 35.  
 Bastin, John, 230, 240.  
 Baud, J. C., 240.  
 Becker, C. H., 180, 191.  
 Benjamin of Tudela, 9, 177.  
 Berg, L. W. C. van den, 176, 204, 241.  
 al-Biṣtāmī, 240.  
 Braune, Walther, 177, 180.  
 Brockelmann, C., *passim*.  
 Bugi, 2, 176.  
 al-Bukhārī, 27, 34, 181.  
 al-Burda, 28.  
 al-Burhānpūrī, Muḥ. b. Faḍlillāh, VII, 35.  
 al-Būširī, 28.  
 Busse, Heribert, 176.  
 Bustanu 's-Salatin, 178.

## C

Cerbon, 3.  
Chabbi, Jacqueline, 180.  
Clercq, F. S. A. de, 241.  
Crusaders, 7, 8, 9, 16, 25.

## D

Daendels, H. W., 235, 236.  
dalāl, 190.  
Damascus, *passim*.  
Dār sa<sup>c</sup>id al-su<sup>c</sup>adā', 30.  
Darb al-ḥajar, 11, 178.  
Dā'ūd b. <sup>c</sup>Abdallah, 27.  
al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi<sup>c</sup> li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsi<sup>c</sup>,  
180.  
al-Dhahabī, 8, 179.  
Dhū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, 118, 119, 179.  
Djadiningrat, Hoesein, 207, 239.  
Doorenbos, J., 180, 184, 189.  
Dozy, R., 178.  
Drewes, G. W. J., 177, 178, 179, 239.  
Duqāq, 9.

## E

Edel, J., 28.  
Edessa, 9.  
Elisséeff, N., 7, 8, 16, 177, 178.  
Ess, Josef van, 187.

## F

Faiṣal, 17.  
Fakhruddin, Kemas, *passim*; 220-221.  
Fath al-Mu<sup>c</sup>in, 176.  
Fath al-Qarib, 176.  
Fath al-Raḥmān, *passim*.  
Fath al-Wahhāb, 26, 176, 180.  
Franks, 10, 13, 14.  
al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya, 28.

## G

Gabrieli, F., 177.  
al-Ghazālī, 21, 26, 28, 35, 39, 96, 104,  
177, 181, 187, 188.  
Gibb, H. A. R., 177.  
Gillespie, Colonel, 199, 237, 238, 240.  
Goitein, S. D., 178, 179.  
Goldziher, I., 176, 178, 179, 180, 181.  
Goris, R., 182.

Gramberg, J. S. G., 200, 229, 230, 238,  
240.  
Gunung Jati, Sunan, 28.

## H

Hajali (= Ghazali), 68.  
al-Hallāj, 35.  
Ḥammām Shaikh Arslān, 11.  
Hamzah (al-)Fansuri, 23, 36, 180, 184,  
189, 217.  
Hamziyya of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī,  
176.  
Hanbalites, 187.  
Ḥarrān, 9.  
Hartmann, R., 178, 181, 183, 184, 187.  
Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Bānī al-Kurdī, 6.  
Ḥāshiyā <sup>c</sup>alā Sharḥ Ibn Qāsim al-Ghazzī  
<sup>c</sup>alā matn Abī Shujā', 181.  
Hastings, 178.  
al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr, 180.  
Heffening, W., 181.  
Hikayat Hasanoeddin, 28.  
Hikayat Perang Sabi, 223.  
Ḥilyat al-awliyā', 180.  
Hitti, Ph. K., 29.  
Hoëvell, W. van, 235.  
Hooykaas, C., 235.  
Ḥujjat al-ṣiddīq, 184.

## I

Ibn <sup>c</sup>Abbās, 173.  
Ibn <sup>c</sup>Arabī, 29, 35.  
Ibn <sup>c</sup>Asākir, 177, 179.  
Ibn <sup>c</sup>Aṭa'allāh, 35.  
Ibn al-Fāriḍ, see <sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Fāriḍ.  
Ibn Ḥajar al-<sup>c</sup>Asqalānī, 29, 30.  
Ibn Iyās, 29.  
Ibn Khallikān, 7.  
Ibn Mālik, 28.  
Ibn al-Qalānisi, 9.  
Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥimyarī, 238.  
Ibn al-Ṣuqā<sup>c</sup>i, 7, 177.  
Ibrāhīm b. Ad-ham, 10, 183.  
Ihyā' <sup>c</sup>ulūm al-dīn, 21, 177, 179.  
<sup>c</sup>ilm al-qulūb, 181.  
<sup>c</sup>Imād al-dīn al-Zangī, 10.  
al-<sup>c</sup>Irāqī, 29.  
Isagoge, 28.  
al-Isfarā'inī, 180.  
Ismailis, 10.

Izālat al-shubuhāt °an qawl al-ustādh  
 "Kunnā ḥurūfan °āliyat", 176.  
 'Izzet Hasriyya, 8, 177, 178, 179.

## J

Jam° al-jawāmi°, 27, 28, 30.  
 Javanese, 2, 3, 36.  
 Jawharat al-tawhīd, 3, 89, 92, 102, 104.  
 al-Jazarī, 28.  
 Jerusalem, 10.  
 Jibril, 50.  
 Jones, Russell, VIII, 178.  
 al-Junaid, VIII, 10, 22, 23, 35, 36, 46,  
 54, 55, 60, 61, 73, 96, 104.  
 Juned, 72.  
 al-Juwainī (Imam al-Haramain), 26.  
 Juynboll, H. H., 176.

## K

al-Kashshāf, 30, 181.  
 Khair Bek, 34.  
 Khālid b. al-Walīd, 11, 16, 178.  
 Khalidi, W. A. S., 176.  
 al-Khalīl, khalīl Allāh, 50, 178.  
 Khamrat al-Khān, 2, 4, 106, 107.  
 Kharijites, 21.  
 al-Kharrāz, 187.  
 khāṭir, khawāṭir, 146, 147, 187-190.  
 al-Khiḍr, 32.  
 al-Kirmānī, 30.  
 Kitāb al-ḥalāl wa 'l-ḥarām (Iḥyā', Book  
 14), 177, 178.  
 Kitāb al-Luma°, 180, 184.  
 Kitāb al-riyāḍa wa-adab al-nafs, 180.  
 Kitāb al-ri°āya li-ḥuqūq Allāh, 187.  
 Kitāb al-tawhīd wa 'l-tawakkul (Iḥyā',  
 Book 35), 21.  
 Kitāb al-wasīf, 181.  
 Kremer, A. von, 177, 178, 179.

## L

Lane, E. W., 181.  
 al-Laḳānī, 3.  
 Lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqat al-akhyar,  
 30, 180, 181.  
 Lewis, Bernard, 22.  
 Linden, A. L. V. L. van der, 229-230,  
 236, 241.  
 Lisān al-°Arab, 181.  
 al-Lubāb fī 'l-fiqh, 26, 28.  
 Lubb al-uṣūl, 27.

## M

Macdonald, D. B., 178.  
 madrasa Niẓāmiyya, 26.  
 Maḥallat al-kubrā, 33.  
 al-Maḥāmili, 26, 180.  
 al-Maḥallī, Jalāl al-dīn, 29.  
 Maḥmūd Badruddin, Sultan, 225-226.  
 Malik Shāh, 8.  
 Majmū° muhimmāt al-mutūn, 27, 28.  
 Makdisi, George, 180.  
 Manhaj al-ṭullāb, 26, 180.  
 Mansur, Raja, 201.  
 al-Manūfi, Ibn °Abd al-Salām, 180.  
 Maqām Shaikh Arslān, 11, 177.  
 Marçais, G., 179.  
 Margoliouth, D. S., 177.  
 Mathnawī, 179, 189.  
 Meier, Fritz, 189.  
 Mijer, Mr. P., 238.  
 Minhāj al-°ābidīn, 188.  
 Minhāj al-ṭalībīn, 26, 28, 30.  
 Mosul, 9.  
 Muḥammad b. °Abd al-Karīm al-Sam-  
 mān, 36, 37.  
 Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Faḍl al-As°ad, 13.  
 Muhammad b. Ahmad, 224-225.  
 Muḥammad b. Faḍlillāh al-Burhānpūri,  
 VII, 35.  
 Muḥammad al-Ghamrī, 33.  
 Muhammad Irshad b. Abdallah al-Bukh-  
 ari al-Banjari, 27.  
 Muhammad Kelana b. Fakir °Abd al-  
 Muḥib Muh. Zabidi, 4.  
 Muhammad b. Shihabuddin, 37, 224.  
 al-Muḥarrar, 26.  
 al-Muḥāsibī, Ḥārith, 187.  
 Muhiddin, Demang, 228-229.  
 Mukhtasar, Kitāb, 2, 3.  
 Müller, A., 177.  
 al-Munāwī, Yaḥyā, (Sharaf al-dīn), 29,  
 32.  
 Muntinghe, H. W., 201.  
 al-Muqri', 29, 191.  
 Mu°tazilites, 97, 181.

## N

al-Nabatīti, °Alī, 32, 33.  
 Najm al-dīn b. Isrā'īl al-Jazarī, 7.  
 Najm al-dīn al-Kubrā, 189.  
 Najm al-dīn al-Kuyushāti, 34.  
 Nassau Lees, W., 220.

al-Nawawī, 26, 28.  
 Naẓm al-<sup>c</sup>iqyān fī a<sup>c</sup>yān al-a<sup>c</sup>yān, 180.  
 Netscher, E., 241.  
 Nicholson, R. A., 180, 184.  
 Nieuwenhuijze, C. A. O. van, 239.  
 al-Niffarī, 22, 180.  
 Nīsābūr, 26.  
 Noer, Deliar, 22.  
 al-Nu<sup>c</sup>aimī, 7.  
 Nūr al-dīn al-Rānirī, VII, 27, 36, 37,  
 178, 184, 187, 188, 217.  
 Nūr al-dīn b. al-Zangī, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,  
 16, 177, 178.

## O

Obermann, J., 188.  
 Osman Yahia, 188.  
 Overbeck, Hans, 233.

## P

Pakudran, 52, 53.  
 Palembang, *passim*.  
 Pangeran Muhammad, 229-231.  
 Pangeran Panembahan Bupati, 226-227.  
 Pangeran Tumenggung Karta Menggala,  
 228.  
 Patahulrahman, kitab, VIII, 3, 4, 52-87.  
 Philby, H. St. John, 200.  
 Pigeaud, Th. G. Th., 176.  
 Pijnappel, J., 240.  
 Poerbatjaraka, R. Ng., 177, 178, 179,  
 202, 203, 217.

## Q

Qadariyya, 99, 104.  
 Qā'it Bey, 29, 32.  
 Qalā'id al-jawāhir, 12.  
 Qal<sup>c</sup>at Jabar, 8, 9, 17, 177.  
 Qarāfa, 34.  
 al-Qaṣīda al-Khazrajīyya, 28.  
 al-Qaṣīda al-munfarija, 28.  
 Qāsiyūn, mount, 14, 178.  
 al-Qawā'id al-ṣūfiyya, 33.  
 al-Qāyātī, 29.  
 al-Qazwīnī, 28, 180.  
 Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā', 182.  
 al-Qushairī, 28, 30, 43, 96, 104, 178,  
 183, 184, 187.  
 Qūt al-qulūb, 180, 182, 187.

## R

Rabī<sup>c</sup>a al-Raqqī, 181.  
 Radermacher, J. C. M., 239.  
 Rāfiḍiyya, 97, 104.  
 al-Rāfi<sup>c</sup>ī, 26.  
 al-Rānirī, see Nur al-din al-Raniri.  
 Raqqa, 9.  
 Ra's al-<sup>c</sup>ain, 9.  
 Raslān al-Dimashqī, *passim*.  
 ratib Samman, 36, 232.  
 Rawḍ al-tālib fī 'l-fiqh, 29, 30, 181.  
 Reinert, Benedikt, 20, 22, 178, 180.  
 ribāt, 16, 179.  
 Ricklefs, M. C., 240.  
 Rinke, D. A., 206, 239.  
 Risāla fī 'l-taṣawwuf, 28, 30, 43.  
 Risāla fī 'l-tawhīd (al-Risāla al-Ras-  
 lāniyya), *passim*.  
 Risāla ilā al-hā'im, 189.  
 Rislan, Ruslan, 1.  
 Ritter, H., 190, 240.  
 Ronkel, Ph. S. van, *passim*.  
 al-Ruhā', 9.  
 Rūmī, Jalāl al-dīn, 179, 189.

## S

al-Ṣafadī, 7.  
 al-Ṣafwāniyya, 8.  
 Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 27, 28, 30, 34, 181.  
 Sajarah Banten rante-rante, 28.  
 al-Sakhāwī, 29.  
 Saladin, 181.  
 Salīm b. Malik, 9.  
 Sarī al-Saqaṭī, 10.  
 al-Sarrāj, 22.  
 Sartain, E. M., 180.  
 Sauvaget, J., 177.  
 Sauvaire, H., 7, 177.  
 Schacht, J., 34, 180.  
 Selim I, 29.  
 Setyanandita Ahmad, Kyai Rangga, 228,  
 237.  
 Sevenhoven, J. I. van, 204.  
 Sezgin, Fuat, 239.  
 al-Shādhilī, 35.  
 Shāfi<sup>c</sup>i jurisprudence, 26.  
 al-Shahrazūrī, 29.  
 Shaikh al-Islām, 26, 32.  
 Sha'm, Shām, 173.  
 Shamsuddin al-Samatra'i, VII, 217.  
 Sharaf al-dīn al-Munāwī, 29.

al-Sha<sup>c</sup>rānī, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 181.  
Sharqiyya, 29.

al-Shaṭṭanawfī, 6, 7, 12, 177, 178.  
Shihabuddin, 3, 4, 27, 37, 88, 99, 100,  
217, 219, 220.  
Smith, W. Cantwell, 17.  
Smith, Margaret, 187.  
Snouck Hurgronje, C., 1, 2, 176, 207,  
216, 223, 233, 240, 241.

Stapel, F. W., 239.

Strothmann, R., 180.

al-Subkī, Taqī al-dīn, 6, 27, 28, 30.

Sublet, Jacqueline, 177.

Sunaika, 29.

al-Sunaiki, 29.

al-Suyūṭī, 29, 30, 180.

## T

al-Tabṣira, 29.

al-Tādhifī, 12.

al-Taftazānī, 30.

Taḥrīr al-tanqīd, 26.

Tā'iyya of <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī,  
176.

Tāli Kitāb Wafayāt al-a<sup>c</sup>yān, 7, 177.

Talkhiṣ al-miftāḥ, 28.

Ta'riḥ al-Islām, 8.

Ta'riḥ madinat Dimashq, 177.

ṭarīqa Sammāniyya, 36, 37, 38.

Teungku di Tiro, 223.

al-Tha<sup>c</sup>labī, 182.

theophorous names, 1.

al-Ṭibī, 30.

al-Tirmidhī, 22.

Tudjimah, 180, 207.

Tughtagīn, 9.

al-Tuḥfa al-mursala ilā rūḥ al-nabī, VII.

Tuḥfat al-tullāb, 27.

Tuḥfat al-zaman fī ḥarf ahl al-Yaman,  
238.

Tunisia, 6.

al-Turābī, <sup>c</sup>Abd al-Rāziq, 181.

Tutush, 9.

Tuuk, H. N. van der, 205, 238.

## U

<sup>c</sup>Umar, Caliph, 16.

<sup>c</sup>Umar b. al-Fāriḍ, 29, 47, 187.

<sup>c</sup>Uqailī, 8, 9.

al-Urjūza al-Raḥbiyya, 28.

Urvoy, D. and M.-Th., 176.

al-Uṣūl al-<sup>c</sup>ashara, 189.

## V

Vaux, Carra de, 178.

Velde, J. J. van de, 239.

Voorhoeve, P., 184, 199, 206, 207, 208,  
220, 227, 238, 239.

Vredendregt, J., 176.

## W

Wafayāt al-a<sup>c</sup>yān, 7.

waḥdat al-wujūd, 37.

Wahhabites, 21.

Walī Raslān, *passim*.

Winstedt, R., 235, 239.

Winter, C. F., 202.

Woelders, M. O., 206-216, 228-241.

Wolterbeek, 201.

Wujūdiyya, VII, 36.

## Y

Yaḥyā b. Qāsim al-<sup>c</sup>Alawī, 30.

Yūsuf al-<sup>c</sup>Ushr, 177.

## Z

Zāhiriyya library, 8.

Zain al-dīn b. al-Wardī, 29.

Zainuddin, Encik, 199.

Zaitūna, 6, 7.

Zakariyyā' al-Anṣārī, *passim*.

al-Zamaksharī, 30.

Zettersteén, K. V., 177.